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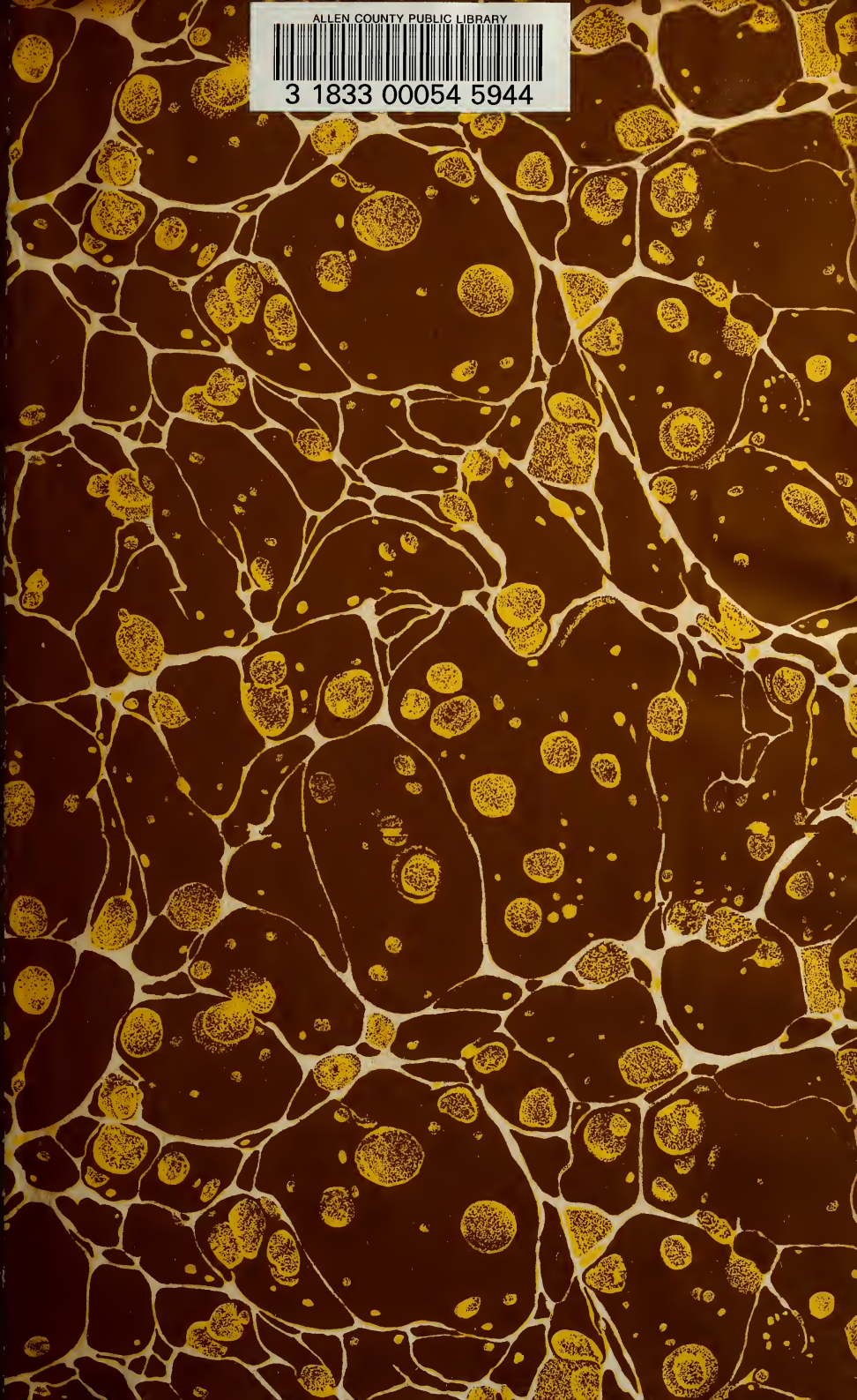
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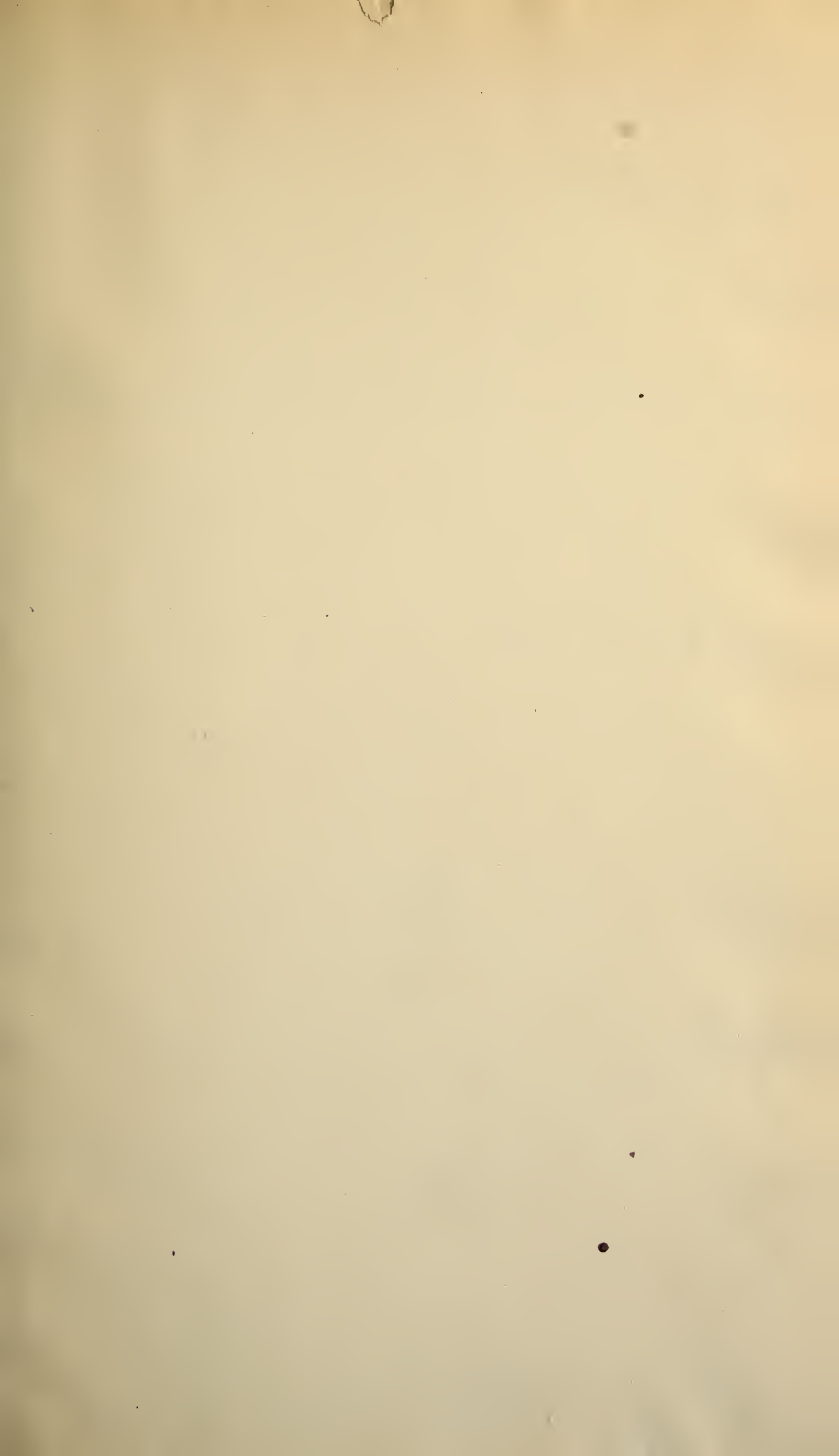


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ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR
THE YEAR 1913

—
IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I
—



1427466

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., September 21, 1914.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1913. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES D. WALCOTT, *Secretary.*

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars, to adopt a constitution, and make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such reports, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., September 12, 1914.

SIR: In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to transmit herewith the annual report of the association for the year 1913. The report contains the proceedings of the association at its twenty-ninth annual meeting held in Charleston and Columbia, S. C., in December, 1913, and the reports of the public archives commission and the historical manuscripts commission.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, yours,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

Dr. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,

Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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VOLUME II.

- Eleventh report of the historical manuscripts commission:
Papers of James A. Bayard, 1796-1815, edited by Elizabeth Donnan.

CONSTITUTION.

I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, a treasurer, and an executive council consisting of the foregoing officers and six other members elected by the association, with the ex-presidents of the association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the association.

V.

The executive council shall have charge of the general interests of the association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress January 4, 1889.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 30, 1913.

PRESIDENT :

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B.,
University of Chicago.

VICE PRESIDENTS :

H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., Litt. D.,
University of California.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., Litt. D.,
Cornell University.

SECRETARY :

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

TREASURER :

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D.,
New York.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL :

EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D.,
University of Illinois.

CURATOR :

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M.,
Smithsonian Institution.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL :

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

(Ex-Presidents.)

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L.,
Ithaca, N. Y.

JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D.,
University of Michigan.

HENRY ADAMS, LL. D.,
Washington, D. C.

JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt.,
Boston, Mass.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D.,
Quogue, N. Y.

JOHN BACH McMASTER, A. M., PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D.,
New Haven, Conn.

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D.,
Yale University.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D.
Columbia University.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L.,
Oyster Bay, N. Y.

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D.,
Columbia University.
(Elected Councillors.)

HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, PH. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A. M.,
University of Wisconsin.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, PH. D.,
Harvard University.

JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH. D., LL. D.,
Johns Hopkins University.

FREDERIC BANCROFT, PH. D., LL. D.,
Washington, D. C.

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D.,
Harvard University.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

OFFICERS ELECTED NOVEMBER 29, 1913.

PRESIDENT :

EDMOND S. MEANY, M. L.,
University of Washington.

VICE PRESIDENT :

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL, PH. D.,
Stanford University.

SECRETARY-TREASURER :

WILLIAM A. MORRIS, PH. D.,
University of California.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE :

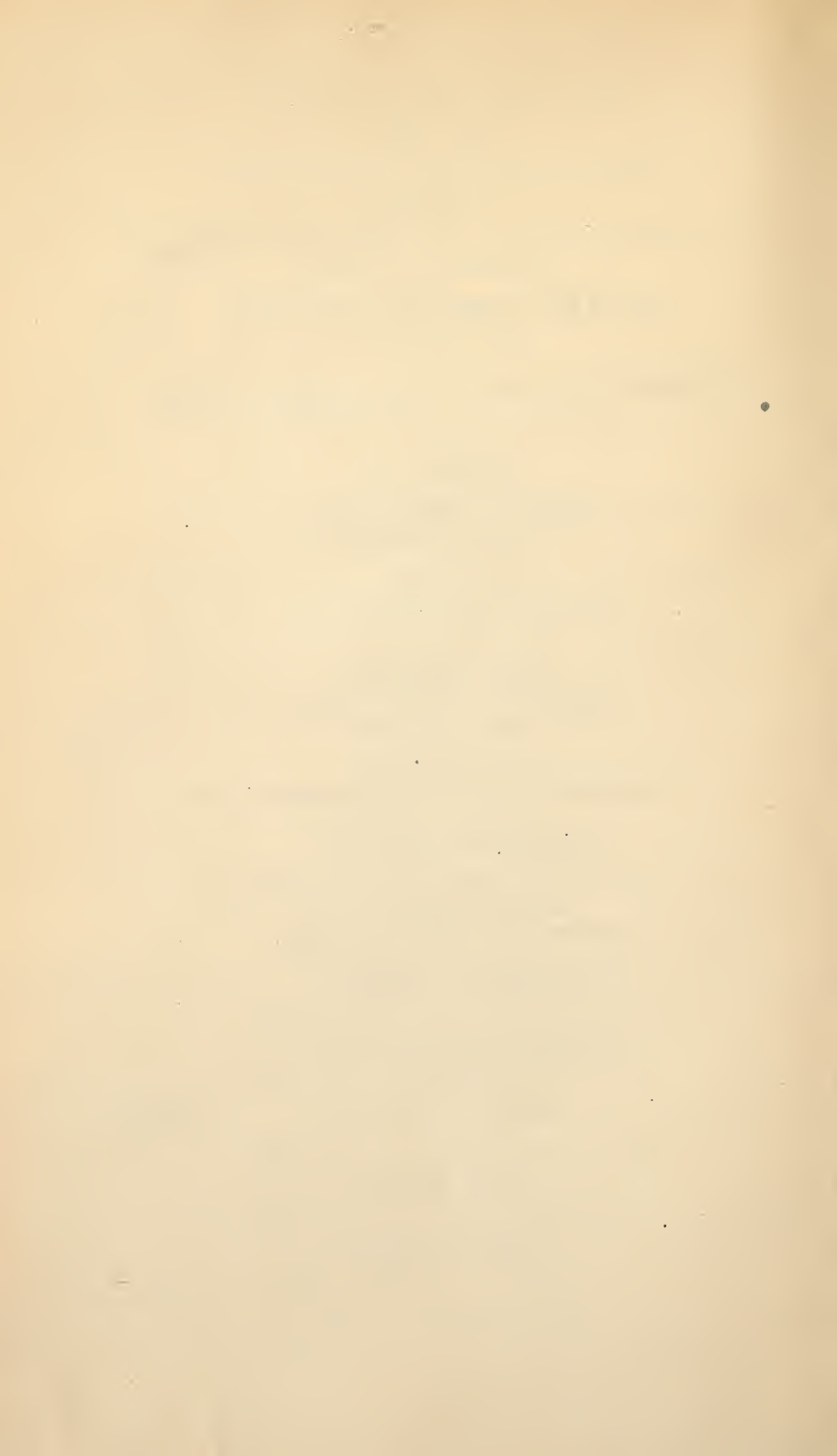
(In addition to the above-named officers.)

EDWARD McMAHON, M. A.,
University of Washington.

EDITH JORDAN,
Polytechnic High School, Los Angeles.

WILBERFORCE F. BLISS, M. L.,
San Diego Normal School.

ROBERT G. CLELAND, A. B.,
Occidental College.



TERMS OF OFFICE.

(Deceased officers are marked thus : †.)

EX-PRESIDENTS :

- ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L., 1884-1885.
†GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D., 1885-1886.
†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1886-1887.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1887-1888.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1888-1889.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889-1890.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1890-1891.
JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1891-1893.
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1893-1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1895.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1896.
JAMES SCHOUER, LL. D., 1897.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1898.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1899.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1900.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1901.
ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1903.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1904.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1905.
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1906.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1907.
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1908.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1909.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1910.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, Ph. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1911.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., 1912.
WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph. D., LL. D., 1913.

EX-VICE PRESIDENTS :

- †JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1884-1886.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1884-1888.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1886-1887.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1887-1889.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1888-1890.
JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1889-1891.
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1890-1893.
†EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891-1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1894.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1895.
JAMES SCHOUER, LL. D., 1895, 1896.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1896, 1897.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1897, 1898.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1898, 1899.
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1899, 1900.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1900.
†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, Ph. D., LL. D., 1901.
ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1902.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902, 1903.
†EDWARD McCRADY, LL. D., 1903.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1904.
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1904, 1905.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1905, 1906.
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1906, 1907.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1907, 1908.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1908, 1909.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, Ph. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1909, 1910.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., 1910, 1911.
WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph. D., LL. D., 1911, 1912.
ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., 1912, 1913.

SECRETARIES :

- †HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1884-1899.
 A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-1908.
 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1900-1913.
 WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M., 1908—
 EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1914—

TREASURER :

- CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D., 1884—

CURATOR :

- A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889—

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL :

- WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A. M., 1884-1886.
 †CHARLES DEANE, LL. D., 1884-1887.
 †MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1884-1885.
 EPHRAIM EMERTON, PH. D., 1884-1885.
 FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A. M., LITT. D., 1885-1887.
 †WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN, A. M., 1885-1887.
 †WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1886-1888.
 †RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, LL. D., 1887-1888.
 JOHN W. BURGESS, PH. D., LL. D., 1887-1891.
 ARTHUR MARTIN WHEELER, A. M., LL. D., 1887-1889.
 †GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1888-1891.
 †GEORGE BROWN GOODE, LL. D., 1889-1896.
 JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, C. M. G., D. C. L., LL. D., 1889-1894.
 JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D., 1891-1894.
 GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D., 1891-1897; 1898-1901.
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., 1894-1895.
 †JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY, LL. D., 1894-1895.
 H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., LITT. D., 1895-1899.
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1895-1899; 1901-1904.
 EDWARD MINER GALLAUDET, PH. D., LL. D., 1896-1897.
 †MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, LL. D., 1897-1900.
 ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1897-1900.
 ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B., 1898-1901; 1903-1906.
 WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D., 1899-1902.
 †PETER WHITE, A. M., 1899-1902.
 J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D., 1900-1903.
 A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, PH. D., LL. D., 1900-1903.
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 †REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D., 1904-1907.
 CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS, PH. D., L. H. D., 1905-1908.
 JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, PH. D., 1905-1908.
 WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A. M., 1906-1909.
 WILLIAM MacDONALD, PH. D., LL. D., 1906-1909.
 MAX FARRAND, PH. D., 1907-1910.
 FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, PH. M., 1907-1910.
 EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, PH. D., 1908-1911.
 CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH. D., 1908-1911.
 FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY, A. M., PH. D., 1909-1912.
 EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, PH. D., LL. D., 1909-1912.
 JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH. D., LL. D., 1910-1913.
 FRED MORROW FLING, PH. D., 1910-1913.
 HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, PH. D., 1911—
 DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A. M., 1911—
 ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, PH. D., 1912—
 JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH. D., LL. D., 1912—
 FREDERIC BANCROFT, PH. D., LL. D., 1913—
 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D., 1913—

COMMITTEES—1914.

Committee on program for the thirtieth annual meeting.—Prof. James W. Thompson, University of Chicago, chairman; Evarts B. Greene, William E. Lingelbach, Charles H. McIlwain, Albert T. Olmstead, Frederic L. Paxson.

Committee on local arrangements.—Charles L. Hutchinson, chairman; James A. James, secretary; Edward E. Ayer, Abram W. Harris, Edmund J. James, Harry P. Judson, Otto L. Schmidt.

Committee on nominations.—Prof. Charles H. Hull, Cornell University, chairman; George M. Dutcher, John H. T. McPherson, Mrs. Lois K. Mathews, Joseph Schafer.

Editors of the American Historical Review.—Andrew C. McLaughlin, chairman; George L. Burr, Edward P. Cheyney, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Frederick J. Turner.

Historical manuscripts commission.—Worthington C. Ford, Esq., Massachusetts Historical Society, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Herbert E. Bolton, Julian P. Bretz, Archer B. Hulbert, William O. Scroggs.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, University of Michigan, chairman; Carl R. Fish, J. G. de Rouilhac Hamilton, Allen Johnson, William MacDonald.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Prof. Charles D. Hazen, Smith College, chairman; Laurence M. Larson, William R. Shepherd, Paul van Dyke, Albert B. White.

Public archives commission.—Victor H. Paltsits, Esq., chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Eugene C. Barker, Gaillard Hunt, Alexander S. Salley, jr., Jonas Viles, Henry E. Woods.

Committee on bibliography.—Prof. Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Clarence S. Brigham, W. Dawson Johnston, Walter Lichtenstein, Bernard C. Steiner, Frederick J. Teggart.

Committee on publications.—Prof. Max Farrand, Yale University, chairman; and (*ex officio*) Worthington C. Ford, Evarts B. Greene, Charles D. Hazen, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Ernest C. Richardson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

General committee.—Prof. Frederic L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Arthur I. Andrews, Solon J. Buck, Isaac J. Cox, George N. Fuller, Samuel B. Harding, Marcus W. Jernegan, Orin G. Libby, Harlow Lindley, Wallace Notestein, Clarence S. Paine, Louis Pelzer, Morgan P. Robinson, Otto L. Schmidt, Eugene M. Violette, George M. Wrong; and Waldo G. Leland and William A. Morris, *ex officio*.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.—Prof. Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Ernest C. Richardson, Williston Walker.

Committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools.—Prof. Kendrick C. Babcock, University of Illinois, chairman; Charles E. Chadsey, Edgar Dawson, Robert A. Maurer, Dana C. Munro.

Conference of historical societies.—Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, chairman; Solon J. Buck, secretary.

Advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine.—Prof. Henry Johnson, Columbia University, chairman; Fred M. Fling, James Sullivan (reelected to serve three years), Miss Blanche Hazard, George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat.

Committee on military and naval history.—Prof. Robert M. Johnston, Harvard University, chairman; Assistant Secretary of War Henry Breckinridge, Fred M. Fling, Rear Adm. Austin M. Knight, Brig. Gen. Hunter Liggett, Maj. James W. McAndrew, Charles O. Paullin, Assistant Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Committee on the military history prize.—Capt. Arthur L. Conger, Army Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth, chairman; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, Fred M. Fling, Albert Bushnell Hart.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

The American Historical Association was organized at Saratoga, N. Y., on September 10, 1884, with an enrollment of 40 members, and incorporated by act of Congress of January 4, 1889.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member. Applications for membership and nominations (by persons already members) of new members should be addressed to the secretary, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The annual dues are fixed at \$3, payable on September 1 for the year then beginning. Life membership, with exemption from annual dues, may be secured upon payment of \$50.

The publications regularly distributed to members are the American Historical Review, the Annual Report, and the Handbook. The first of these is published quarterly (October, January, April, July) under the direction of a board of editors elected by the executive council. Each number contains 200 or more pages and is composed of articles, documents, reviews of books, and notes and news. The Annual Report, printed by order of Congress, is in one or two volumes and contains the proceedings of the annual meetings, the report of the public archives commission with its appendices consisting of inventories, catalogues, etc., of materials in State and other archives, and collections of documents edited by the historical manuscripts commission. The Handbook, containing the names, addresses, and professional positions of members, is published at biennial or longer intervals. Back numbers of the American Historical Review may be obtained from the Macmillan Co., of New York. Copies of the annual reports of past years, or of separates of articles or publications appearing therein, may be obtained, so far as available, from the secretary of the association.

The prize essays of the association are published in a separate series, one volume appearing each year, and are supplied to members for \$1 each, to non-members for \$1.50.

The Study of History in Secondary Schools, being the report of the committee of seven (1899), is published by the Macmillan Co., of New York, at 50 cents.

The Study of History in Elementary Schools, being the report of the committee of eight (1909), is published by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, at 50 cents.

Original Narratives of Early American History is a series of reprints edited for the association by J. F. Jameson and published by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, at \$3 a volume.

Writings on American History is an annual bibliography compiled by Miss Grace G. Griffin. The volumes for 1912 and succeeding years are published by the Yale University Press. Previous issues can be obtained from the secretary.

The annual meetings of the association are held during the period December 27-31, in various cities. At these meetings there are sessions with formal papers, sessions partaking of the nature of round-table conferences, and conferences of archivists and of historical societies. Annual meetings of other associations, the interests of which are allied to those of the American Historical Association, are generally held at the same time and place.

Committees on archives, on historical manuscripts, on bibliography, on various phases of history teaching, as well as other committees appointed from time to time for special purposes, carry on the activities of the association throughout the year.

HISTORICAL PRIZES.

For the encouragement of historical research the American Historical Association regularly offers two prizes, each of \$200; the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in European history. Each is awarded biennially (the Winsor prize in the even years and the Adams prize in the odd years) for the best unpublished monograph submitted to the committee of award on or before July 1 of the given year, e. g., by July 1, 1915, for the Adams prize in European history, and by July 1, 1916, for the Winsor prize in American history. The conditions of award are as follows:

I. The prize is intended for writers who have not yet published any considerable work or obtained an established reputation.

II. *A. For the Justin Winsor prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history, by which is meant the history of any of the British colonies in America to 1783, of other territories, continental or insular, which have since been acquired by the United States, of the United States, and of independent Latin America. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

B. For the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in European history, by which is meant the history of Europe, continental, insular, or colonial, excluding continental French America and British America before 1783. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

III. The monograph must present subject matter of more than personal or local interest, and must, as regards its conclusions, be a distinct contribution to knowledge. Its statements must be accurate and the author in his treatment of the facts collected must show originality and power of interpretation.

IV. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism.

It must be presented in scientific form.

It must contain references to all authorities.

It must be accompanied by a critical bibliography. Should the bibliography be omitted or should it consist only of a list of titles without critical comments and valuations, the monograph will not be admitted to the competition.

V. The monograph should not exceed 100,000 words in length. The manuscript should be typewritten, and must be neat, correct, and in form ready for the printer.

[In the typewriting of essays competitors are urged to use a strong, rather heavy paper, to have text and notes alike double spaced, to number the notes consecutively for each chapter, and to insert each note in the text immediately after the line in which its index number occurs, separating the note from the text by lines above and below extending across the page. In abbreviating the titles of works cited care should be taken to make the abbreviations clear and consistent. The typographical style as to capitalization, punctuation, spelling, etc., of the volumes already published in the series of Prize Essays should be followed.]

VI. In addition to text, footnotes, and bibliography, the monograph must contain nothing except the name and address of the author and a short introduction setting forth the character of the material and the purpose of the work. After the award has been made the successful competitor may add such personal allusions as are customary in a printed work.

VII. In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and especially literary form. The successful monograph must be written in good English. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

VIII. The successful monograph shall be the property of the American Historical Association, which reserves to itself all rights of publication, translation, and sale, both in the United States and in foreign countries.

IX. The manuscript of the successful essay, when finally submitted for printing, must be in such form, typographically (see Rule V) and otherwise, as to require only a reasonable degree of editing in order to prepare it for the press. Such additional editorial work as may be necessary, including any copying of the manuscript, shall be at the expense of the author.

Galley and page proof will be sent to the author for revision; but, should changes be made by him exceeding in cost an aggregate of 10 cents per page of the completed book, such excess shall be borne by him, and the amount will be deducted from the prize.

An adequate index must be provided by the author.

X. The amount of the prize, minus such deductions as may be made under Rule IX, will be paid to the author upon the publication of the essay.

XI. The author shall be entitled to receive 10 bound copies of the printed volume, and to purchase further copies at the rate of \$1 per volume. Such unbound copies, with special title-page, as may be necessary for the fulfillment of thesis requirements, will be furnished at cost, but no copies of the volume will be furnished the author for private sale.

Address all correspondence relative to the Justin Winsor prize to Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, Ann Arbor, Mich., and all correspondence relative to the Herbert Baxter Adams prize to Prof. Charles D. Hazen, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following:

1896. Herman V. Ames, "The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

1900. William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina," with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke, "Anti-slavery sentiment before 1808."

1901. Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State rights," with honorable mention of M. Louise Greene, "The struggle for religious liberty in Connecticut."

1902. Charles McCarthy, "The Anti-Masonic Party," with honorable mention of W. Roy Smith, "South Carolina as a Royal Province."

1903. Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The American colonial charter; a study of its relation to English administration, chiefly after 1688."

1904. William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound controversy," with honorable mention of C. O. Paullin, "The Navy of the American Revolution."

1906. Annie Heloise Abel, "The history of events resulting in Indian consolidation west of the Mississippi River."

1908. Clarence Edwin Carter, "Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1765-1774," with honorable mention of Charles Henry Ambler, "Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861."

1910. Edward Raymond Turner, "The Negro in Pennsylvania—slavery, servitude, freedom, 1639–1861."

1912. Arthur Charles Cole, "The Whig Party in the South."

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to:

1905. David S. Muzzey. "The Spiritual Franciscans," with honorable mention of Eloise Ellery, "Jean Pierre Brissot."

1907. In equal division, Edward B. Krehbiel, "The interdict, its history and its operation, with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III," and William S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

1909. Wallace Notestein, "A history of witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718."

1911. Louise Fargo Brown, "The political activities of the Baptists and fifth monarchy men in England during the interregnum."

1913. Violet Barbour, "Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington."

The essays of Messrs. Muzzey, Krehbiel, Carter, Notestein, Turner, Cole, Miss Brown, and Miss Barbour have been published by the association in a series of separate volumes. The earlier Winsor prize essays were printed in the Annual Reports.

A subscription made by friends of the association interested in military history enables it to offer this year, for award in December, 1915, a prize of \$200 for the best essay in the military history of the United States. The conditions are defined in the following circular.

MILITARY HISTORY PRIZE COMMITTEE:

Arthur L. Conger (chairman), Army Service Schools.

Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Louisiana State University.

Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress.

Fred Morrow Fling, University of Nebraska.

Albert Bushnell Hart, Harvard University.

CONDITIONS OF AWARD.

A prize of \$200 will be awarded by the American Historical Association in 1915 for the best unpublished monograph in military history submitted to the committee before September 1, 1915.

I. The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation into some field of the military history of the United States. While the committee will receive any scholarly work on any American war, it would suggest that in the selection of topics for investigation preference be given to the Civil War. The monograph may deal with a campaign, a battle, a phase or aspect of a campaign or battle, with the fortunes of a corps or division during a battle, or with such subjects as the mobilization or organization of volunteer forces, the material, transportation, or food supply of an army, or strategy and military policy.

II. The monograph must be a distinct contribution to knowledge.

III. The monograph must (1) be based upon exhaustive research, (2) conform to the canons of historical criticism, (3) be presented in scientific form, (4) contain exact references to sources and secondary works, and (5) be accompanied by a full critical bibliography.

IV. The monograph should not exceed 100,000 words in length. The manuscript should be typewritten, and must be neat, correct, and in form ready for the printer.

(In the typewriting of essays competitors are urged to use a strong, rather heavy paper of letter size; to have both text and notes double spaced; to number the notes consecutively for each chapter, and to insert each note in the text immediately after the line in which its index number occurs, separating the note from the text by lines above and below extending across the page. In abbreviating the titles of works care should be taken to make the abbreviations clear, consistent, and self-explanatory.)

V. In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and literary form. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

VI. The successful monograph shall remain the property of the author. The American Historical Association assumes no responsibility for publication of the prize essay, but the committee has already received offers respecting its publication which will be communicated to the winner of the prize.

VII. The monograph must be accompanied by the name and address of the author, in a sealed envelope, and a short introduction setting forth the character of the material and the purpose of the work.

Address all correspondence relative to the military history prize to Capt. A. L. Conger, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

I. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

CHARLESTON AND COLUMBIA, S. C., DECEMBER 29-31, 1913.

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT CHARLESTON AND COLUMBIA.¹

Of 16 cities in which the American Historical Association has met since its earliest days in Saratoga, only one was as small as Charleston; but, as the president of the South Carolina Historical Society rightly said in his interesting address of welcome, it may easily be maintained that no American city of the size has been the scene of so many historical events of such importance. The remembrance of these events combined with the historical buildings and the picturesque domestic architecture of Charleston to make it an exceedingly interesting place in which to hold the annual meeting of an historical society; and the interest was heightened by the pains which the local committee of arrangements took, with most intelligent hospitality, to insure that members should see the sites and buildings that would chiefly appeal to them, and should know their history. Similar pains were taken by the association's hosts at Columbia, which also has its historic memories. Two days—Monday, December 29, and Tuesday, December 30—were spent in sessions at Charleston, the last day of the year in sessions at Columbia.

Though Charleston and Columbia are farther from the geographical center of the association's membership than any city in which meetings have previously been held, save New Orleans, the attendance was greater than might have been expected. There was a registration of 208 at Charleston, and a few more appeared at Columbia. Nearly a third of the attendance was of southern members. To the remainder a large element was contributed by the special train which came down from New York, bringing a party of 76. As in the similar case of the special train to New Orleans 10 years before, these had, besides the pleasure of seeing each other at greater leisure than is possible during the meetings, the opportunity for visits to interesting cities on the way—a forenoon at Richmond, an afternoon at Petersburg and its battle field, and on the return a day in Washington.

In any summing up of the pleasures of the meeting, members would certainly wish that the most especial thanks should be expressed to the two committees of local arrangements—that at Charleston, headed by Hon. Joseph W. Barnwell, and that at Columbia, of which Mr. B. F. Taylor was chairman—and to the committee on program,

¹ This account is, in the main, that printed in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1914.

under the chairmanship of Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, of Vanderbilt University.

In quality the program was excellent, in quantity somewhat excessive. Eleven "conferences," in 11 different fields, were laid down upon the program, besides the usual joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and two other general sessions. Such an arrangement meant three "conferences" carried on simultaneously each morning and three each afternoon. Of the 11 conferences, 5 were simple readings of papers, without time or without plan for discussion. The most lively discussions occurred in those conferences which were pedagogical in intention. Those which took place in the somewhat jejune conference of historical societies and in that of archivists suffered from the usual defect, that most participants rather described their own practices than entered on a broader consideration of the general themes; but this is because of that isolation of such workers which it is the very purpose of these conferences to correct.

Of these conferences, three took place on the first morning of the session—that on historical materials, that on the social and industrial aspects of modern history, and that on American religious history. In the first of these, presided over by Hon. Joseph W. Barnwell, president of the South Carolina Historical Society, the opening paper was by Mr. Worthington C. Ford of the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose theme was "Manuscripts and historical archives." The purport of his paper¹ was to call attention to the increasing accumulation of records of an administrative character, the tendency to save what is of only secondary value as historical material, and the evil effects of not having these records utilized at once by competent officials, especially fitted to digest and interpret them. The circumstances of administration have altered. The telegraph and newspaper have changed the character of general correspondence, so that the letter of to-day will be less interesting historically than the letter of a century ago. Much of state activity can be recorded in compressed form provided our civil service is of adequate quality, and the duplication and unnecessary accumulation which constitute our present embarrassment and danger can thus be avoided.

Mr. Charles Henry Hart, of Philadelphia, followed with a most interesting paper,² illustrated with lantern slides, on "Frauds in historical portraiture, or spurious portraits of historical personages." Mr. Hart claimed for his subject an importance and an expanse of field far beyond what is commonly supposed. Emphasizing the value of portraiture as a guide to the understanding of historical personalities, he showed, however, how frequently portraitures had been misnamed by "fraud, accident, and mistake," from the spurious por-

¹ Printed in the present volume.

² Printed *ibid*.

trait of Christ of the fifth century down. He dwelt chiefly upon portraits relating to America. Referring to the spurious portraits of Columbus, William Penn, Roger Williams, signers of the Declaration of Independence by wholesale, the Sully portrait of Patrick Henry, the hundred spurious portraits of Washington, and many others down to a Columbus in Chicago altered to President McKinley, he made a strong plea for thorough investigation and verification before acceptance of a counterfeit presentment as a true representation of the subject claimed for it.

Still another variety of historical material was discussed by Dr. Charles O. Paullin, of the department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in a paper¹ on "Materials for an atlas of the historical geography of the United States," which, as is known, that department is producing under his supervision. After speaking of the work already accomplished in this undertaking, Dr. Paullin gave the general headings of a proposed table of contents, and then described the maps and materials classified under each head. The general headings are physical geography, aborigines, early maps of America, routes of explorers and colonizers, boundaries and divisions, industrial and social maps, political maps, maps of cities, and military maps. The importance and labor of determining county boundary lines for the purposes of several of these varieties were dwelt upon, the preliminary steps involving compilation from the statutes of each State relative to county boundaries and the procuring of all available maps showing the lines, physical features, and local monuments to which the statutes refer. The insufficiency of the material relating to social and industrial history for the colonial period and the lack of uniformity in that presented for the period since censuses began were pointed out. Prof. Frederic L. Paxson, of Wisconsin, in discussion of Dr. Paullin's paper, spoke of the need for a complete series of outline county maps of the United States, since the constant classification of census and election statistics is by counties.

Mr. Barnwell, commenting on the several papers, called attention to the untrustworthiness of the census of 1870 in the Southern States.

The conference on the social and industrial aspects of modern history, presided over by Prof. James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, which met on the same morning, proved of interest to a very considerable number. The opening paper of the conference, by Dr. Walter P. Hall, of Princeton, "Social forces in English politics in the early nineteenth century,"² discussed the social philosophy which dominated England at the beginning of the century, and showed how the complete failure of this laissez-faire philosophy to

¹ Printed in the History Teacher's Magazine for March, 1914.

² Printed in the present volume.

ameliorate the evils incident upon the use of the factory system had evoked three new schools of thought—the Tory socialists, the trade-unionists, and the Owenites. The first of these succeeded in passing the factory acts, but was defeated in the new poor law; the trade-unionists did much to change the prevailing attitude toward the laissez-faire doctrine, but they soon narrowed their influence; while the followers of Robert Owen attempted to establish cooperative communities, a union of all the workers and labor exchanges, and failed in all three respects. The study of this early reaction against the laissez-faire philosophy not only helps us to understand the conditions of the nineteenth century but makes clear the source of many present-day social theories.

Dr. James Sullivan, of the Boys' High School, Brooklyn, followed with a paper on "Social and industrial history in colleges and schools," in which he dwelt on the lack of textbooks which adequately discuss this aspect of history. He emphasized the dryness of history to a student who finds his text but a collection of political or military facts which can not be correlated with his everyday life.

The discussion which ensued was opened by Prof. Herbert D. Foster, of Dartmouth, who agreed that social and industrial history must be taught, but argued that as yet there was no consensus of opinion as to what should be included in their domain. The answer to the question, "What are they?" would clear away much of the difficulty. Prof. Arthur I. Andrews, of Tufts College, cited various points in the usual course of teaching political history, such as the Crusades, the commercial endeavors of explorers and discoverers from the time of the Portuguese voyages, the French Revolution, and the revolt of the Dutch against Spain, as offering ample opportunity for somewhat extended work along social and industrial lines.

Miss Helen L. Young, of the New York Normal College, spoke of the necessity of building a framework of political history about which to group social factors. She also cited the lack of material in English for social studies of any country other than England as the greatest difficulty in such teaching.

Mr. J. Lynn Barnard, of the School of Pedagogy, reached the conclusion that the textbooks must be rewritten to answer social and economic questions rather than political ones, since our life to-day is chiefly concerned with the social and economic and therefore our interest is in those aspects of life in the past. Miss Mildred Thompson, of Vassar, also held that the emphasis in the writing and teaching of history must be shifted from the political to the social and industrial point of view. She stated her belief that the students' dislike of history was the result of mistaken emphasis and could be speedily overcome if the vital economic facts were but made more prominent. Dr. Frederic Duncalf, of the University of Illi-

nois, agreed in the main with this, but believed that already history was meeting the demands made on it for social and economic training.

Prof. Marshall S. Brown, of the University of New York, dwelt on the danger of allowing the pendulum to swing too far, and of overestimating the importance of economic history as much as it has been previously underestimated. The same view was maintained by Dr. Albert T. Olmstead, of the University of Missouri, whose belief was that historical thinking was best secured by training in political history.

Miss Katherine Wickers, of the Maury High School, Norfolk, Va., added a word on the necessity for the teaching of social and industrial history to the child in the grammar grades, to whom political history was of little value.

The consensus of opinion of the conference seemed to be that moderation of zeal for social and industrial studies would result in a wise balance between social, industrial, and political history.

In a conference on American religious history, held the same morning, Dr. J. F. Jameson, who presided, read the first paper, entitled "Reasons for studying American religious history." The reasons dwelt upon were more especially those which might appeal to laymen, partly because the conference consisted of lay teachers of history (the professional students of church history attending rather the sessions of the American Society of Church History at New York), and partly because of the exceptional extent to which the development of religious organizations in America has been in the hands of laymen. Reasons for the study of American religious history in elementary and high schools were considered, as well as those applicable to instruction in colleges and universities. Among the reasons cited, aside from those related to the importance of the subject, was its value as a means toward teaching fairness of mind.

Prof. Christopher B. Coleman, of Butler College, Indianapolis, followed with a suggestive paper on "Some salient features of American Christianity," a title justified by the development in the United States of a distinctive phase of Christianity marked by certain American characteristics. Among the influences which have produced these distinctive features of our religious life four were particularly noted—religious liberty, resulting in the voluntary system and in spontaneous development; the frontier, with its natural emphasis upon a partisan God and upon democracy; immigration, in so far as it has involved the transplanting of religious ideas and institutions from Europe; and climatic and geographic forces, which perhaps have given us a more variable, a less imaginative, and a less æsthetic type of Christianity than that of Europe. Among the more

salient features of American Christianity, attention was called to the conservatism of its theology, to its engrossment in practical problems and in organization, to the relative intensity of its religious interests, and to the evolution of new and even revolutionary interpretations of Christianity. Thus, Mormonism, with its literalism, materialistic monism, polygamy, and political activity, is largely the product of frontier conditions; while, on the other hand, Christian Science, with its denial of matter, its spiritualistic monism, its effort to eliminate pain and sickness, its emphasis upon the feminine element, is largely the product of an old, well-to-do community, with few external dangers and hardships, and with a numerical predominance of women over men.

In a paper on "Christianity and slavery in the American Colonies,"¹ Prof. Marcus W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, traced the development of the notion that the enslaving of infidels by Christians was justified on the ground that the former might be brought under the influence of Christianity. He showed that certain decisions of English courts, based on the principle that infidel negroes could be held as slaves in England, but when baptized and domiciled as inhabitants became free, led to the notion that in the American Colonies also a baptized slave could claim freedom; and that therefore, in order to encourage the Christianization of the negro, acts were passed denying that baptism of a slave conferred freedom. It was shown that masters generally, before 1730, opposed religious instruction of their slaves. Various causes, economic, political, and social, were mentioned. It was believed that such instruction would bring an increase in the cost of keeping slaves, that increased knowledge would make them less governable, and that more social privileges would be demanded. Other hindrances to Christianization of slaves were pointed out, such as lack of clergymen, ignorance on the part of the slaves, and acts passed to prevent them from assembling. The attitude of various religious denominations was discussed, respecting the holding of slaves by members, their conversion, baptism, and right to participate in church affairs. At the time of the Revolution perhaps less than 10 per cent had been even nominally Christianized.

Prof. Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, in a paper on the "Anglican outlook on the American Colonies in the early eighteenth century,"² said, in substance, the first decade of the eighteenth century was marked by the effort of the Anglican churchmen to strengthen the church in the colonies. For this work the active agent was the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which turned its energies both to the colonists and to the

¹ To be printed in the *American Historical Review*.

² *Ibid.*, October, 1914.

Indians. The missionaries were, however, prone to neglect the Indians for the more attractive work among the colonists. In their work the agents of the society often came into contact, sometimes into conflict, with the Puritans and the Quakers, both of whom they regarded as in need of religious teaching because of their neglect of the sacraments of the church. But the work of the church in the colonies was greatly hampered by the lack of a bishop in America, and the failure of the movement to establish an American episcopate was of vital political importance as depriving the colonies of a powerful conservative force.

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The paper by Prof. John S. Bassett, of Smith College, on the "Popular churches after the Revolution" related to the whole period from 1783 to 1811 and chiefly to the South. The Protestant Episcopal Church, though prosperous in the North, was, at the end of the Revolution, in a state of suspended animation in the South; meanwhile the popular churches gained a strong footing with the middle-class farmers. Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists were the leaders in the movement. The minor churches played the same rôle, yet acted locally. The Scotch-Irish and the Highlanders who settled in the South were stanch Presbyterians, and the Presbyterians of New Jersey and Philadelphia also sent missionaries to many southern communities. A few congregations of Baptists appeared on the coast very early. Somewhat later the Philadelphia Baptist Association sent missionaries to Virginia, and in 1756 a third Baptist movement appeared, inspired by leaders from New England. The Methodists had been growing rapidly throughout the South since 1764. The fervent character of the popular preaching in the South probably made an enduring impression on the thinking of the southern middle class.

Taken all together, the efforts made to interest a lay audience in American religious history, even though many things necessarily dwelt upon in such a presence are things already familiar to specialists, seems to have been distinctly successful.

The afternoon of the first day at Charleston was, like the morning, marked by three conferences—one on the relations of the United States and Mexico, the conference of those interested in the work of historical societies, and a third devoted to modern English history.

The conference upon the relations of the United States and Mexico was presided over by Dr. Justin H. Smith, who read a paper upon "Mexican feeling toward the United States at the beginning of 1846." To understand the matter, Mr. Smith said, it is essential, first of all, to realize the characteristics of the Mexicans, which he described, and the effects of experience, education, environment, and habits—for instance, of Spain's isolating policy. Our diplomatic intercourse with Mexico, which seemed likely for a number of

reasons to be cordial, began disastrously, and a series of diplomatic difficulties followed. We were believed to covet her territory, and the secession of Texas was attributed to atrocious greed on our part. Our claims, growing out of outrages against American citizens, increased the tension. For personal reasons Mexican politicians added to it. We were despised as dull-witted, spiritless, and in a military sense impotent; and it was believed that European interests would be a protection to Mexico. Almost all influences, therefore, at the beginning of 1846, tended toward hostility against the United States.

Prof. Eugene C. Barker read next a paper upon the "Relations between the United States and Mexico in the period from 1835 to 1837."¹ Anglo-Americans, he said, who emigrated to Texas between 1821 and 1835 broke no real ties with the United States and formed none with Mexico; accordingly they turned naturally to the United States for aid. The relations between those two countries centered around four considerations—the nonenforcement by the United States of its neutrality law, the claim of the United States to the Neches instead of the Sabine boundary, the occupation of Nacogdoches (Texas) by United States troops commanded by Gen. E. P. Gaines in the summer and fall of 1836, and the recognition of Texan independence. Mr. Barker pointed out that there were palpable violations of neutrality on the part of the United States and that the administration manifested only a lukewarm desire to enforce it and the local officials none at all; that the claim to the Neches boundary was absolutely groundless; that Gaines's occupation was not necessary on any account, although he was apparently honest in thinking so, and the administration seems to have wished him to go no further than the maintenance of absolute neutrality and the fulfillment of treaty obligations to Mexico. In recognizing Texan independence, however, the United States was reasonably deliberate, and acted in conformity with established precedent, although in all its correspondence with Mexico the State Department was unnecessarily curt and unsympathetic, which tended further to convince that Government of the insincerity of the United States.

The third paper in this conference was presented by Prof. R. M. McElroy, of Princeton University, and dealt with the relations of Jackson, Houston, and Tyler to the annexation of Texas. The central idea of the paper was that Andrew Jackson was the dominant force in the movement to "regain Texas." His motive was described, not as a desire to serve the interests of the slave-holding States, but as a determination to regain a territory which he believed to have been "wantonly and corruptly ceded from us." He firmly believed that George W. Erving, our minister to Spain, had, just

¹ Printed in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review for June, 1914.

before Jackson became President, negotiated with Spain a treaty recognizing the Rio Grande as the ancient limit of Louisiana, and that President Adams had interfered, closed the negotiations, and set our western boundary at the Sabine. So believing, Jackson held that the secret rejection of Erving's supposed treaty nullified the treaty which took its place. The latter half of the paper traced the history of Jackson's efforts to bring Texas back to the American Union. His view clearly was that Mexico never had any real claim to Texas, but that Texas was merely a bit of stolen property which the United States was at liberty to regain in any manner she might choose, a view which makes it easy to conceive of his sending Houston thither to create revolution, and doing so without conscious sacrifice of honesty. The paper also touched upon Jackson's influence with President Tyler.

It was followed by a paper by Mr. Edward H. Thompson, of Merida, Yucatan, dealing with the present relations between the United States and Mexico.

The tenth annual conference of historical societies and organizations of similar purpose was presided over by Dr. Thomas M. Owen, director of the department of archives and history in Alabama. The secretary of the conference, Dr. Solon J. Buck, made the usual report upon the progress of the historical societies of the country, as evidenced by the data which he had received in response to the annual circulars. The large increase in the provision of buildings for historical agencies in the United States, the organization of the Michigan Historical Commission and of State historical surveys in connection with the States of Illinois and Indiana were commented upon.

Dr. Dunbar Rowland, of Mississippi, read the report of the committee of seven on "Cooperation of historical societies and departments in the Mississippi Valley," conveying the report of Mr. W. G. Leland upon the catalogue of documents in the archives of Paris relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley, a compilation which is approaching completion, and may be expected to reach its conclusion in a few months.

The history of organized historical work in the lower South was made the first theme of the conference. Prof. Yates Snowden, of the University of South Carolina, gave a general survey of the history of the historical societies of that region, and Dr. Dunbar Rowland an account of the organization and work of the historical commissions and departments supported by the States. These papers were supplemented by remarks on the part of Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of Raleigh, on the work, acquisitions, and new installation of the North Carolina Historical Commission; by Prof. M. L. Bonham, jr., of Baton Rouge, on the history of the Louisiana Historical Society,

of the Louisiana Historical Association, and of the archives and historical commissions of that State; by Dr. Owen on the need of better supervision in the South of county and other local archives, to secure better making and keeping and installation of records, with further remarks on the historical museum and the collecting of portraits; by Mr. George S. Godard, State librarian of Connecticut; and others.

Finally, a paper on "Planning the publication work of historical agencies" was read by Prof. Clarence W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois.¹ He urged that the published work of historical societies and institutions should be so organized that successive volumes of documentary material edited in a scholarly manner should be brought forth for a number of years on a plan carefully matured and covering all the discoverable sources. He discussed the various categories embraced in such a comprehensive plan, disapproved strongly of all fortuitous volumes and miscellaneous collections and, indeed, of all forms of partial publication. Mr. Alvord's doctrine, applicable to Illinois and other States which stand at the beginning of documentary publication, was criticized by Mr. Worthington C. Ford as one that would not work well in the older States, where much has already been published, much comes to light from time to time, much can never be completed, so that publications can not always be made systematic, and there is a distinct field for miscellaneous volumes and those of fortuitous construction.

Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, while commending the high standards advocated by Dr. Alvord, pointed out that good work depended on ideals, money, and the man, and not all three can always be commanded. He adverted to the inconveniences produced to librarians, readers, and students by miscellaneous collections which defy treatment in accordance with subject matter, and advocated a certain measure of courage in breaking away from the stereotyped traditions of "collections."

The sixth of this busy day's conferences, devoted to modern English history, had as its *pièce de résistance* a single paper by Prof. A. L. Cross, of Michigan, on "Legal materials as sources for the study of modern English history."² His general thesis was that, while some good work has been done on certain phases of English legal history, the materials on the subject offer much opportunity for the study of the development of political thinking and of social and industrial conditions, furnishing sources of information which have been only inadequately exploited. These materials fall into three general groups. The first includes the reports of the common-law courts and of chancery, which incidentally throw much light on contemporary life and, particularly in the case of the charges

¹ Printed in the present volume.

² Printed in the American Historical Review for July, 1914.

and opinions of the judges, reflect current political views and enable the student to trace the evolution of judge-made law. Secondly, since the activities of the justices of the peace touch on almost every conceivable subject of local administration, an investigation of the records of quarter sessions promises a rich harvest, which thus far has been only incompletely gathered. Although a few of these records have been printed, the bulk of them still remain in manuscript. Finally, the manorial rolls and other kindred documents admirably supplement the records of the public local courts. Furthermore, they show that the judicial and administrative business of the private jurisdictions was more extensive and survived longer than was commonly supposed before Sidney and Beatrice Webb published their *English Local Government*, a work which not only is a vast storehouse of information but suggests many fertile fields for further inquiry.

In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper Prof. Carlton H. Hayes, of Columbia University, dwelt upon the fact that the great bulk of such material as this made a sense of relativity one of the most necessary qualifications for the student, who must also exercise care in dealing with these sources because of the class prejudices by which they are affected. Prof. Charles H. McIlwain, of Harvard, was not disposed to think that the judges always favored the gentry, pointing out the fact that in the Tudor period they frequently supported the lower classes. He, too, commented on the vast amount of material, both printed and unprinted, and spoke of the necessity of studying it as a whole, not for detached illustrations. Prof. James T. Baldwin, of Vassar, drew upon his experiences to point out the difficulties in using legal material—its discouraging volume, and the archaic form and technical character of the documents. While a collaboration in the work of publication was greatly to be desired, there was still, he believed, an opportunity for individual students dealing with subjects of limited scope to achieve excellent results. Prof. Cross closed the discussion with a few remarks, in which he agreed with Prof. McIlwain that the judges were frequently in sympathy with the lower classes.

At the general public session of the whole society, held in the evening in Hibernian Hall, a felicitous address of welcome was made by Hon. Joseph W. Barnwell, as president of the South Carolina Historical Society. He touched upon the leading points in the history of Charleston with an eloquence which made all who heard him sensible of the dramatic quality of the events, and of the economic and social meaning of the conditions which he described. The presidential address of Prof. Dunning,¹ which then followed, was heard with manifest appreciation and delight by a large audience of

¹ "Truth in History," printed in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1914.

the Charleston public and of the members of the association. Assuming that the province of history is to ascertain and present in their causal sequences such phenomena of the past as exerted an unmistakable influence on the development of men in social and political life, he showed how the absorbing and relentless pursuit of the objective fact had during the past generation tended unduly to limit regard for the opinion of what men believed to be true as compared with what was true. The phenomena of social life so far as determined by human will are due to conditions as they appear to contemporaries, not to conditions as revealed to the historian centuries later. Early Roman history and early Jewish history are now known to have proceeded, in fact, in a manner very different from what was anciently supposed; but these ancient suppositions, entertained for ages, were the source of ideas which were influential throughout long periods of human history. The habit of exaggerating the importance of new truths in history leads to many dangers, which may be corrected by conducting the study of causal sequences with a better appreciation of the influence of ideas and with more humility as to the importance of the newest discoveries.

On the second morning the vigorous sons and daughters of history, unwearied by six conferences and an evening session, proceeded bravely to a fresh day's program embracing three morning conferences, a trip to Fort Sumter, the annual business meeting, and an evening session. The three conferences displayed upon the morning's menu related, respectively, to the teaching of history, colonial commerce, and military history.

In the conference on the teaching of history Prof. J. G. de Rouillac Hamilton presided. Prof. Nathaniel W. Stephenson, of the College of Charleston, read the first paper of the conference on the "Place of history in the curriculum."¹ He set for himself two questions, Why is history in the curriculum? and What work is it to do there? We find that our own historical interests fall into three classes—a vivid interest in the story of history, in the triumphs of man over circumstances; an interest in tracing and analyzing those events of the past that shall explain the present; and, lastly, the pleasure of research. The first of these we possess in early childhood, and it should form the touchstone of the history teaching of the grammar grades; with care the analytic faculty should be brought into play in the high school, research should be left for later years; and in the teaching of history, from the kindergarten to the university, the one thing needful is imagination.

Prof. Henry Johnson, of Teacher's College, followed with a paper on "Making the past real," in which he dwelt upon the use of pictures and illustrative material and urged the use of museums and

¹ Printed in the present volume.

of existing buildings which would actually connect the past and the present. He also advised intensive work on the locality in which the child lives as an aid in vitalizing his history.

Prof. Beverley W. Bond, jr., of Purdue University, discussed the work in history of the Summer School of the South at Knoxville as showing the possibilities of summer-school work. In former years the work has consisted of lectures and conferences; this year there was added a history exhibit, which included pictures, maps, notebooks, and atlases, as well as textbooks, source books, and reference books. It is intended in future years to add practical work with the reflectoscope, the stereoscope, and the stereopticon.

In the discussion which followed Prof. Frederic L. Paxson, without commenting on the papers which had been read, set forth the view that the work of the high schools must be limited and standardized. Miss Mary S. Smith contrasted southern problems resulting from a rural population, the small numbers of the foreign-born, the necessity of a double school system, with the conditions in such a State as Massachusetts. The great need of the southern schools is good teachers. This Prof. Milledge L. Bonham also emphasized, urging that the university must develop the thinking teacher. Universities must put great emphasis on subject matter before students are ready to consider method. Prof. St. George L. Sioussat placed much of the responsibility for poor teaching in the high schools at the door of the colleges, since their requirements varied widely. The first step in standardizing teaching must be to standardize college entrance requirements. Prof. Herbert D. Foster thought that agitation toward these ends might be taken up by the various teachers' associations. Mr. Edward C. Page, of the State Normal School of DeKalb, Ill., cited as a successful practical experiment a museum conducted in that normal school. Prof. Arthur I. Andrews cited the collections of the New England History Teachers' Association now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and invited members of the association to visit it.

The conference on colonial commerce was marked by but one main paper, that of Prof. Charles M. Andrews on that general theme.¹ The paper opened with remarks upon the necessity of maintaining in colonial history a point of view not derived from subsequent events. A proper treatment of the fundamental and normal characteristics of our first period would bring into the foreground the total history of colonial commerce as a theme of equal importance with the political and constitutional aspects of our early history. The starting-point should be a proper presentation of the colonial policy of Great Britain, of which a thorough comprehension should be obtained, as well as of the ideas underlying this policy, of the institutions and systems

¹ Printed in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1914.

to which it gave rise, and of its relations to the legal and financial history of the colonies. As a second part of his general subject, Prof. Andrews discussed commerce as a dominant interest of the colonists themselves, apart from its connection with the British policy, but without limitation to the 13 colonies, examining at length four subjects; staple products, shipping, trade routes, and markets, regarding which as yet but little had been written by historical scholars, though ample material existed for their examination.

Prof. O. M. Dickerson, of the State Normal School, Winona, Minn., discussed Prof. Andrews's paper at some length. While the program of investigation proposed by Prof. Andrews might, he thought, change the whole organization of colonial history, he could not admit that commercialism dominated our colonial middle ages any more completely than it does to-day. For instance, 75 per cent of the vetoes of colonial laws must be explained on other grounds. In addition to the organizing principles suggested by Prof. Andrews—namely, the royal prerogative and commerce—he thought that at least three others should be recognized—the growth of local self-government, the westward movement, and the development of imperial interests. Mr. Frank W. Pitman, of Yale University, adverted to the importance of the history of a developing demand in Europe for sugar, tobacco, and other colonial products, pointing out that foreign markets were of vital importance to the colonies. Dr. Clarence P. Gould, of Wooster University, discussed the economic grouping of colonial lands as manifested in the contraction or expansion of the tobacco belt, concurrent with the variations in the price of foodstuffs and tobacco.

In the conference on military history, Mr. Theodore D. Jervey, of Charleston, read a paper on "Charleston during the Civil War,"¹ concerning himself principally, with an account of blockade running and its practical results. Not only was blockade running conducted on an extensive scale through the port of Charleston in the earlier years of the war, but, contrary to commonly accepted opinion, even to the closing of the war the business carried on through Charleston was greater, it appears, than through any other Confederate port. The evidence also indicates that the capital engaged in the business was largely Carolinian and not English, as has been supposed. Mr. Jervey presented many facts of interest concerning individual firms and vessels engaged in the traffic.

The second paper in this conference was a careful and interesting account by Capt. Oliver Spaulding, United States Army, of the bombardment of Fort Sumter.² The situation in Charleston Harbor in 1860, the condition of Fort Moultrie and the Federal garrison there, the transfer to Sumter and the reasons for it, the relief expeditions

¹ Printed in the present volume.

² Printed *ibid.*

and their failure, the preparations for the siege, and, finally, the bombardment and the surrender, were all set forth with admirable clearness. The Confederate preparations for the siege were also described, though less minutely. Naturally Capt. Spaulding treated the subject largely from a technically military point of view.

In a paper on the teaching of military history in the Army, by Capt. Arthur L. Conger, United States Army, the place of military history in general history, and the importance of critical historical study to professional military men, especially in developing capacity for leadership, were briefly discussed. The elementary courses in history at West Point, the graduate work at the Army Service Schools, at Fort Leavenworth, and such historical study as is conducted at the Army War College, at Washington, were described in considerable detail, particularly the seminary research work conducted at Fort Leavenworth. The paper concluded with a statement of the unsatisfactory nature of the editing of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the Civil War.

At the close of this paper the committee on military history presented a report commending the Fort Leavenworth methods and recommending the adoption of similar work at the Army War College, the encouragement of seminary work in military history at the universities, and, in case of the establishment of an historical section of the general staff, the cooperation of military and civilian historians.

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, addressed the conference on the unsatisfactory provision now existing for the naval archives of the United States, and on the desire of the two military departments of the Government, in the editing of the military records of the Revolution, to produce a publication marked by all possible excellences of preparation and editing.

Reserving to a later point in this article an account of the business meeting, to which the latter part of Tuesday afternoon was devoted, we may pass to the second of the general or public evening sessions. Illness prevented Hon. H. A. M. Smith, judge of the United States district court, from reading his promised paper on the "Psychology of historical research," and the first paper of the evening was one in which Dr. Edmund C. Burnett, of the department of historical research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, gave a history of the committee of the States appointed by the Continental Congress to oversee the continental business during the summer of 1784.¹ Though provided for by the Articles of Confederation, the committee of the States had not hitherto been called into being, and as the experiment proved to be a failure, partly because of jealousies and partly because of indifference, it was never

¹ Printed *ibid.*

tried again. Its appointment was desired by Jefferson and others for the purpose of preserving a visible Federal head during the adjournment. While it largely failed to accomplish its immediate purpose or anything else of importance and soon disintegrated, nevertheless its very failure was of value because it emphasized the need of a better Constitution. The history of the committee given by Dr. Burnett was mainly drawn from the letters of the delegates to Congress which the Carnegie Institution is assembling and will ultimately publish with a view to supplementing the insufficient knowledge of the proceedings of Congress which may be obtained from the journals.

Prof. Wilbur H. Siebert, of the Ohio State University, followed with a paper entitled, "What became of the Loyalists at the close of the Revolution?"¹ He told from original investigations the story of the organized Loyalist bands, of the border rescuing expeditions and migrations which by 1791 had increased the English population of Lower Canada to 20,000 and that of Upper Canada to 25,000, of the refugees in London and Halifax, of the short-lived Loyalist colony on the Penobscot, and of the foundation of New Brunswick. From the southern cities Charleston and Savannah the Loyalists found asylum in the West Indies, Bermuda, and the Floridas. Many of those who had taken refuge in the Floridas poured into the Bahamas when the Floridas passed to Spain, increasing the population of those islands by several thousand. From both northern and southern ports about 2,000 refugees probably were received in England.

In a paper of distinctively Carolinian subject, the "Return of John C. Calhoun to the Senate in 1845,"² Prof. James E. Walmsley, of Winthrop College, after sketching briefly the state of politics in the period immediately preceding, presented a letter written by Calhoun to Maj. Burt on September 17, 1845. Calhoun had retired from the Senate in 1842. In 1844 he had been defeated in respect to the presidential nomination, largely through the influence of Thomas Ritchie and Robert J. Walker. In the spring of 1844 he entered Tyler's Cabinet, but was not retained by Polk, and seems at that time to have desired to retire from politics. But the pressure of his friends and his own alarm at the possible dissolution of the Union induced him to consider reentering the Senate. This is the point of view that is made prominent in the letter mentioned above.

The last of the papers read at Charleston was that of Prof. Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, entitled, "The creative forces in westward expansion."³ The westward movement,

¹ To be printed in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review.

² Printed in the present volume.

³ Printed in the American Historical Review for October, 1914.

he said, resulted from two forces, of which the former found expression in organizations of men of wealth designed to explore, colonize, and develop the western wilderness, while the other arose from the instinct of the hunter and explorer and found incarnation in the frontier backwoodsman. He then proceeded to show, from a research into the careers of Daniel Boone and Richard Henderson, the coordination of these two elements in the westward expansion. From the records of Rowan County, N. C., was shown the relationship between these two—Boone, impoverished by many lawsuits, turning for assistance to Henderson, an attorney of that county, Henderson organizing for purposes of exploration the company first called "Richard Henderson & Co.," later the Louisa, and then the Transylvania Co. In 1764 Boone made his first exploration in Kentucky, hunting and trapping on his own account, and prospecting and exploring on behalf of Henderson's land company. In 1769, after a conference at Salisbury of Boone, Henderson, and other Kentucky explorers, Boone entered on his explorations of 1769–1771, the main object of which was really to recruit his shattered fortunes by acting as scout and confidential agent of Henderson and his company in the examination of lands in Tennessee and Kentucky.

In Columbia the next morning occurred the usual joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, presided over by Prof. James A. James as president of the latter body, and opened with an address of welcome by the mayor of Columbia, Hon. Wade Hampton Gibbes. Three papers were read. The first, by Prof. Isaac J. Cox, of Cincinnati, dealt with the relation between Gen. Wilkinson and Gov. Folch.¹ The paper was based on material recently discovered in the Spanish and Mexican archives. Beginning with a secret interview between Wilkinson and Folch in 1804, the writer showed how Wilkinson secured the renewal of his pension from Spain by promising to assist the Spanish authorities to make the transfer of Louisiana useless by informing them of the future plans of the American Government. He traced the processes by which during the next three years Wilkinson plotted alternately for and against the interests of both nations, with self-seeking so treacherous that finally no one but Jefferson seemed to trust him, the climax being reached by Jefferson's commissioning him in 1809 as his envoy to the captain general in Cuba and to Gov. Folch to propose an alliance to which Spanish America, Brazil, and the United States, and even Great Britain should be parties.

The second paper was by Prof. Clarence E. Carter, of Miami University, on "Some aspects of British policy in West Florida,"² mainly relating to the attempts to establish settlements in the region added

¹ Printed in the *American Historical Review* for July, 1914.

² To be printed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

to that province by the change of boundary, from 31° N. latitude to the Yazoo, effected in 1764. The narrative tended to exhibit the Government's management of this province as marked by the same indecision and the same lack of insight and vision which so vitiated its efforts at a solution of the general problem of imperial organization.

Dr. Arthur C. Cole's paper on the "South and the right of secession in the early fifties,"¹ was occupied chiefly with the alignment of parties on the question of the right of secession, as that question was raised in the local contests in the Southern States just before and just after the compromise of 1850. The Whigs and Democrats reversed the ground occupied in 1832. The Whigs were fairly well united in the denial of any right of secession, but asserted the inalienable right of revolution as an ultimate remedy. The victory of the Union Party in the lower South in the elections of 1851 did not mean the defeat of the doctrine of secession, but was due to divisions among the Democrats.

The two conferences which marked the afternoon and with which the sessions of the association were concluded had each, because of local circumstances, to be crowded into a single hour. The conference of archivists, presided over by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, chairman of the Public Archives Commission, was almost fatally compressed, so far as discussion was concerned.² The chairman stated that the commission expected to append to its annual report for 1913 reports on the archives of California and Wyoming, and a list of reports and representations of the board of trade to the King in Council, Parliament, secretary of state, etc., and that preliminary arrangements had been made for reports on the archives of South Carolina and Vermont. Specimens of the commission's proposed Primer of Archival Economy for the Use of American Archivists were presented in the form of two tentative chapters; the first, on archives, by Prof. Charles M. Andrews, and the fifth, on fixtures, fittings, and furniture, by Mr. Paltsits; but there was no time for discussing them. Some remarks were made on the present status of the movement for a national archive building in Washington.

Dr. Solon J. Buck presented a paper on the "Advantages and disadvantages of centralizing local archives at the State capital." His belief was that, with regard to many large classes of local material, not much needed for immediate purposes of local business, the interests of history were best served by their removal to a central depository, where trained archivists and systematic arrangements were more likely to be provided. The paper was discussed by Mr. Connor, Mr. Salley, Dr. Owen, and Dr. Rowland, custodians of archives in North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi, respectively, and by others.

¹ To be printed in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review.

² A fuller report of this conference will be found below in the present volume.

The conference by formal resolution gave expression to its hope that the State of South Carolina would go forward rapidly in the work of publishing the archival materials for the earlier history of the State.

The conference on ancient history, presided over by Prof. Lewis P. Chamberlayne, of the University of South Carolina, had papers by Dr. Ralph V. D. Magoffin, of Johns Hopkins University, on the "Modern making of ancient history;" by Dr. Frank B. Marsh, of the University of Texas, on the "Problem of provincial administration under the Roman Republic";¹ and by Dr. Richard F. Scholz, of the University of California, on the "Antecedents of the Holy Roman Empire."

Mr. Magoffin's paper passed in rapid review a number of the newer sciences, auxiliary to the researches of the student of ancient history, and then gave more in detail, from both published and unpublished material, a variety of instances illustrating the value which numismatics, epigraphy, and archaeology have for that student.

The problem of provincial administration under the Roman Republic, as stated by Dr. Marsh, lay in the difficulty of reconciling a foreign policy resulting in annexations with the strong reluctance of the senate to enlarge its own numbers or the general machinery of government. He showed how this reluctance checked Roman expansion in the period before the conquest of 146 B. C., and again how at a later period, the half century preceding 63 B. C., when new annexations had exhausted the new governors at the senate's disposal, even under the system of promagistrates, that body again became opposed to a policy of imperial expansion.

The effort of Dr. Scholz's paper was to trace the antecedents of the medieval universal state from the monarchy of the first world king and god king, Alexander, with its alliance of altar and throne, through the development of cults of Hellenistic god kings, organized deification at Rome, the Messianic ideal, and the political-religious empire of Augustus.

Prof. Olmstead, of Missouri, remarked on the need of paying due regard to the history of the subject peoples.

It remains to describe briefly the annual business meeting of the association, held on the afternoon of the second day at Charleston, with President Dunning in the chair.² The report of the secretary showed a total membership of 2,843. The treasurer reported net disbursements of \$9,893, with net receipts of \$10,261. The total assets of the association were \$27,283, a slight gain over the preceding year. The report of the executive council described steps taken toward

¹ Printed *ibid.*

² The formal minutes of the meeting are presented in full below.

additional promotion of historical research, the prospective establishment of a headquarters for members of the association engaged in work in the archives and libraries in London, the establishment of a standing committee upon the study of the military history of the United States, and the offer of \$200 as a prize, to be awarded in December, 1915, for the best essay in military history submitted in that year. The association accepted the offer and appointed a committee of award. Upon recommendation by the council, it was voted that the meeting of December, 1915, be held in Washington; that of December, 1914, is to be held in Chicago. Some preparations were announced for the additional meeting which is to be held in California in the summer of 1915, Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig being made chairman of the committee on local arrangements and Prof. Ephraim D. Adams of the committee on program. The budget for 1914 was also presented. The council announced the reelection of J. F. Jameson as a member of the board of editors of the *American Historical Review*, he being the member whose six-year term expired at the end of the year 1913.

The report of the Pacific coast branch was offered by Prof. Edmond S. Meany, who gave a brief account of the recent meetings of that branch at Los Angeles and Seattle. Brief reports were presented on behalf of the historical manuscripts commission by its chairman, Mr. Worthington C. Ford, and on behalf of the public archives commission by its chairman, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits. The substance of the latter report has been mentioned above. The committee on publications reported especially as to the series of prize essays, which is in a fair way to sustain itself. The report of the board of editors of the *American Historical Review*, presented by its chairman, Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, related chiefly to its new circular to reviewers. Prof. Henry Johnson, for the advisory board of the *History Teacher's Magazine*, reported gratifying progress of that journal in public favor. The committee on bibliography announced that the execution of the proposed bibliography of American travels is now assured, Dr. Bernard C. Steiner having undertaken to be its editor. Reports were also made on behalf of the committee on a bibliography of modern English history by Prof. A. L. Cross, a member of that committee; by Dr. J. F. Jameson, as editor of the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History*; and on behalf of the general committee by Prof. Frederic L. Paxson, chairman. The chairman of the Herbert Baxter Adams prize committee, Prof. Burr, announced that the committee had awarded the prize to Miss Violet Barbour for an essay entitled "Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington."

The report of the committee on nominations appointed at the last annual meeting was read, in the absence of its chairman, Prof.

William MacDonald, by Prof. C. W. Alvord, a member of the committee. The committee presented the following nominations for officers and members of the council for the year 1914, and all were unanimously elected by the association: President, Andrew C. McLaughlin; first vice president, H. Morse Stephens; second vice president, George L. Burr; secretary, Waldo G. Leland; treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen; secretary of the council, Evarts B. Greene; curator, A. Howard Clark; elective members of the executive council, Herman V. Ames, Dana C. Munro, Archibald C. Coolidge, John M. Vincent, Frederic Bancroft, and Charles H. Haskins. A vote expressing appreciation of the disinterested and efficient manner in which Prof. Haskins had for a long period of years—1900 to 1914—conducted the difficult and laborious office of secretary of the council was passed by the association in view of his retirement from that position.

Remarks by Dr. Dunbar Rowland, of Mississippi, on the methods by which nominations to office in the association were effected, led to an amicable discussion of the subject, at the end of which the new committee on nominations, about to be appointed for 1914, was charged to consider and report on means for better eliciting the general opinion.¹ The list of appointments to standing committees made by the council was then read, and the association adjourned.

**PROGRAM OF THE TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN CHARLESTON
AND COLUMBIA, DECEMBER 29-31, 1913.**

Monday, December 29 (Charleston).

9 a. m.: The New Charleston Hotel. Meeting of the executive council of the American Historical Association.

10 a. m.: Conferences. The Citadel.

Historical materials. Chairman, Joseph W. Barnwell, president of the South Carolina Historical Society. "Manuscripts and historical archives," Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society. "Frauds in historical portraiture, or spurious portraits of historical personages," Charles Henry Hart, Philadelphia. "Materials for an atlas of the historical geography of the United States," C. O. Paullin, Carnegie Institution of Washington. Discussion of Dr. Paullin's paper, Frederic L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin.

Social and industrial aspects of modern history. Chairman, James T. Shotwell, Columbia University. "Social forces in English politics in the early nineteenth century," Walter P. Hall, Princeton University. "Social and industrial history in colleges and schools," James Sullivan, Boys' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. Discussion on the treatment of social and industrial history in colleges and schools, led by W. W. Davis, University of Kansas; Frederic Duncalf, University of Illinois; J. Lynn Barnard, School of Pedagogy, Philadelphia; A. I. Andrews, Tufts College; Helen L. Young, Normal College, New York.

¹ Further remarks upon the matter by Dr. Rowland, Prof. William MacDonald, Prof. Sidney B. Fay, Prof. John H. Latané, and Dr. J. F. Jameson may be found in *The Nation* of Jan. 22, 29, Feb. 5, 26, and Mar. 19, and in the *American Historical Review*, XIX, 488-490.

American religious history. Chairman, J. F. Jameson, Carnegie Institution of Washington. "Reasons for studying American religious history," J. F. Jameson. "Some salient features of American Christianity," C. B. Coleman, Butler College, Indianapolis. "Christianity and slavery in the American colonies," M. W. Jernegan, University of Chicago. "The Anglican outlook on the American colonies in the early eighteenth century," E. B. Greene, University of Illinois. "The development of popular churches after the Revolution," J. S. Bassett, Smith College.

2 p. m.: Conferences. The Citadel.

The relations of the United States and Mexico. Chairman, Justin H. Smith, Boston, Mass. "Popular sentiment in Mexico toward the United States before the War of 1846-1848," Justin H. Smith. "The United States and Mexico, 1835-1837," Eugene C. Barker, University of Texas. "Jackson, Houston, Tyler, and the annexation of Texas," R. M. McElroy, Princeton University. "The relations of Mexico and the United States," Edward H. Thompson, Merida, Yucatan.

Historical societies. Chairman, Thomas M. Owen, department of archives and history of Alabama. Introductory remarks by the chairman. Report of the secretary, Solon J. Buck, University of Illinois. Reports of committee on cooperation of historical departments and societies, Dunbar Rowland, Mississippi department of archives and history. "Historical work in the Lower South": (a) Historical societies, Yates Snowden, University of South Carolina; (b) historical commissions and departments, Dunbar Rowland, department of archives and history, Mississippi. Discussion led by R. D. W. Connor, the chairman, and M. L. Bonham, jr., Baton Rouge, La. "Planning the publication work of historical agencies," C. W. Alvord, University of Illinois. Discussion led by B. F. Shambaugh, Iowa City; Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society; and Victor H. Paltsits, New York City.

Modern English history. Chairman, Arthur Lyon Cross, University of Michigan. "Legal materials as sources for modern English history," Arthur Lyon Cross. Discussion by W. T. Laprade, Trinity College, Durham, N. C.; Carlton Hayes, Columbia University; C. F. McIlwain, Harvard University; James F. Baldwin, Vassar College.

4 to 6 p. m.: Reception tendered by the South Carolina Historical Society at the Gibbes Art Building. Exhibit of historical materials.

8 p. m.: Hibernian Hall. Address of welcome, Joseph W. Barnwell, president of the South Carolina Historical Society. Presidential address, "Truth in history," Wm. A. Dunning, Columbia University, president of the American Historical Association.

Tuesday, December 30 (Charleston).

9 a. m.: Meetings of committees (at the call of the chairmen).

9.30 a. m.: Conferences. The Citadel.

The teaching of history. Chairman, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, University of North Carolina. "The place of history in the curriculum," N. W. Stephenson, College of Charleston. "Making the past real," Henry Johnson, Teacher's College, Columbia University. "Practical work in methods in summer sessions," Beverly W. Bond, jr., Purdue University. Discussion led by A. E. McKinley, editor History Teacher's Magazine, Philadelphia; Mary Shannon Smith, Meredith College; and M. L. Bonham, jr., Louisiana State University.

Colonial commerce. Chairman, Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania. "Colonial commerce," Charles M. Andrews, Yale University. Discussion by O. M. Dickerson, State Normal School, Winona, Minn.; W. T. Root,

University of Wisconsin; Frank W. Pitman, Yale University; Stewart L. Mims, Yale University.

Military history. Chairman, R. M. Johnston, Harvard University. "Charleston during the Civil War," Theodore D. Jervey, Charleston, S. C. "The bombardment of Fort Sumter," Capt. Oliver Spaulding, Fourth United States Field Artillery. "The teaching of military history in the United States Army," Capt. A. L. Conger, United States Army. Report of the committee on military history.

1.30 to 4.30 p. m.: Trip by boat to Fort Sumter.

4.30 p. m.: The Citadel. Annual business meeting.

Report of the secretary, Waldo G. Leland.

Report of the treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen.

Report of the auditing committee.

Report of the secretary of the council, Charles H. Haskins.

Report of the Pacific coast branch.

Report of the historical manuscripts commission, Worthington C. Ford, chairman.

Report of the public archives commission, Victor H. Paltsits, chairman.

Report of the committee on publications, Max Farrand, chairman.

Report of the board of editors of the American Historical Review, Andrew C. McLaughlin, chairman.

Report of the advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine, Henry Johnson, chairman.

Report of the committee on bibliography, E. C. Richardson, chairman.

Report of the committee on a bibliography of modern English history, Edward P. Cheyney, chairman.

Report of the editor of reprints of Original Narratives of Early American History, J. Franklin Jameson.

Report of the general committee, Frederic L. Paxson, chairman.

Report of the committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools, Dana C. Munro, chairman.

Report of the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, with announcement of award for 1913, George L. Burr, chairman.

Announcement of budget for 1914.

Report of the committee on nominations, William MacDonald, chairman.

Election of officers for 1914.

Announcement of appointments to committees for 1914.

8 p. m.: Hibernian Hall.

American history. "The committee of the States, 1784," E. C. Burnett, Carnegie Institution of Washington. "What became of the Southern Loyalists at the close of the Revolution?" W. H. Siebert, Ohio State University. "The return of John C. Calhoun to the Senate in 1845," James Elliott Walmsley, Winthrop Normal and Industrial College, Rock Hill, S. C. "The creative forces in westward expansion," Archibald Henderson, University of North Carolina.

Wednesday, December 31 (Columbia).

10 a. m.: American history. Jefferson Hotel.

Joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Chairman, J. A. James, Northwestern University, president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Address of welcome, Hon. Wade Hampton Gibbes, mayor of Columbia. "The relation between Gen. Wilkinson and Gov. Folch," I. J. Cox, University of Cincinnati. "Some aspects of British policy in West Florida," C. E. Carter, Miami University. "The South and the right of secession in the early fifties," A. C. Cole, University of Illinois.

1 p. m.: Luncheon. Jefferson Hotel.

2 p. m.: Conferences. Jefferson Hotel.

Archivists. Chairman Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York City. Annual report of the public archives commission. "Archives" (being Chapter I of a proposed "Primer of archival economy for the use of American archivists"), Charles M. Andrews, Yale University, member of the commission; discussion. "Fixtures, fittings, and furniture" (being Chapter V of a proposed primer), Victor Hugo Paltsits, chairman of the commission; discussion. "Present status in regard to a national archive building," J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution of Washington. "Local archives: Should they be centralized at the State capital? Advantages and disadvantages of such a centralization," Solon J. Buck, University of Illinois; discussion, led by R. D. W. Connor, president of the North Carolina Historical Commission; Dunbar Rowland, director of the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi; A. S. Salley, jr., secretary of the South Carolina Historical Commission; Thomas W. Owen, director of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama.

Ancient history. Chairman, Lewis Parke Chamberlayne, University of South Carolina. "The modern making of ancient history," Ralph V. D. Magoffin, Johns Hopkins University. "Some phases of provincial administration under the Roman Republic," F. B. Marsh, University of Texas. "The antecedents of the Holy Roman Empire," R. F. Scholz, University of California. Discussion, led by A. T. Olmstead, University of Missouri.

4 p. m.: Automobile tour of Columbia.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1913.

The annual business meeting of the American Historical Association was held in the Chapel of the Citadel in Charleston, S. C., on Tuesday, December 30, 1913, at 4.30 p. m., President W. A. Dunning in the chair.

The report of the secretary, Mr. W. G. Leland, was read, and showed a total membership on December 22, 1913, of 2,843, as against 2,846 on December 21, 1912.

The report of the treasurer, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, was read and accepted. It showed the total receipts for the year to have been \$15,496.53; the total expenditures, \$12,602.29, leaving a cash balance on hand of \$2,894.24; the total assets of the association, \$27,283.12, an increase during the year of \$27.55. A communication from the Audit Co., of New York, certified duly to the treasurer's report.

The report of the secretary of the council, Prof. C. H. Haskins, showed that the council had held two meetings during the past year; had received reports from all the standing committees and commissions of the association, and considered various matters of business. A committee of the council had been engaged in considering methods of promoting historical research by the formation of a research fund and by dissemination of information regarding funds already available in the United States for the purpose. The council had also considered methods of promoting the study of military history in the United States, had instituted a standing committee upon the subject, and had received an offer of \$200 for the award in December, 1915, of a prize for the best essay in military history submitted in that year. Proposals had also been before the council for establishing some sort of headquarters for Americans working on the historical materials in London and Paris, and a committee had been appointed with power to make arrangements. In preparation for the meeting in California in the summer of 1915, Prof. E. D. Adams had been appointed chair-

man of the committee on the program for that occasion, and Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig chairman of the committee on local arrangements. With a view to the selection of a proper date, the latter committee had been authorized to send out a post-card inquiry as to preferences. The report of the secretary of the council was ordered to be accepted.

With reference to the meeting of December, 1915, and the meeting of 1916 the council recommended (1) that the meeting of December, 1915, be held in Washington; (2) that for the meeting of 1916 the association meet in Cincinnati in response to an invitation received from the University of Cincinnati and the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, supported by letters from various institutions of learning in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and West Virginia.

It was moved and voted that the meeting of December, 1915, be held in Washington. No action was taken on the recommendation of the council with respect to 1916.

Upon the recommendation of the council the prize of \$200 for an essay on military history was accepted and the appointment of a committee of award was authorized. It was voted that the thanks of the association be expressed to the donors of the gift.

The acting secretary read on behalf of the council the following memorandum, which had been voted by it and ordered to be spread upon its minutes:

Upon the retirement of Prof. Charles H. Haskins from the office of secretary to the council, which, under its present designation or that of corresponding secretary, he has held from the institution of the latter office in 1900 to the present time, the executive council of the American Historical Association wish to put on record an expression of their admiration for the manner in which he has conducted this difficult office, and of their appreciation of and gratitude for the devotion with which he has incurred the heavy labors which it involves. The council is deeply sensible not only of the extraordinary efficiency with which he has performed all the duties of his office, but also of the disinterested and impartial spirit, the constant and single regard to the interests of the association, which he has manifested.

The following resolution, presented by the council, was adopted by vote of the association:

The American Historical Association, through its president and executive council, desires to express its grateful recognition of the abounding hospitality extended by its southern hosts throughout its annual meeting held at Charleston and Columbia. They have felt the charm of the people and their representatives, they have enjoyed the stimulus of the historic scenes amid which they have spent their days, and they leave for their homes in every portion of the Union with high appreciation of the unity in purpose and feeling which prevails among all American students of history. They will remember with especial gratitude the kindness of the two committees of local arrangements (that for Charleston under the chairmanship of Mr. Joseph W. Barnwell, and that for Columbia under the chairmanship of Mr. B. F. Taylor), of the South Carolina Historical Society, of Col. O. J. Bond and the other authorities of the citadel, of the authorities in charge of the Confederate Home and College, of the clubs of Charleston, of the Chambers of Commerce of Charleston and Columbia, and of the Columbia Automobile Association.

The report of the Pacific coast branch was presented by Prof. E. S. Meany. It was moved and voted that the report be accepted.

Brief reports were presented on behalf of the historical manuscripts commission by Mr. W. C. Ford, chairman; on behalf of the public archives commission by Mr. V. H. Paltsits, chairman; on behalf of the committee on publications by the acting secretary; on behalf of the board of editors of the American Historical Review by Prof. A. C. McLaughlin, chairman; on behalf of the advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine by Prof. Henry Johnson; on behalf of the committee on bibliography by the acting secretary; upon the

basis of a letter addressed to the council by the chairman, Prof. E. C. Richardson; on behalf of the committee on a bibliography of modern English history by Prof. A. L. Cross, a member; by Dr. J. F. Jameson, as editor of the Series of Original Narratives of Early American History; and on behalf of the general committee by Prof. Frederic L. Paxton, chairman. The above-mentioned reports were all accepted.

For the committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize Prof. George L. Burr, chairman, announced that the committee had awarded the prize to Miss Violet Barbour for an essay entitled "Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington." It was voted that the prize be bestowed under the usual arrangements.

The report of the committee on nominations appointed at the last annual meeting was read in the absence of Prof. William MacDonald, its chairman, by Prof. C. W. Alvord, a member of the committee. The committee presented the following nominations for officers and members of the council for the year 1914:

President—Andrew C. McLaughlin.

First Vice President—H. Morse Stephens.

Second Vice President—George L. Burr.

Secretary—Waldo G. Leland.

Treasurer—Clarence W. Bowen.

Secretary of the council—Evarts B. Greene.

Curator—A. Howard Clark.

Members of the executive council—Renominated, Herman V. Ames, Dana C. Munro, Archibald C. Coolidge, and John M. Vincent; new, Charles H. Haskins and Frederic Bancroft. It was voted that the secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the association for the persons thus nominated, which was done, and they were declared elected.

After discussion of methods followed by the committee on nominations it was voted that the new committee on nominations, appointed by the council to report nominations at the next annual meeting, be requested to formulate a plan by which the general opinion of the association on nominations might be more fully elicited.

The acting secretary of the council announced the budget and the list of committees appointed for the year 1914, which will be found in the minutes of the council attached hereto.

The meeting adjourned at 6.20 p. m.

J. F. JAMESON, *Acting Secretary*.

REPORTS OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

The total membership on December 22 was 2,843, a loss during the year of 3. Of this number 125 are life members, 202 are institutions, and 2,516 are individual annual members. The total loss has been 316—37 by death, 182 by resignation, and 97 dropped for nonpayment of dues. The total number of new members is 313—1 life, 297 individual annual, and 15 institutional. The number of members whose dues remain unpaid is 353, as against 396 a year ago, and the number of members whose dues are fully paid (the effective membership of the association) is 2,490, showing a net gain in effective membership during the year of 40. The total foreign membership of the association is 102, a gain of 3 over last year. The States having membership over 100 are New York, 404; Massachusetts, 346; Illinois, 208; Pennsylvania, 203; California, 156; Ohio, 132.

Full reports respecting the various activities and publications of the association will be made by the various committees.

At the International Congress of Historical Studies, held in London in April, 1913, the association was represented by Charles H. Haskins and J. Franklin Jameson.

Respectfully submitted.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, *Acting Secretary.*

CHARLESTON, *December 30, 1913.*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

RECEIPTS.

1912.	
Dec. 23. Balance cash on hand-----	\$2,454.87
1913.	
Dec. 23. Receipts (for details, see report of Audit Co., immediately following)-----	13,041.66
	<u>\$15,496.53</u>

DISBURSEMENTS.

1913.	
Dec. 23. Offices of secretary and treasurer:	
Clerk hire, vouchers 2, 3, 11, 21, 24, 37, 38, 48, 49,	
50, 52, 53, 54, 63, 65, 73, 83, 84, 86, 91, 95, 107,	
121, 122, 123, 131, 132, 133, 134-----	976.72
Postage and supplies, vouchers 6, 8, 16, 20, 35, 55,	
64, 72, 82, 90, 94, 98, 106, 120, 130-----	441.40
Equipment, vouchers 30, 39-----	10.00
Secretary of the council, vouchers 15, 32, 33, 135, 146,	
147, 154-----	100.45
American Historical Review, vouchers 9, 25, 61, 66, 69,	
78, 79, 87, 96, 97, 100, 128, 137-----	4,479.60
Public archives commission, vouchers 4, 56, 67, 76,	
80, 141-----	65.85
Historical manuscripts commission, voucher 92-----	77.65
Justin Winsor prize committee, vouchers 17, 19-----	15.00
Herbert Baxter Adams prize committee, vouchers 29, 111-----	201.09
Committee on bibliography, vouchers 101, 145-----	150.00
Committee on bibliography of modern English history,	
vouchers 26, 40, 41, 108-----	92.50
Indexing papers and annual reports, vouchers 13, 27, 34,	
117, 127, 144-----	500.00
Committee on preparation of teachers of history in high	
schools, voucher 138-----	4.59
Committee on publication, vouchers 7, 10, 42, 43, 44,	
45, 46, 102, 114, 115-----	697.06
Bibliography of "Writings on American History,"	
voucher 77-----	200.00
General committee and conference of historical societies,	
vouchers 47, 57, 60, 68, 112, 113, 139, 140-----	63.96
Indexing annual report, 1911, vouchers 85, 99-----	100.00
History Teacher's Magazine, vouchers 1, 14, 58, 110-----	751.58
Expenses of executive council, vouchers 12, 142, 148, 149,	
150, 151, 152, 153-----	326.00
Editorial work, vouchers 5, 23, 36, 51, 62, 71, 81, 89,	
93, 105, 119, 129-----	300.00
Expenses twenty-eighth annual meeting, vouchers 28, 31,	
59, 88-----	100.34
Expenses twenty-ninth annual meeting, vouchers 74, 75,	
116, 124, 125, 126, 143, 155, 156-----	152.35
Collection charges, vouchers 70, 118, 157-----	13.66
Item returned and charged by bank July 1, 1913-----	3.60
Miscellaneous expenses, vouchers 18, 22, 103, 104,	
109, 136-----	2,778.89
	<u>12,602.29</u>
Balance cash on hand-----	2,894.24
	<u>15,496.53</u>
Net receipts 1913-----	10,341.66
Net disbursements 1913-----	9,902.29
Excess of receipts over disbursements-----	<u>439.37</u>

The assets of the association are:

Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York-----	\$20,000.00
Accrued interest from Sept. 29 to Dec. 19-----	188.88
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock at \$210-----	4,200.00
Cash on hand-----	2,894.24
	<hr/>
	27,283.12
An increase during the year of-----	27.55

Respectfully submitted.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, *Treasurer*.

NEW YORK, *December 23, 1913.*

REPORT OF THE AUDIT CO. OF NEW YORK.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, Esq.,

Treasurer American Historical Association,

5 East Sixty-third Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Agreeably to your request we have made an audit of the cash records of the treasurer of the American Historical Association for the period from December 24, 1912, to December 19, 1913. The results of this audit are presented, attached hereto, in an exhibit termed "Abstract of cash receipts and disbursements, as shown by the cash records, for the period from December 24, 1912, to December 19, 1913."

Receipted vouchers were examined for all disbursements shown, except in the cases of the following payments: Check No. 2276, \$12.75, voucher No. 19; check No. 2280, \$2.50, voucher No. 26; check No. 2307, \$36.49, voucher No. 59; check No. 2308, \$10.75, voucher No. 60.

A number of vouchers appear to lack the approval accorded the great majority throughout the period under review.

We have examined the following securities: Mortgage on 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, \$20,000, at 4½ per cent, due March, 1914; 20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock.

We have reconciled the statement of the National Park Bank, dated December 19, 1913, and after allowing for outstanding checks find the balance to the credit of the association to be \$2,894.24.

We are unable to trace particulars of \$3.60 charged by the bank on July 1, 1913, and shown in its statement as a returned item.

Very truly, yours,

THE AUDIT COMPANY OF NEW YORK.

A. W. DUNNING, *President*.

H. I. LUNDQUIST, *Secretary*.

NEW YORK, *December 23, 1913.*

*Abstract of cash receipts and disbursements, as shown by the cash records,
for the period from Dec. 24, 1912, to Dec. 19, 1913.*

RECEIPTS.

Balance, Dec. 23, 1912-----	\$2,454.87
Annual dues:	
2,555 at \$3-----	\$7,665.00
1 at \$2.72-----	2.72
2 at \$3.05-----	6.10
22 at \$3.10-----	68.20
1 at \$3.15-----	3.15
	<hr/>
	7,745.17
Life memberships, 3 at \$50-----	150.00
Rebates:	
American Historical Review-----	\$300.00
Lord Baltimore Press-----	30.30
	<hr/>
	330.30
Income from investments:	
Mortgage loan, \$20,000 at 4½ per cent-----	850.00
American Exchange National Bank stock, 20 shares, dividends at 10 per cent-----	200.00
	<hr/>
	1,050.00
Royalties-----	135.14
Sale of publications-----	605.09

Military history prize-----	\$250.00
Local committee-----	75.96
Borrowed from Clarence W. Bowen (see contra)-----	2,700.00
	<u>\$13,041.66</u>
	<u>15,496.53</u>

DISBURSEMENTS.

Offices of secretary and treasurer:	
Clerk hire-----	\$976.72
Postage and supplies-----	441.40
Office furniture and fixtures-----	10.00
	<u>\$13,041.53</u>
Secretary of the council-----	100.45
American Historical Review-----	4,479.60
Public archives commission-----	65.85
Historical manuscripts commission-----	77.65
Justin Winsor prize committee-----	15.00
Herbert Baxter Adams prize committee-----	201.09
Committee on bibliography-----	150.00
Committee on bibliography of modern English history-----	92.50
Indexing papers and annual reports-----	500.00
Committee on preparation of teachers of history in high schools-----	4.59
Committee on publication-----	697.06
Bibliography of writings on American history-----	200.00
General committee and conference of historical societies-----	63.96
Indexing annual report-----	100.00
History Teachers' Magazine-----	751.58
Expenses, executive council-----	326.00
Editorial work-----	300.00
Expenses, twenty-eighth annual meeting-----	100.34
Expenses, twenty-ninth annual meeting-----	152.35
Collection charges-----	13.66
Miscellaneous:	
Auditing-----	\$25.00
Item returned and charged by bank July 1, 1913-----	3.60
Traveling-----	27.30
Interest on loan from Clarence W. Bowen-----	26.59
	<u>82.49</u>
Repayment of Clarence W. Bowen loans (see contra)-----	2,700.00
Total payments-----	<u>12,602.29</u>
Balance, Dec. 17, 1913 (deposited in National Park Bank, New York)-----	2,894.24
	<u>15,496.53</u>

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

(To the executive council, November 29, 1913.)

Since the meeting of the council a year ago the committee on publications has brought out the prize essay of Miss Brown, and it has in press the prize essay for 1912, A. C. Cole, The Whig Party in the South, which will be ready for distribution after the first of the year.

The sale of series thus far has been as follows:

	Copies sold.	Cost.	Receipts.	Profit.
Krehbiel-----	465	\$372	\$530	\$158
Carter-----	496	442	514	¹ 72
Notestein-----	543	977	645	¹ 332
Turner-----	353	658	370	¹ 288
Brown-----	276	586	299	¹ 287
Total-----	2,143	3,034	2,357	¹ 677

¹ Loss.

For the reprint of the Muzzey essay 130 orders have been received, which would meet approximately two-thirds of the expense of publication.

Last year the committee on publications was granted a fund of \$1,000, with which it hoped to be able to bear all future costs of publication of the prize essays, etc., without further grants by the association, except for some special purpose, such as the printing of the list of members. The receipts for 11 months have been \$619.19. The expenditures for 12 months have been \$666.76, leaving an apparent balance in the hands of the committee of \$952.53. But as the receipts are only for 11 months the committee has really more than \$1,000 on hand, against which are some unpaid bills, amounting to less than \$100. The finances of the committee seem to be in excellent shape, and it is believed that the committee will be able to carry out its expectations of keeping within its appropriation.

The annual report for 1911 in two volumes was sent to press a year ago, and, although proof was promptly read and the indexes prepared without delay, Volume I is just now on the point of being distributed. With Congress continually in session the Government Printing Office has of necessity been unable to turn out the report as rapidly as in normal years.

The report for 1912 will appear in one volume, including the report of the historical manuscripts commission, the Vans Murray correspondence. It is just about to go to press, and it is hoped that it may be distributed next summer. Every effort will be made this coming year to bring out the report for 1913 before the meeting of 1914. The delays of late years are regrettable, but it is confidently expected they will not recur.

One thing that will be of great assistance in the more prompt publication of the annual reports is the printing in separate form of the Writings on American History. This is also a matter of considerable importance to the committee on publications and to the association as well. Notices having been sent to all the members of the association, it is known to all that the Yale University Press has consented to print the Writings on American History free of cost to the association. While the Press has only promised to do this for one year, the work is undertaken with the expectation that it will continue to do so in the future. As the committee estimated that from one-fifth to one-fourth of our appropriation for printing was used up upon the Writings, this will be of material assistance to the association and will remove some of the difficulties encountered in the past.

The idea of a bulletin has not been abandoned, but is waiting a more favorable opportunity. The association has been forced to get along without a new membership list the past year, the last one being that of 1911. It is not prepared to print a list during the coming year, but an appropriation may be asked for that purpose in 1915.

MAX FARRAND, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The committee has arranged with Dr. Bernard C. Steiner to take up the "Bibliography of American Travels." He will be aided in the matter by Mr. L. H. Dielman.

As Dr. Lichtenstein is away for 15 months the chairman has arranged with Dr. A. H. Shearer, of the Newberry Library, in whose hands Dr. Lichtenstein left his notes, to prepare a classified index to the "Collections on European History," in which precisely the same bars shall be used, and which can be printed in the same form with the "Collections."

In the matter of the joint list of periodicals, concerning which the chairman of the committee was instructed to secure, if possible, action by the American

Library Association or the Library of Congress, it was found that both agencies were interested in the work. A plan of taking it up, with Mr. C. W. Andrews, of the John Crerar Library, as editor, was suspended in view of the extremely favorable attitude of the Librarian of Congress toward doing the thing on a really adequate scale. It seems peculiarly a matter which might fall within his scope. If undertaken by him, it would, apart from the advantage from the well-known executive facility of the present librarian, be undertaken at a good deal of advantage over other instrumentalities, this kind of thing being of national extent.

In view of the considerable progress of this matter, which is expected to include not only periodicals but the list of collections already prepared, it did not seem worth while to press the matter of a better edition of Collections on European History.

E. C. RICHARDSON, *Chairman*.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PREPARATION OF HISTORY IN SCHOOLS.

Everyone has agreed that something should be done to improve the teaching of history, and that much of the deficiency in teaching is due to the poorly prepared teacher. The results in history in the college entrance examination boards' examinations are only one illustration of how bad the work actually is. Your committee has been trying to arouse interest in this matter, and has been able to get it discussed somewhat widely. The demand now is that we do something concrete and constructive. We suggest consequently that we prepare a report, including the requirements for history teachers which have been recommended by teachers' associations, etc., in the various sections of this country; that we endeavor to have this published by the United States Bureau of Education, and distributed widely by them; and that, in addition, we send a letter to influential school officials, college presidents, and professors of history, and to normal schools.

DANA C. MUNRO, *Chairman*.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE METROPOLITAN CLUB, NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER 29, 1913.

The council met at 10 a. m., with President Dunning in the chair. Present: Messrs. McLaughlin, Bowen, McMaster, Jameson, G. B. Adams, Turner, Fling; Woodburn, Ames, Munro, Vincent, and the secretary.

In the absence of the secretary of the association in Europe a written report was presented and was supplemented in conjunction with the reports of the committee on publications and the general committee. It appeared that the total membership was 2,834 on November 21, 1913, as against 2,820 on November 21, 1912, and 2,846 on December 21, 1912.

The secretary of the council reported briefly.

The treasurer presented the following report:

ASSETS, DEC. 23, 1912.

Cash on hand-----	\$2, 454. 87
Bond and mortgage, real estate at 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y. (due Mar. 14, 1914)-----	20, 000. 00
Accrued interest on above (Sept. 29, 1912, to Dec. 23, 1912)-----	200. 00
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock (at 230)-----	4, 600. 00
	<hr/>
	27, 254. 87

ASSETS, NOV. 28, 1913.

Cash on hand-----	2, 100. 70
Bond and mortgage, real estate at 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y. (due Mar. 14, 1914)-----	20, 000. 00

Accrued interest on above, at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, from Sept. 29, 1913, to Nov. 28, 1913 -----	\$141. 67
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock (at 210) -----	4, 200. 00
	<hr/> 26, 442. 37
	<hr/> 27, 254. 87
	<hr/> 26, 442. 37
A decrease in assets since Dec. 23, 1912, of -----	812. 50
NEW YORK, November 28, 1913.	

By resolution the treasurer was authorized to sell the 20 shares of stock held by the association in the American Exchange National Bank.

Reports were received from the following standing committees: Historical manuscripts commission, public archives commission, committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, editors of the American Historical Review, board of advisory editors of the History Teacher's Magazine, committee on bibliography, committee on publications, general committee, editor of the reprints of "Original narratives of early American history," committee on a bibliography of modern English history, committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools, and the committee on indexing the papers and reports of the association.

The public archives commission having asked the council to exert its influence for the publication of the colonial archives of South Carolina and Massachusetts, it was voted to appoint a committee of three from the council to consult with members of the South Carolina Historical Society; with Mr. A. S. Salley, of the Historical Commission of South Carolina; and with Mr. Worthington C. Ford, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and to take such action thereafter as seems to be fitting. Messrs. Ames, McLaughlin, and Vincent were appointed as this committee.

The report of the general committee having shown a net loss of 12 members during the past year, the committee was instructed to make special efforts during 1914 in the States where the membership appears disproportionately small.

At the request of the chairman, the committee on the work of European historical societies was discharged.

The special committee appointed at the last meeting on methods of promoting research reported, through its chairman, Mr. Fling, as follows:

The committee on methods of promoting research recommends:

I. The creation of a standing committee on aid to research.

1. This committee shall consist of six members to be nominated by the council. Five of them shall be professors of history (ancient, medieval, modern European, English, and American). One member of the committee, the secretary not included, shall be replaced each year by the council, the order of retirement from the first committee being determined by lot.

2. It shall be the business of this committee—

- a. To prepare a list of the funds available for historical research in the United States.
- b. To receive and pass upon the applications for aid to research.
- c. To recommend applicants to institutions having funds for research.
- d. To allot to applicants the income from the fund set aside by the association for research work.
- e. To present to the council a statement of the conditions under which they would recommend the granting of aid to research, and this statement, when approved by the council, shall govern the action of the committee.

II. The creation of a special committee on the formation of a research fund.

1. This committee shall consist of eight members of the association, to be appointed by the council.

2. It shall be the business of this committee—

a. To solicit gifts to be used for the formation of a fund, the income from which shall be used to further research.

b. To encourage the establishment of research fellowships in the universities of the country.

After a discussion it was voted to continue this committee for the coming year as a committee to prepare a list of existing funds available for historical research and to draw up a statement of the conditions under which a permanent committee would make recommendations for grants from such funds. Pending a report upon these points, further consideration of the report submitted was postponed.

The subject of methods of promoting the study of military history in the United States was then taken up. The special committee of the council on this subject submitted no report, the majority of its members having been absent from the United States during the greater part of the year. In its stead the committee entrusted with the program for the conference on military history at the Charleston meeting presented through its chairman, Prof. R. M. Johnston, a report upon the status of the study of military history in the United States, accompanied with a series of recommendations. The report was accepted and placed on file, and the following votes were passed:

1. That the council gratefully accept the fund of \$200 raised by this committee for the award of a prize for the best essay on military history submitted in the year 1915, it being understood that its acceptance involves on the part of the association no pecuniary responsibility for the publication of the successful essay.

2. That a standing committee be appointed to administer this prize, which shall be known as the Military History prize.

3. That a standing committee on military history be appointed by the council at its next meeting.

4. That the council appoint a committee to consider in what way the council can most effectively urge upon the authorities at Washington the proper publication of the archives of the American Revolution under the act of Congress of 1913.

Messrs. McLaughlin, Jameson, and Hart were appointed.

The committee on the activities of patriotic and hereditary societies reported progress.

The committee on program for the Charleston meeting laid before the council the program issued November 20, and reported that it would mail no further edition of the program to members of the association, but would make necessary changes in the first edition for distribution at Charleston and Columbia.

On the basis of a communication from Mr. A. Percival Newton, with reference to the establishment of some sort of headquarters for Americans working in the historical materials in London, it was voted to appoint a committee to take the subject under advisement and report at a future meeting of the council. Messrs. Jameson, Haskins, and Andrews were appointed.

The council then took under consideration the place of meeting in December, 1915, and in 1916. An invitation to meet in Cincinnati was received from the University of Cincinnati and the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, supported by letters from various institutions of learning in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and West Virginia. Invitations were also received from the historical department of the University of Pennsylvania to meet in Philadelphia, and on behalf of

Washington members to meet in Washington. After discussion it was voted (1) to recommend to the association that the meeting of 1915 be held either in Philadelphia or Washington, as the council may decide in Charleston; (2) to recommend to the association that the meeting of 1916 be held in Cincinnati.

The chairman was authorized to appoint the following committees to report at the Charleston meeting:

1. On appointments, the president, Messrs. Ames, Fling, and the secretary were appointed.

2. On budget, the treasurer and the secretary of the council were appointed.

Having sat and continued its discussion through luncheon, the council adjourned, at 4.30 p. m., to meet at the New Charleston Hotel, December 29, 1913, at 9 a. m.

The annual dinner of the council was held Friday, November 28, at the Metropolitan Club, where the members of the council, chairmen of committees and commissions, editors of the *American Historical Review*, Prof. Richard F. Scholz (representing the Pacific coast branch), and Prof. Carlton H. Hayes of the committee on transportation were the guests of President William A. Dunning and Mr. Clarence W. Bowen. No formal business was discussed, but Mr. Charles Francis Adams spoke on his recent experiences in exploring collections of historical material in England, and Prof. William M. Sloane gave the impressions which, as Roosevelt professor, he had gathered regarding the changed conditions of university life in Germany.

CHARLES H. HASKINS,
Secretary of the Council.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE NEW CHARLESTON HOTEL, CHARLESTON, DECEMBER 30, 1913.

The council met at 9 a. m., with President Dunning in the chair. Present: Messrs. McLaughlin, Stephens, Jameson, Sloane, Ames, Vincent, Woodburn, and Prof. Edmond S. Meany as representative of the Pacific coast branch. Mr. Jameson was requested to act as secretary of the council in the absence of Mr. Haskins.

The report of the committee on headquarters for members of the association in London, including a supplementary oral report on headquarters in Paris, was accepted and ordered to be placed on file. The committee, consisting of Messrs. Jameson, Andrews, and Haskins, was continued, and authorized to carry out its recommendations, it being understood that pecuniary engagements for 1915 and subsequent years should not extend beyond the sum of \$100 per annum.

The committee appointed at the meeting of November 29 "to consider in what way the council can most effectively urge upon the authorities at Washington the proper publication of the archives of the American Revolution under the act of Congress of March 2, 1913," reported progress, and was continued for the purpose of representing the council at a conference to be held in Washington on January 2, at the instance of the Assistant Secretaries of War and of the Navy. (Messrs. McLaughlin, Hart, and Jameson, with power of substitution. Later the committee substituted Messrs. Ames and Bancroft for Messrs. McLaughlin and Hart.)

It was voted that the president be authorized, at his discretion, to appoint a committee of five to act for the association in an advisory capacity with respect to the government undertaking above-named. (After the conference mentioned the president appointed as such committee Maj. John Bigelow, Rear Admiral F. E. Chadwick, Messrs. Frederic Bancroft, J. F. Jameson, and Justin H. Smith.)

It was voted that the title of the standing committee on military history, provided for by the council at the meeting of November 29, be enlarged to read "Committee on Military and Naval History."

After discussion respecting the time and place of meeting for December, 1915, it was voted to recommend to the association the choice of Washington. A motion that the proper officers of the association be instructed to communicate with the Richmond members in regard to holding a session in Richmond or having an excursion to that place, was, by a vote of the council, laid on the table.

The report of the committee on the budget was adopted by a vote making the following appropriations for the year 1914, with the understanding that the treasurer is authorized to draw on the miscellaneous appropriation for any excess in the expenses of the officers or of the council above the amounts appropriated:

Offices of secretary and treasurer-----	\$1,500.00
Office of secretary of council-----	100.00
Pacific coast branch-----	50.00
Executive council-----	400.00
Editorial work of secretary-----	300.00
Annual report, index and reprints-----	200.00
Annual meeting-----	300.00
Miscellaneous-----	350.00
Historical manuscripts commission-----	300.00
Public archives commission-----	300.00
Committee on Winsor prize-----	225.00
Committee on bibliography-----	150.00
Committee on preparation of teachers-----	100.00
General committee and the conference of historical societies-----	250.00
General index-----	400.00
History Teacher's Magazine-----	600.00
Writings on American History-----	200.00
American Historical Review (estimate, \$1.60 per member)-----	4,500.00
Committee on a bibliography of modern English history (unexpended balance)-	567.10
	<hr/>
	10,792.10

Invitations from the mayor of Detroit and from the Detroit Convention and Tourists' Bureau asking the association to meet in that city in 1916 were read. It was moved that the secretary of the association make proper reply to these communications, acknowledging their receipt and stating that the place of meeting for 1916 has been virtually determined upon, but that the association will be glad to consider an invitation with respect to some later year.

The report of the council's committee on appointments was presented and adopted, with certain modifications, and the following appointments were made for the committees and commissions of the association for the year 1914:

Editors of the American Historical Review.—George L. Burr, Edward P. Cheyney, Andrew C. McLaughlin, James H. Robinson, Frederick J. Turner (these five hold over), J. Franklin Jameson, reelected to serve for six years from January 1, 1914.

Historical manuscripts commission.—Worthington C. Ford, Clarence W. Alvord, Herbert E. Bolton, Julian P. Bretz, Archer B. Hulbert, W. O. Scroggs.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Claude H. Van Tyne, Carl R. Fish, J. G. de R. Hamilton, Allen Johnson, William MacDonald.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Charles D. Hazen, Laurence M. Larson, William R. Shepherd, Paul van Dyke, Albert B. White.

Public archives commission.—Victor H. Paltsits, Charles M. Andrews, Eugene C. Barker, Gaillard Hunt, A. S. Salley, jr., Jonas Viles, Henry E. Woods.

Committee on bibliography.—Ernest C. Richardson, Clarence S. Brigham, W. Dawson Johnston, Walter Lichtenstein, Bernard C. Steiner, F. J. Teggart.

Committee on publications.—Max Farrand and (ex officio) Worthington C. Ford, Charles D. Hazen, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Ernest C. Richardson, Claude H. Van Tyne, the secretary of the council [Evarts B. Greene].

General committee.—Frederic L. Paxson, Arthur I. Andrews, Solon J. Buck, Isaac J. Cox, George N. Fuller, S. B. Harding, M. W. Jernegan, O. G. Libby, Harlow Lindley, W. Notestein, Clarence S. Paine, Louis Pelzer, Morgan P. Robinson, O. L. Schmidt, E. M. Voilette, George M. Wrong, and W. G. Leland, and W. A. Morris ex officio.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.—Edward P. Cheyney, Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Ernest C. Richardson, Williston Walker.

Committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools.—Kendric C. Babcock, Charles E. Chadsey, Edgar Dawson, Robert A. Maurer, Dana C. Munro.

Conference of historical societies.—Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, chairman; Solon J. Buck, secretary.

Advisory editors of the history teachers' magazine.—Henry Johnson, chairman; Fred M. Fling and James Sullivan, reelected to serve three years; Miss Blanche Hazard, George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat.

Committee on program.—James W. Thompson, Evarts B. Greene, William E. Lingelbach, Charles H. McIlwain, Albert T. Olmstead, Frederic L. Paxson.

Committee on local arrangements.—Charles L. Hutchinson, chairman; J. A. James, secretary; Edward E. Ayer, A. W. Harris, Edmund J. James, Harry P. Judson, Otto L. Schmidt, with power to add to its membership.

Committee on nominations.—Charles H. Hull, G. M. Dutcher, Mrs. Lois K. Mathews, J. H. T. McPherson, Joseph Schafer.

Committee on the military history prize.—Captain A. L. Conger, Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, Fred M. Fling, Albert B. Hart.

Committee on military and naval history.—R. M. Johnston, Assistant Secretary of War Henry Breckenridge, Assistant Secretary of Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt, Rear Admiral A. M. Knight, Gen. Hunter Liggett, Major J. W. McAndrew, Fred M. Fling, Charles O. Paullin.

On behalf of the committee appointed at the meeting of November 29 to consult with certain members in South Carolina and Massachusetts, and to take such action as might seem fitting with respect to the publication of the colonial archives of South Carolina and Massachusetts, Prof. Ames reported progress.

Prof. Meany laid before the council a project which he had proposed to a publisher for a series of volumes, one to each State, entitled Documentary History of the States, to be prepared by various persons under his general editorship, for which project the publisher had desired that he should obtain the support of the American Historical Association. The proposal was referred to the council of the Pacific coast branch for consideration of a project relative to the Pacific States only, with a request that the latter should report a recommendation to this council before November.

It was voted that a committee on resolutions be appointed to prepare a resolution expressing the sentiments of the council and of the association respecting their entertainment in Charleston and Columbia, to be reported on behalf of the council at the business meeting on the ensuing day. Messrs. Sloane, Jameson, and Woodburn were appointed.

It being understood that Mr. Haskins declined reelection to the office of secretary of the council it was voted that the following minute be spread upon

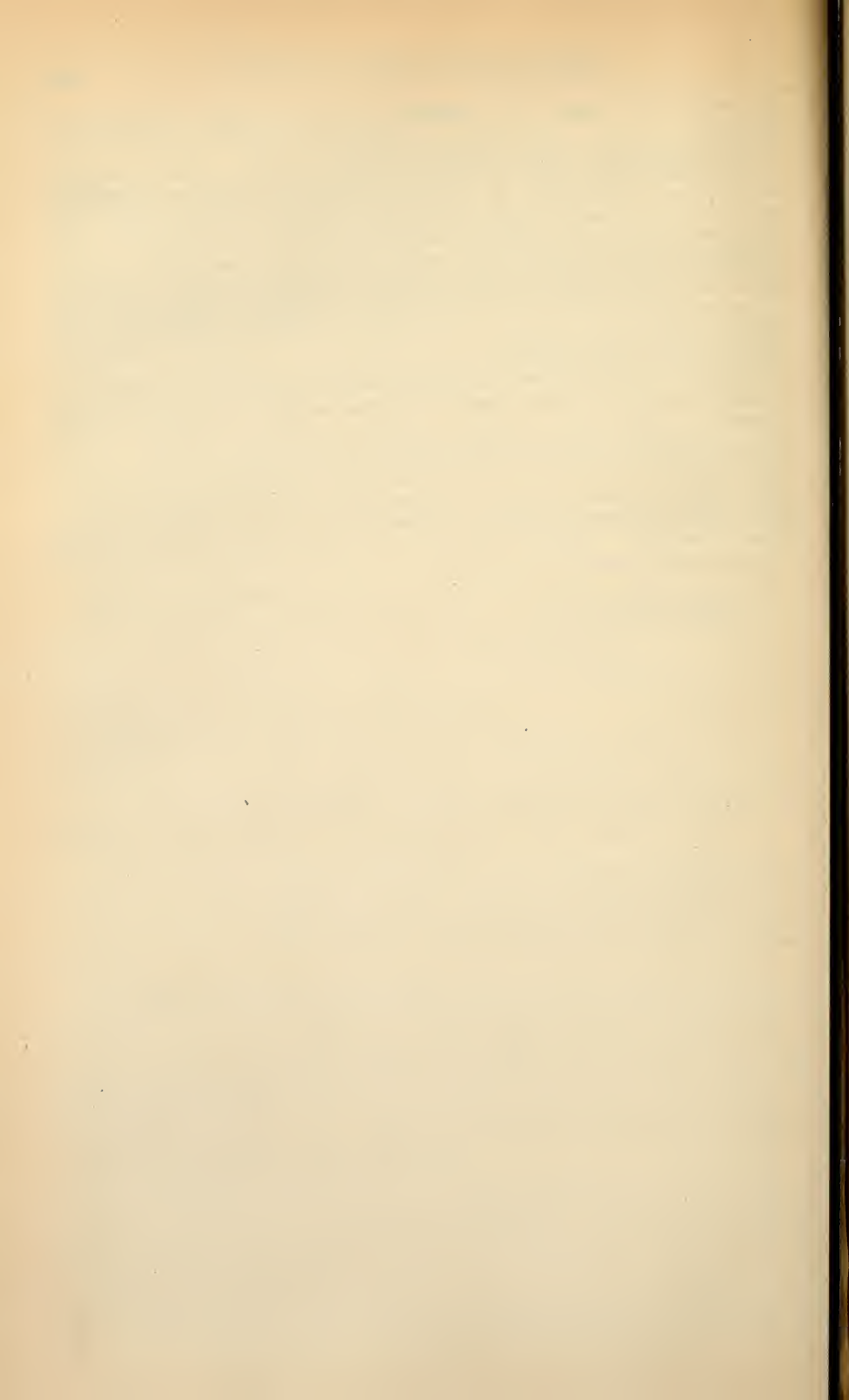
the records of the council and communicated to the association at the business meeting:

Upon the retirement of Prof. Charles H. Haskins from the office of secretary to the council, which, under its present designation or that of corresponding secretary, he has held from the institution of the latter office in 1900 to the present time, the executive council of the American Historical Association wish to put on record an expression of their admiration for the manner in which he has conducted this difficult office, and of their appreciation of and gratitude for the devotion with which he has incurred the heavy labors which it involves. The council is deeply sensible not only of the extraordinary efficiency with which he has performed all the duties of his office, but also of the disinterested and impartial spirit, the constant and single regard to the interests of the association which he has manifested.

With respect to the proposed meeting on the Pacific coast in the summer of 1915, it was voted that Prof. Ephraim D. Adams be appointed chairman of the committee on the program for that occasion, and that Mr. Rudolph J. Tausig be appointed chairman of the committee of local arrangements. It was voted that the committee of local arrangements be authorized to send out a postal-card inquiry to members of the association in order to obtain information of their preferences, which might guide in the selection of the date for the proposed meeting.

The council adjourned at 1 p. m.

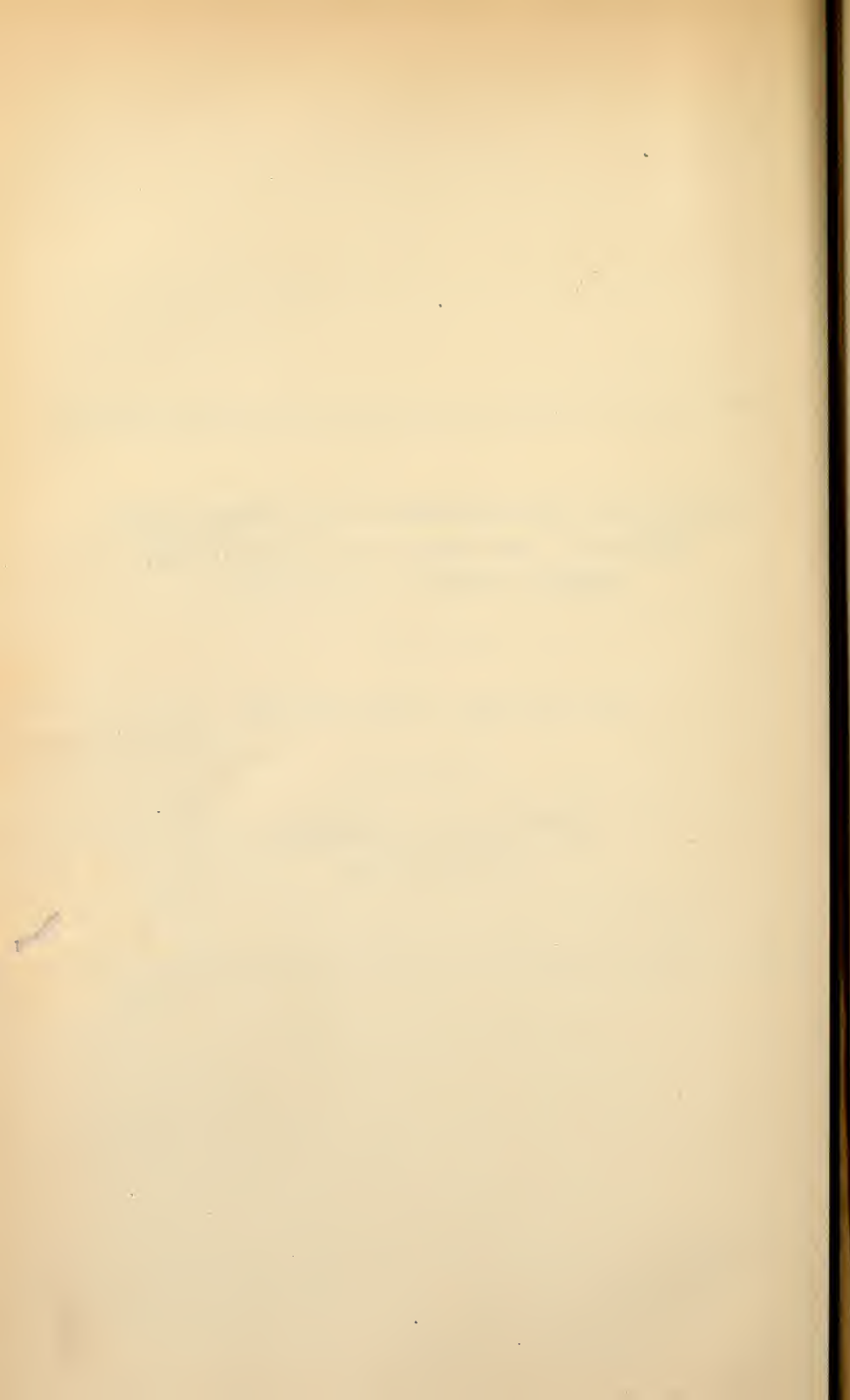
J. F. JAMESON, *Acting Secretary.*



II. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

LOS ANGELES, CAL., NOVEMBER 28-29, 1913.

By WILLIAM A. MORRIS,
Secretary of the Branch.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

By WILLIAM A. MORRIS.

The tenth annual meeting of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association was held in Los Angeles, November 28 and 29, 1913. Headquarters were established at the Lankershim Hotel. The first and third sessions were at the University of Southern California; the second at the Museum of History, Exposition Park. The president of the branch, Mr. James M. Guinn, presided.

The sessions began on Friday afternoon, November 28, with a paper by Prof. Frank J. Klingberg, of the University of Southern California, on "The antislavery movement in England." Prof. Klingberg dwelt upon the forces which aided and those which retarded the progress of the movement. He pointed out that against the reforms led by Clarkson and Wilberforce were arrayed not only those interested in the slave trade, but also those interested in the prosperity of the West Indies. The passage of the act of 1807, abolishing the slave trade in the colonies, was aided by the result of the war with France, the change of ministry when Pitt left office, and the support of the Irish members. After 1815 Great Britain was unable to stop the foreign slave-trade and the colonies were suffering from competition with those which held slaves. In 1823, the year of the organization of the new society, slave-trade evils were as great as ever, and the abolitionists made a direct attack on slavery. The society used pamphlets and strove to mold public opinion, and the planters, in distress because of hurricanes, adverse duties in England, and exclusion from the American trade, founded their own organization. The self-governing colonies rejected suggestions for reform and were able to defy the wishes of the mother country. On the other hand, many of the reformers denied themselves the use of sugar. The securing of Catholic emancipation enabled Parliament to take up the question and to settle it after a half century of discussion.

Mr. Yamato Ichihashi, of Stanford University, in a paper on "The movement of population in feudal and modern Japan," attributed to economic influence the differences of movement in the two periods. The feudal period from 1603 to 1868 was marked by internal peace and recovery from war and famine; but by 1720 the policy of commercial exclusion was firmly established. Manufactured articles,

however, were still produced in their perfection. The outlandish barons and their retainers became cultured and demanded luxuries. Fortune smiled on the long-neglected artisans, and the common people were protected from feudal abuse. Although economic development indicated a rapid growth of population in the seventeenth and the first third of the eighteenth century, and although the Japanese are naturally a prolific race, in the portion of the period for which census figures are obtainable, that from 1721 to 1868, official figures show a stationary population. The method of reckoning followed by the barons who made out the return varies somewhat, but the figures are fairly constant. The Malthusian positive checks, such as earthquakes, epidemics, volcanic eruptions, and tidal waves, which have been adduced in explanation of this decrease in movement, do not afford sufficient proof. These events are normal incidents in Japanese life, and population moves up and down irrespective of them. By about 1730 industry had reached the point of diminishing returns. In the modern period since 1868, marked by rapid rise in population, there has been, on the other hand, a phenomenal expansion of industrial life, instances of which are the development of import and export trade and the increase of railways and factories. The temporary disorganization of the economic system was overcome by 1880 and a great impulse to this expansion given in 1895 by the Shimonoseki treaty.

Prof. Robert G. Cleland, of Occidental College, in the last paper of the afternoon, which was on the "Relation of slavery to the early sentiment for the acquisition of California,"¹ took the ground that the historians Rhodes, Wilson, Von Holst, and H. H. Bancroft are in error in holding that the acquisition of California was a slavery measure. The usual argument for the assumption, so Prof. Cleland stated, is that the Mexican War was fought under a proslavery President, and that one of its objects was the acquisition of California. But the movement to annex California did not begin with the Mexican War, and by 1846 this was but a matter of time. The issue, between the years 1846 and 1850, was not so much one of acquisition as of method, and the movement culminating in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was not sectional. Before 1845 it was proposed to make California free territory to counterbalance Texas. As late as 1846 the Charleston Mercury credited the movement for annexation to the Free Soil Party.

A second reason given for believing that the prevalent view is mistaken is that the movement for the annexation of California found its chief favor in the North. The Boston and New York papers, particularly the New York Sun, took the lead in molding public opinion in the matter. They drew glowing pictures of Cali-

¹ Printed in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly for July, 1914.

fornia while a prominent southern paper represented the country as worthless. Webster, in his "Seventh of March speech," considered California twenty times as important as Texas. Again, the active influences in California urging acquisition were of northern origin. Larkin, Stearns, and nearly all the Americans prominent in the movement were from New England. The earlier instructions issued by the Government at Washington, as a basis for negotiating the purchase of the region, authorize the acquisition only of territory above the thirty-sixth parallel, where slavery could not exist. The real object of the movement was not the extension of slave territory, but the extension of commerce from sea to sea and the control of the Pacific.

Prof. Bolton, of the University of California, in commending the paper, cited it as a proof that western history must be written by westerners. He referred to recent research as showing that the attempt to divide California during, and subsequent to, the constitutional convention was not due to slavery, and mentioned the work of Dr. Garrison demonstrating that the settlement of Texas was part of a western movement, not of a conspiracy. Dean Bliss, of the San Diego Normal School, declared himself convinced from his own examination of documents that Prof. Cleland's view of the question is absolutely correct.

The annual dinner was on Friday evening, Prof. Henry Morse Stephens acting as toastmaster. Mr. Guinn read his presidential address on the early archives of California, in which he gave a circumstantial account of municipal life and administration in Los Angeles under Mexican rule.

The first paper of the Saturday morning session was by Dean W. F. Bliss, of the San Diego Normal School, and dealt with "The Hayes collection in the Bancroft Library," a collection of papers on the history of southern California made by Judge Benjamin Hayes, a resident of San Diego and the first prosecuting attorney at Los Angeles to be elected under American rule.

Prof. Francis H. White, of Pomona College, in a paper on "The development of the national system of land administration," gave a brief account of the history and administration of the General Land Office. Among other matters he showed that in the early days the Government sought large buyers of public lands, the object being sums of money immediately payable. The settler was regarded as a nuisance, and a proclamation of 1785 regards him as a disorderly person. In view of the stupendous work which the Land Office has accomplished, the disposal of 1,600,000,000 acres, its neglect by Congress has been striking. This is evidenced not only by the crowded, poorly lighted quarters assigned to it, but also by the lack of a safe and convenient depository of its valuable records,

duplicates of which may be required at any time because of the destruction of local land offices. Failure of appropriations also resulted for many years in difficulties on account of contract surveying, a plan only quite recently abandoned.

Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, read the last paper of the morning, which was on "The early explorations of Father Francisco Garcés in the Southwest." He prefaced it by stating that, contrary to general opinion, Spanish expansion in North America did not reach its climax in the sixteenth century, but that from 1519 to the opening of the nineteenth century Spain continued to extend her frontiers northward, and that the last third of the eighteenth century was a period of as great advance as any other of equal length after Cortés. One important phase of this activity was exploration within the present limits of the United States. A noteworthy explorer of the period was Garcés. The fifth expedition of Garcés, 1775-76, has been made well known by Dr. Coues, but for the earlier expeditions Coues had little or no material other than Arricivita's "Cronica." Prof. Bolton showed that several diaries and a voluminous correspondence relating to Garcés and not known to Coues have recently been discovered in the archives of Mexico, and that Coues was seriously in error in regard to the expedition of 1771. On that journey Garcés made the first recorded passage of the Yuma Desert, a feat which Kino had several times attempted. Afterward he skirted the Cócopa Mountains from tide-water to a point in Alta California whence he discovered the San Jacinto Mountains. On the return trip he made the first passage of the Colorado Desert. The concluding portion of the paper showed the important causal connection between the work of Garcés and the Anza expedition of 1774 which had Garcés for a guide. It was in following across the Yuma and Colorado deserts a route essentially the same as that marked out three years earlier by the missionary explorer, that Anza opened an overland route to California.

At the business session the auditing committee, consisting of Prof. F. J. Klingberg, Mr. V. M. Porter, and Prof. A. B. Show, reported that the accounts of the acting secretary-treasurer were correct and in good order. On motion the report was adopted.

The committee on resolutions, consisting of Prof. E. D. Adams, Prof. W. A. Morris, and Prof. R. G. Cleland, reported the following:

Whereas by the death of Haven W. Edwards, head of the department of history in the Oakland High School, historical scholarship and teaching in California have lost a distinguished exemplar;

And whereas by his conscientious and efficient labors as secretary-treasurer of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association Mr. Edwards has greatly aided in preserving and creating interest in historical study on this coast;

And whereas his gentle temper, his kindness, and his friendly acquaintance have greatly endeared him to all who knew him: Therefore be it

Resolved, That there be spread upon the minutes of this association an expression of our deep sense of the great loss to the friend of history everywhere, in the death of this good scholar, good teacher, and good man.

Further resolutions were reported, as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That in view of the great success of the present meeting of the Pacific coast branch, and especially of the care and efficiency of the local committee on arrangements under the chairmanship of Prof. R. D. Hunt, the warm thanks of this association be tendered to all those citizens of Los Angeles who have furthered and aided our gatherings, to the president and officials of the University of Southern California, to the Historical Society of Southern California, and to the board of governors of the Museum of History, Arts, and Science.

2. *Resolved*, That, inasmuch as the American Historical Association has decided to hold a meeting in the summer of 1915 in San Francisco, the Pacific coast branch of that association, fully recognizing the great aid of such a meeting to historical study and research on this coast, pledges itself to support enthusiastically every effort to render the occasion a notable one in attendance, in profitable discussion, and in pleasure for the eastern members of the association

On motion the resolutions were adopted.

The committee on nominations, Prof. P. A. Martin, Prof. Edward McMahon, and Prof. R. D. Hunt, reported the following nominees:

For president, Prof. Edmond S. Meany, University of Washington.

For vice president, Prof. Edward B. Krehbiel, Stanford University.

For secretary-treasurer, Prof. William A. Morris, University of California.

For the council, in addition to the above officers, Prof. Edward McMahon, University of Washington; Miss Edith Jordan, Polytechnic High School, Los Angeles; Dean W. F. Bliss, San Diego Normal School; Prof. Robert G. Cleland, Occidental College.

The report of the committee was adopted and the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for the persons named in the report.

The meeting adjourned.

After a complimentary luncheon given by the University of Southern California, the teachers' session, the concluding one of the series, was convened jointly with the Southern California Social Science Association, under the presidency of Prof. Rockwell D. Hunt. In the absence of Prof. Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, who was to have read a paper on "The educational value of local history," Prof. Bolton spoke on the subject, treating it from the standpoint of the schools. He stated that one thing to be desired for young people is an acquaintance with historical materials, and urged an understanding of the nature of these and of historical evidence as an important element in discipline. The interest in the good of one's own community or nation is one of the best results of teaching of history. The patriotism and enthusiasm of the South in matters affecting the State probably come from courses in local history.

In the discussion which followed Miss Jane Harnett, of the Long Beach High School, entered a plea that children be interested in civic history even in towns not long in existence. She cited places which may be called conglomerations of people rather than cities in the

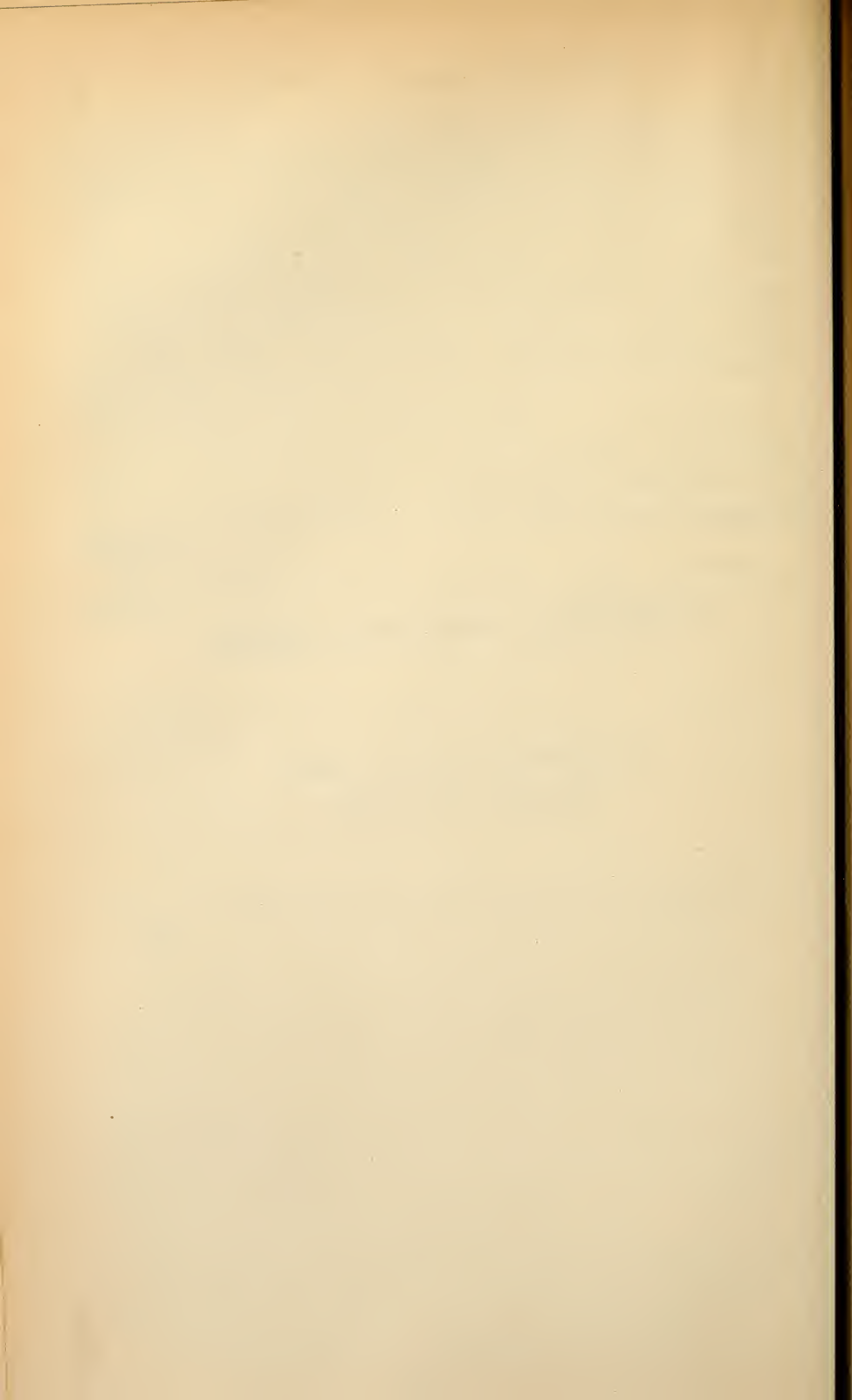
civic sense, where pride is centered only in commercial prosperity and the advance of real estate, without sense of responsibility for a civic situation that is wrong. She advocated in the newer towns the keeping of scrap books by children to record important events in town history and a historical museum room in the high-school building, and also occasional talks by older residents on earlier days. Prof. Stephens pointed out that what is meant by local history in the South is State history, which is deserving of attention in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. He favored the enthusiastic teaching of California history at this point in the school curriculum as an admirable basis for the teaching of European history.

The concluding papers of the afternoon were by Prof. Emory S. Bogardus, of the University of Southern California, on "An introduction to the social sciences," and Prof. Edward McMahon, of the University of Washington, on "The social sciences in the high school."

After a lengthy discussion of the latter paper, the session adjourned.

III. MANUSCRIPTS AND HISTORICAL ARCHIVES.

By WORTHINGTON C. FORD,
Massachusetts Historical Society.



MANUSCRIPTS AND HISTORICAL ARCHIVES.

By WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

Were I to follow the rules of composition laid down in the old guide I would begin with some definitions. Having 20 minutes to my credit I believe 15 could easily be spent in framing a definition which would satisfy no one, but would leave you in a mood to welcome those who come after me on the program. Scientific accuracy has its drawbacks; let us avoid them. For I quite believe that an archive can not be defined in sufficiently precise terms to make it worth while. In a State building it is properly an archive; taken from that cover and owned by a collector, it is an autograph or an historical document; passing thence to the auction room, the mechanical possibilities of typography are exhausted in describing what it is not, with some damage to the English language, and greater damage to the purchaser. In the cabinet of the rich its interest depends upon its cost; it becomes invested, as it were, with a golden aura which will in time be more important than the document itself. The next stage is where it is framed with the check. It has now become a bit of furniture, a possible asset, a gilt-edged curiosity, convenient for starting conversation after dinner. But one more stage remains, in which it is irrevocably buried in the columns of the local newspaper, in an article describing the house and choice possessions of our public-spirited citizen, etc. The document itself is reproduced in illegible minuteness, and with a degree of inaccuracy which makes it unrecognizable, but the portrait of the aforesaid citizen is prominent. The rag or pulp document gives place to the human document. After that it is periodically resurrected for church fairs or in the dog days, when journalistic "copy" is wanted, and may in the end be fortunate enough to find a permanent abiding place in an historical society whose rules prohibit its being copied. Here it will vie with eternity in undisturbed rest.

I have a high admiration for the old-time collector, while thankful that the breed has died out. He took anything without perplexing his mind with questions of right or fitness. He thought nothing of borrowing from private and State offices, and training his memory to forget the fact of borrowing. His zeal was fed by his acquisitions,

and while he started a church member in good standing he ended with a system of bookkeeping which gave a balance only in his favor. According to his lights he was correct in his position, for he sought to counteract the neglect of others, and in default of any other recognized custodian he constituted himself keeper of the rolls. No doubt much has thus been saved which would otherwise have been lost, and for this he should have full credit. But much was also lost through his ignorance, lost actually and geographically, for what he got so cheaply he scattered with a lavish hand and never appreciated the advantage of keeping great collections intact. A single autograph desired led him to break a series of letters, and never could the series be made good. His actions, entirely well intentioned, were unmoral, and rarely did he rise to so high a plane as to merit our gratitude unmixed with real regret that he should have been permitted to have his way.

In his blind and unmoral methods he represented the beginnings of the modern idea of preserving records; his methods, however, are directly opposed to this modern idea of preservation—truly a modern idea in this country, for it has come into application within the last 30 years. There is not in existence a private collection of size which does not contain documents easily recognized as public documents, drawn in some manner from some public source. No auction sale of autographs is held without a good sprinkling of state papers which have evidently strayed, and improperly, from their proper place of deposit. The romance of collecting is full of unexpected finds, but the romance of collecting is more than equaled in vivid interest by the sordid phases of obtaining by underhand methods what is desired. The small value placed upon manuscripts 50 years ago made the labor of the collector light and full of interest. The rapid rise in values in twenty-odd years has reduced the surprises, reduced the opportunities, and sharpened the cupidity of the dealer. Preservation has thus come to mean not only the mechanical acquisition, repairing, binding, calendaring, and storing manuscripts, but the prevention of loss through mutilation or abstraction. The police function is accentuated as the market has become wider and yet more intense. A thousand dollars for a Washington letter is no measure of its historical value, but merely the measure of the buyer's pocket.

The South has for a number of reasons suffered heavy losses of records. Some could have been foreseen and provided against, some were under the conditions inevitable; all are regrettable and irretrievable. Private endeavor is doing much to make good the loss so far as is possible, and in the last 20 years the number and value of private collections in the South have noticeably increased. When the material existed, the historical spirit was wanting, or wasted itself in productions strong in rhetoric and rhapsody, singularly tinged with

a spirit of the past, but deficient in fact and documentary basis. Now that the trained historian is ready, the material is wanting. Yet in spite of this drawback the history of the South and of southern men is taking a form which promises good results, and every one of the original Southern States is doing more to make what it has available for history than is my own State of Massachusetts.

We are made to feel the losses of records by the immense gaps to be encountered in almost any field of investigation. A notable list of names could be made of prominent public men who have left few papers bearing upon their careers, nor would the southern contingent in this list be more numerous or important than the northern. This leaves not a little opportunity for conjecture and a play of imagination, not altogether regrettable, as the exercise of either faculty makes for controversy, and compels a periodical review of our history and biography to test their accuracy in the light of newly discovered material. Imperfection or absence of record excuses many a lame and ill-constructed story and covers with a decent pall the failings of many a reputation. But what shall we say of the modern tendency of public men to indulge in autobiography, interesting from the human side, but usually the despair of the historian? These self-constituted judges insert what they choose and omit what they choose; and they tell chiefly what we do not care to know and what will prove of little value in the final weighing of reputation and service. Do they destroy the manuscript record of failures or disappointments? Our successors will know. In State records the same selection, judicious or otherwise, can not be shown, for the rules and laws not only protect the archives but encourage the preservation of files on a scale hitherto unknown. The coming historian will still meet with gaps in public and private papers and be obliged to regret that his peculiar needs had not been foreseen and provided for; but on the public side his wants will be so fully supplied in quantity that he may be obliged to regret that so much foresight and prevision had guided the legislator and the executive officer.

"Preserve" has been the cry, and under its cover strange performances have taken place. Some 20 years ago the towns of the North rushed their oldest records into a state of preservation, in which each leaf was jacketed between silk covered with a coat of paraffin. The legibility was reduced, the volumes violated all the canons of taste, and the expense was large. Then came a more reasonable period, when the fireproof building took the field, a movement entirely defensible and wholly praiseworthy. Concrete and steel have thrown a protection around our treasures which baffles would-be destroyers, save those who have correctly interpreted the story (it is absurd to call it a myth) of Jupiter and Danaë. We have the results of studies of air-tight cases, hygroscopic earths to keep the air dry, and the

effects of sun, dust, and insects on manuscript material. No two authorities agree in their conclusions, but that is only part of the game, and the time is not yet come when rules may be stated with a degree of finality. The main thing is that attention has been directed to the subject, a proper degree of apprehension aroused by some terrible examples, and each State seeks to exercise an official oversight over the maintenance of its archives and the proper preservation of the records of the past. All this is so much gain, a striking growth within my day. For had I seriously asked 35 years ago my native State, New York, to view its archives, the question would have been interpreted only in one way, as the harmless curiosity of a mildly insane person. To keep me quiet I should have been turned loose in what remained of the collections without so much as a guardian to notice if I was able to read.

The public archives commission of this association has sought to describe the archives of each State in as great detail as will indicate the great classes of material. Naturally, the differences are marked, not only in point of time, but in point of social activity. The original thirteen States are richer in variety of record, but some of the more recently constituted States are better equipped with what the inquirer of to-day wants to study. For the line between economics and history is faintly drawn, and that between sociology and history can not be determined. It is only by comparing conditions that progress or other can be measured, and with the introduction of a time-element history begins. Read the list of executive bureaus in any State, old or new, and the nature of their records, and inevitably comes a sinking of heart. Will the historian of the future be obliged to digest even a part of this material, the dry husks of administration? Impossible. Must this ever increasing mass of record be retained year after year, and becoming deader each year? Certainly undesirable for reasons of space, if for no other reason. What then is the remedy? A prompt utilization after gathering and publication of the result. Here the economist has a field for his operations; for to the historian the predigestion of social facts by the economist is of the highest value. But what an argument this makes for a high quality of public official. The best only can plan the methods of gathering the facts, devise the machinery for digesting them, and make them intelligible in printed form. The best talent is demanded for their interpretation after the publication. When we see the heads of bureaus appointed for reasons other than fitness, when we see the volumes of crude, unrelated, and misapplied figures, documents, and so-called investigations, when we find ignorance, partizanship, and secret influence in charge of these investigations, it only remains to decide that money and labor have been thrown away, that a great opportunity

has been wasted, and that a fraud has been perpetrated on the community and on the future historian. The record of this inefficiency is unfortunately carefully preserved, and as the hollowness is soon discovered, it is a worthless but costly burden to carry, a standing obstruction to better effort and enterprises.

Is there not danger that the desire to save may be carried too far, to the burdening futurity with what is of no worth? Great changes have occurred in a century. A letter used to be something of a rarity, and outside of mere details of business, was made at least worth the postage—some six times the present amount for a short distance. A responsibility lay on the writer to say what was worth reading. That responsibility is no longer felt, and few are the letters which rise above a 2-cent valuation. The same change has affected one of the most interesting features of governmental activity. The diplomatic representative of a government has almost ceased to be a diplomat, and is a recorder of court functions, a guardian of monied interests, a seeker for fat concessions, and occasionally a statesman. The telegraph and the cable have deprived him of his more important functions and destroyed him as a writer. When two weeks were required for a letter to cross the ocean the dispatches were few in number, and as the responsibility of the minister was greater the subjects referred to the home government were not many. The diplomatic dispatches had a tone or flavor of interest, and they contained good reports on passing events, even if they did contain much of an ephemeral character—the surmises, the suggestions, the plots, and the counterplots of Continental Europe. These dispatches are distinctly worth reading, and down to the days of the cable the task of reading is not oppressive. In the correspondence of to-day one is struck by the large number of subjects treated, how much the treatment involves administrative questions, and how seldom the tone of statesmanship is reached. The hundred or so dispatches a year from an important legation of 1810 rose to the thousand in 1850 and to the tens of thousands of to-day. A condition of war may account for an occasional increase; questions of citizenship and protection to property have made it permanent.

Think of preserving the returns made to the Census Bureau, the stubs of internal-revenue stamps, the post-office issues, or the evidences of State activity when forms are used, differing only in the name, locality, and amount. Have you ever tried to save your household bills—a precaution of good origin and intent, but with what a repulsive result? It is worse than reading over a dinner menu after some years—disgusting. Yet down to a certain period just such bills have real historical value; the best material for reconstituting a phase of household economy—a manor, a plantation, a farm, a community. The historian wishes lists of executive officers; the

economist demands tables of prices, rates of wages, the returns of land, and the movement of population. The absence of reliable data back of the eighteenth century is marked, and it becomes more marked as we go back in time. Yet the material is somewhere and in fair quantity. When we read of the 14,000,000 volumes and bundles of papers in the archives of Venice, when we are told of the even greater accumulations in the Spanish archives, and when we sample the stores of the English Public Record Office, our own collections seem small and manageable, indeed. I saw under one roof of a private house in London the records of that house from the twelfth century. We are fortunate if we can begin with the middle of the seventeenth. And until recently we have done our best to destroy what we have, and should be profoundly grateful that even a part remains. Yet I revert to the question, Are we not carrying preservation into directions where the returns will be small?

Trash is anything which I do not want, and the ease of marking this characteristic warns us that the characterization is not correct; for the elements of time and space at once step in to question it. What is not of use at one time or in one place is of vital import at another time or in another place. This is a truism which meets the investigator at every turn, and so often convicts him of short-sightedness, if not of fatal oversight. It has, as you may know, been my function to build up collections of records, and as an enthusiast I have been compelled to pass judgment upon the possible value of manuscripts—not the money value, but the value they may possess for the historian and economist. The answer can only be given by sifting material, and yet what standard can be applied? A good letter, a state paper, a social record speak for themselves. What about the thousand and one other forms of writing? It is easy to fix the time when the great mass can begin to be sifted—when the newspaper takes up the record. We should not now look to a merchant's books for the price of flour, but to the market reports. Whatever field of social activity the newspaper regularly covers, that may be left to the periodical summary of the fit officer. Purely administrative papers of to-day are worthless; they must be affected with a public interest to give them life. And we see that the States do destroy such records, but with how much discretion no one, not even the destroying officer, is in a position to say.

Examples may aid us to understand this question. The United States Government has from time to time got rid of stores of its administrative records. The usual process was to have a committee of the office or department set aside what was not necessary for the running of the office, and its report was laid before Congress, who then authorized the destruction. No account was taken of the possible historical value of these papers; they had ceased to be of ad-

ministrative value, and by that they were condemned. How much of real worth to the investigator has thus been destroyed it is impossible to say, for the description of condemned matter is too vague to enable us to appraise it; but in the customhouses alone thousands of tons of papers have been swept into the paper mill which should have been examined by some one competent to pass upon them as archives and not mere office records. The port of Baltimore is in point. A good part of the records were destroyed by order, and some saved by the dealers as curiosities were repurchased by one branch of the Government, which should have been consulted before a bundle had been thus summarily disposed of. In Savannah were found the slave-trade returns and some Confederate records; in New Orleans the records of the Confederate customhouses luckily escaped destruction. The consular certificates, the ships' papers of vessels engaged in privateering, the records of coast slave movements, and the correspondence with the Department of the Treasury—what port can show its files complete? The very circular instructions for conducting customs business have been so far lost that only one set is said to be in existence, and that was made up from the different ports of entry as each could supply what was needed. The carelessness or indifference of custodians and the dangers which surround old papers have aided the officials in keeping down the accumulations and given occasion to keen regrets on the part of the student that greater care in selection had not been used.

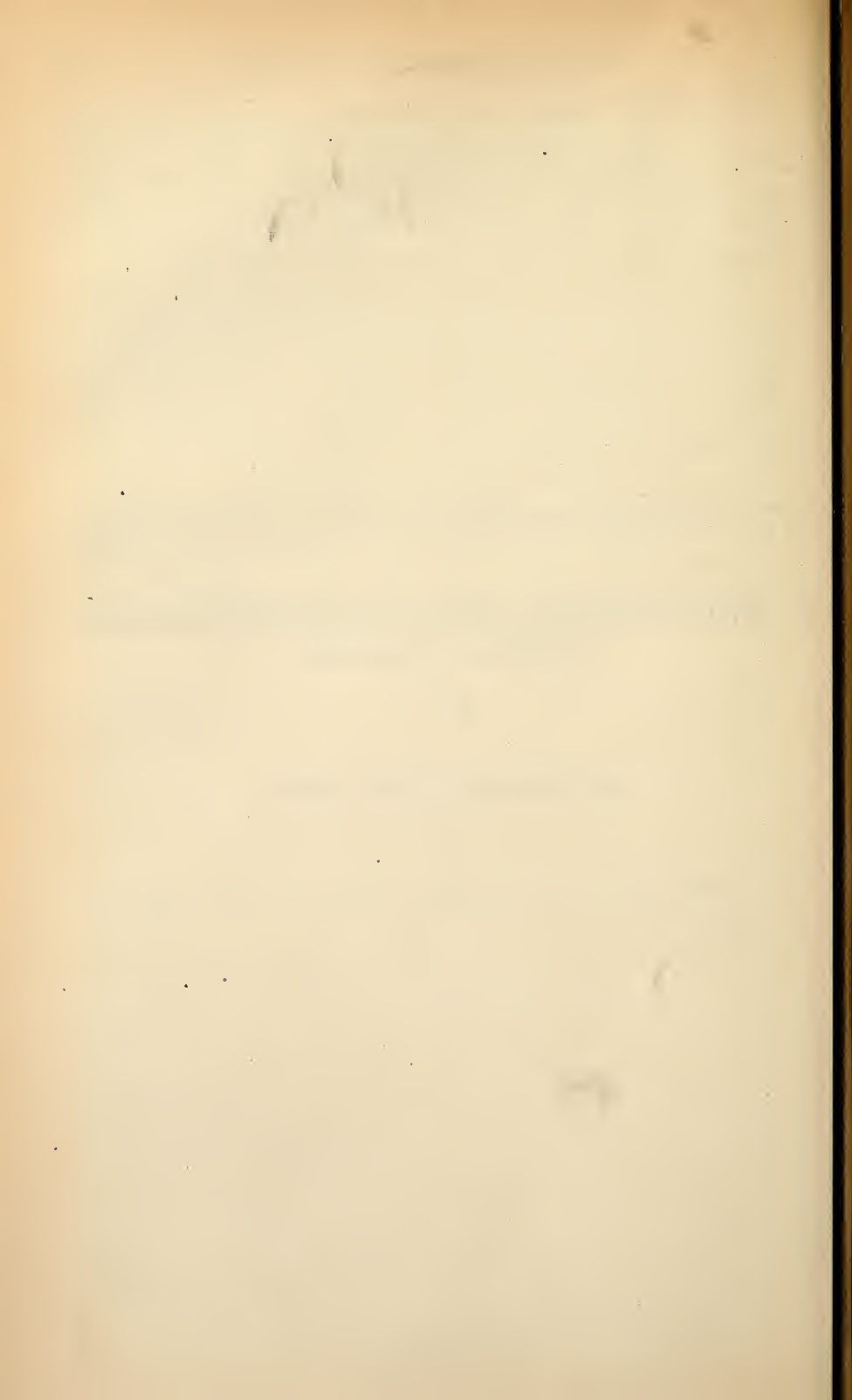
The problem is not a simple one. Go into a museum of size, and after a short time you experience an attack of mental indigestion. There is too much to be healthily absorbed in a short time, and memory and interest become dulled. An Indian flint arrowhead is curious and instructive; a dozen offer many points for comparison, but a bushel becomes so many stones and can be apprehended only by the expert or the enthusiastic collector to whom a pound is better than an ounce, a pint more satisfying than a drop. The expert will select from a hundred arrowheads enough to display the various differences, and will consign the rest to the cellar, duly ticketed as to source and conditions under which found, and ready for the student who wishes or needs the mass. Our museums have concluded that for general or exhibition purposes a judicious selection must be made and a special student must be accommodated by special arrangements. The same rule may be applied to administrative records—soon to be numbered by the million and soon to be beyond the capacity of any State building save one specially designed to contain them. Here lies our endeavor: To secure fireproof buildings to preserve the records of value; to preserve characteristic samples of State administration; to see that fit men, having a proper admixture of adminis-

trative and historical qualities, are put in charge. Every good historian must perforce be in favor of a high civil service.

One word more. A year ago I intimated that the historical societies might serve as clearing houses of historical material, receiving what is offered and placing it where it properly belongs. This, if carried out in a broad spirit, would do much to prevent excessive duplication and to correct the eccentricity of location of manuscripts, now so often encountered, which imposes a heavy toll in time and money on the student, whose interests are of the highest importance. Since that time I have been impressed by the welcome given to the suggestion. Occasionally an enthusiast foreign to Massachusetts, with a zeal which might be directed in a more fruitful direction and with that whole-heartedness which is shown in disposing of another man's property, such an enthusiast demands the return of a document he momentarily needs. I admire his enthusiasm and do violence to my altruism. The time has not yet come when one institution can act in that distribution. There must be reciprocity. Yet I am still of opinion that the idea is a good one, and hope to live till it has come to be a recognized practice.

IV. FRAUDS IN HISTORICAL PORTRAITURE, OR SPURIOUS PORTRAITS
OF HISTORICAL PERSONAGES.

By CHARLES HENRY HART.



FRAUDS IN HISTORICAL PORTRAITURE, OR SPURIOUS PORTRAITS OF HISTORICAL PERSONAGES.

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The subject I shall present for your consideration seems to me to be one of the first in importance. If it is of any interest for us to know how the men and women of the past appeared in life to their friends and contemporaries, it is imperative that we should be satisfied that the representations given to us are true and not false, for unless implicit reliance can be placed on the authenticity of the likeness a portrait is worthless. This untilled field is a much larger and a much more fertile one than its title may convey to those persons who have paid little or no regard to its cultivation. Few who have not had their attention particularly called to the facts have any idea of the number of spurious portraits that are passed off for true likenesses. Many of the best-known portraits purporting to be authentic likenesses of our great men and women are nothing more or less than apocryphal. Not only are many of these portraits not authentic, as likenesses of the individuals whose names are given to them, but in innumerable cases portraits of other well-known persons have been used as substitutes, so that the number of so-called portraits that have been proved false is well calculated to astonish one unacquainted with the facts. Were this familiarly known it would be recognized that to have a verified likeness of a person is quite as material as to have a true history of his life and actions.

A life portrait of a real man is the nearest we can get to the individual's personality. We each one and all know this by the cherished portraits that we possess of those near and dear to us either among the living or the dead. Thomas Carlyle, one of the most philosophical among historians, has said:

Often I have found a portrait superior in real instruction to half a dozen written biographies, as biographies are written. In all my poor historical investigations it has been and always is one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the personage inquired after, a good portrait if such exists; failing this, even an indifferent, if sincere, one. In short, any representation made by a faithful human creature of that face and figure, which he saw with his eyes and which I never can see with mine, is more valuable to me and much better than none at all. It is not the untrue imaginary picture of a man and

his work that I want, but the actual natural likeness, true as the face itself; nay, truer in a sense, which the artist, if there is one, might help to give and the botcher never can.

These sentiments so aptly expressed by Carlyle, which is more than can be said for the expression of many of his sentiments, find response in nearly every one. Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, the eminent anthropologist, said on one occasion when presenting a medal to a prominent man:

The portrait transmits the features, the physical individuality of the person to future generations. Without such a record, without the power of picturing to our mind the individual as he was, his name and fame are vague abstractions to us and we lose half the force of his personality.

A portrait, it must be remembered, is not a mathematically exact reproduction of the features and form of the person portrayed. It is the expression of the character that must dominate the portrait to be of real value—the inner man must be written on the outward form. As Tennyson so beautifully expresses it in the “Idylls of the King”:

As when a painter poring on a face,
Divinely thro’ all hindrance finds the man
Behind it, and so paints him, that his face,
The shape and colour of a mind and life,
Lives for his children even at its best
And fullest.

In the expression of a man’s countenance we can almost always trace his character, and we retain a more correct recollection of his actions by keeping in our mind a lively impression of his appearance. It is the lack of expression that makes camera portraits generally so unsatisfactory, although doubtless they are nearly mathematically correct. As Sir Joshua Reynolds said in one of his masterly discourses, so masterly that his enemies contended they must have been written for him by Edmund Burke:

In portraits the grace, and we may add the likeness, consists more in taking the general air than in observing the exact similitude of every feature.

A French writer, carried away by his national love for epigrams, has derisively written: “Portraiture is nothing more than art placed at the service of vanity.” He then seeks, irrationally, to place portraiture below works of the imagination, as being a mere copying of the subject or model, and to controvert Lessing’s argument that in the portrait it is sought to represent the ideal of a determinate person and not that of men in general. While vanity may be the main-spring instigating many persons to have their portraits preserved, it is not only a pardonable vanity but it is a laudable one and far from degrading art and the artist to the plane of a mere copyist, elevates both; portraiture being in pictorial art what biography is in

letters—its highest department. As I said on another occasion, “how dead the past would be but for the ‘counterfeit presentments’ that we have of the men and women who lived in the days that have gone before. We see the faithful effigies of those who have played extraordinary parts and proved themselves select men among men. We read their countenances; we trace their characters and conduct in the unreal image, and then, as if made free of their company, follow on with redoubled animation the events in which they lived and moved and had their being.”¹ Therefore it is in portraiture that both painter and public find the keenest satisfaction and the greatest works of art, of the past and of the present, are portraits.

Carlyle hit the nail squarely on the head when he said, “Any representation made by a faithful human creature of that face and figure *he saw with his eyes*.” In other words, for the portrait to be of sterling value it must have the guinea mark of originality and truth. Were these qualities always present in the portraits inscribed “Mr. A and Mr. B,” there would not be any opportunity for my present discourse. It is the fact that there are so many effigies of the illustrious dead that are not representations made by a faithful human creature of the face and figure he saw with his eyes that provides a text for my preachment.

While we know that the ancients, especially the Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, handed down conventional effigies of their ancestors from generation to generation that pass for portraits, yet even this practice fell into disuse, and there is a hiatus during which we find few or no effigies, except some, most crude, in mosaic, metal, or glass, that are wholly indeterminate in their iconographic value, and this is one of the possible reasons that we have no veritable portrait of the founder of the Christian Church or of any of his apostolic followers. At the same time it must not be forgotten that Christ was a Jew and that all imitations of the human form were strictly prohibited to the Jews. So far, indeed, was this prohibition carried that artists were excluded from the Jewish provinces. Whatever the cause, there is not known today any representation of Christ in art that dates before the fifth century; so that the first apocryphal portraits we have to note are the multitude of fictitious heads that pass, and have passed and will continue to pass, as portraits of the Savior. This subject has been so elaborately and ably discussed from the artistic side, the archæological side, the literary side, and the religious side, that all necessary here is to state the result of the most competent investigators.²

Likewise the so-called portraits of the early potentates of Europe are mere effigies without any attempt at real portraiture, and bonnie

¹ “Hints on Portraits and How to Catalogue Them,” Philadelphia, 1898, pp. 8-9.

² This paper was illustrated by lantern slides.

Scotland seems to have taken the lead in their wholesale manufacture. There is on record to-day, in Edinburgh, a contract between the Government and one James de Witt, in 1684, requiring him to furnish the series of portraits, 110 in number, of the kings of Scotland that are in the long gallery at Holyrood Palace,¹ while some years earlier Sir Colin Campbell had employed George Jamesone, called by Walpole the Scottish Van Dyke, to paint 25 of the early kings and queens drawn from his free imagination. Even our own Gilbert Stuart had employment of this kind. He was fond of telling how, when he was in Ireland, he was invited to a castle that had recently come into the possession of an army contractor, made rich by his contracts, who wanted Stuart to paint for him a series of portraits of his ancestors such as he ought to have, which Stuart proceeded to do, and gave him a straight line from William the Conqueror down, with no foundation but imagination for any of them.²

The earliest authentic life portrait that we know is the famous fresco portrait in Florence of Dante (1265-1321) painted by Giotto (1266-1337) on the walls of the Podestà Palace, afterwards the Bargello, which for centuries, until 1840, was concealed from view by layer upon layer of whitewash, consequent upon the change of the use of the room in the building upon the walls of which it was painted, from a chapel to a prison.³ It has been so much restored that it is impossible to determine to-day whether it is a real or an unreal portrait. But it required two centuries after this before portrait painting, as we understand it today, was generally practiced, and almost coeval with its practice was the introduction of fake portraits.

There are three distinct classes of spurious portraits, which may be classed under the equity headings of fraud, accident, and mistake. First those that are frauds per se, consisting in the publishing of a genuine portrait of A with the name of B, with the intention to deceive; secondly, those that have been reproduced by inadequate means or by unskillful hands; and thirdly, those which are erroneously named by mistake or from insufficient investigation and proof of authenticity. The first and second classes consist largely of engravings and other reproductions, while the last consists, for the most part, exclusively of paintings and sculpture, which, fortunately, do not offend so frequently.

Two flagrant examples of this last kind, however, have been perpetrated by two learned societies in this country, one arising from carelessness and the other from deliberate imposition. The first

¹ James Drummond, Notes upon some Scottish Historical Portraits, Proc. Soc. of Antiquarians of Scotland, 1875, vol. XI, p. 251.

² Mason, Life of Gilbert Stuart, p. 53.

³ R. T. Holbrook, Portraits of Dante from Giotto to Raffael, London, 1911.

belongs to the American Philosophical Society and the second to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For years there hung on one of the walls of the old Philosophical Hall, in Philadelphia, a portrait inscribed "Francis Hopkinson," and attributed to the brush of Charles Willson Peale. As such it was contributed by the venerable philosophers to the exhibition of historical portraits that I arranged at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1887. A few years later a portrait of Samuel Vaughan, the friend of Franklin and of the Colonies, was submitted to me from Boston, by his grandson, for my opinion as to whether it was painted by Benjamin West. As soon as I saw it I recognized it as a duplicate of the Philosophical Society portrait of Hopkinson by Peale. A thorough investigation of the subject showed that the Philosophical Society canvas was in reality a portrait of Samuel Vaughan, but painted by Robert Edge Pine, and it is now so tableted on the frame.¹ The story of the Historical Society portrait is very different. It was bought at auction in London as an unknown portrait and brought to this country and foisted on the Historical Society of Pennsylvania as an early portrait of Benjamin Franklin. The only reason for this was that the subject holds in his hand a letter addressed to "John Foxcroft," who was Franklin's deputy postmaster and had married Franklin's natural daughter, the portrait itself not bearing the least resemblance to any portrait of Franklin. I pointed out to Dr. Sydney George Fisher that the letter being addressed to John Foxcroft was absolute proof that the portrait was of the man who held the letter he had received, illustrating my point by innumerable instances of the name of the subject of a portrait being inscribed by the painter in this manner. Of this Dr. Fisher was so well convinced that when he published his *True Benjamin Franklin* he reproduced this portrait properly inscribed with its right name—"John Foxcroft." But all the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has done has been to take Franklin's name off and leave the canvas unnamed.

Another instance, and one that it is difficult to classify, is the so-called portrait of Robert Fulton that hangs in the rooms of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in New York. Apart from any other adverse criticism that can be made upon it, the subject of the portrait has blue eyes and fair hair, while Fulton had dark-brown hair, and "eyes dark and penetrating and revolving in a capacious orbit of cavernous depth," as a contemporary describes him. This spurious portrait of Fulton has been reproduced by the society in its journal and spread broadcast; and what makes "confusion worse confounded" is that it was used as the model for the head of Fulton that graces the monument erected by the society to

¹ Story of a Portrait, *Harper's Weekly*, Mar. 16, 1896.

the inventor's memory in Trinity churchyard, New York. These examples of misnamed portraits are fair illustrations of how the trick is done, one by honest mistake through unpardonable carelessness, another by intentional deception, and a third partaking a little of the character of each of the others. Were the advice of John Locke universally followed, as it should be, none of these misnomers could occur. Writing to a correspondent named Collins, he says:

Pray get Sir Godfrey [Kneller] to write on the back of my Lady Masham's picture, "Lady Masham," and on the back of mine "John Locke." This he did to Mr. Molyneux. It is necessary to be done, or else the picture of private persons are lost in two or three generations.

Another class of spurious portraits, which may be called intermediate, includes cases where no true portrait exists of a person and a portrait is made up either from recollection or from some other person who is supposed to have closely resembled the person to be represented. For instance, Hogarth's not unfamiliar portrait of Henry Fielding, the novelist, was painted from David Garrick, who knew Fielding well and had such a mobile face and such marvelous power of imitating other faces that he was able to throw himself into the needed form. But here at home, too, we have a noted instance. The familiar portrait of Patrick Henry, with spectacles upon his forehead, painted by Thomas Sully, 16 years after Henry's death, was founded on Dance's portrait of Capt. James Cook, which Henry was considered to resemble; but now that an authentic life miniature of Henry has been found we know that Dance's portrait did not much resemble the Virginian orator, and is at best a picture and not a portrait.¹ Likewise, the so-called portraits of William Penn are spurious.² There is no authenticated life portrait of Penn, and the only one with any claim to resemblance was carved from memory after Penn's death, by Sylvanus Bevan, an apothecary. Though the artist was an amateur, Penn's son Richard pronounced the portrait "a good likeness." So, too, Benjamin Harrison, jr., stood for the portrait of his father, the governor of Virginia and signer of the Declaration of Independence, in Trumbull's picture of the "Signing of the Declaration of Independence"; while a son of Gen. Hugh Mercer, killed at the battle of Princeton, represents his patriot father in the same painter's picture of that battle.

In this class may be placed also portraits made from silhouettes which give the mere outline of the profile of the face. Upon these have been built full-fledged portraits which are little better than spurious. When the Bank of North America, the first bank chartered in the United States, for which reason it alone was not required to adopt

¹ See "The Miniature and Portraits of Patrick Henry," the Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, No. XXVI, p. 167.

² Ibid., p. 76.

the word "national," under the national banking act, desired a portrait of each of its presidents, there was nothing of John Morton but a Peale Museum silhouette. From this, with the aid of a descendant who was believed to bear a close resemblance to his ancestor, a profile portrait was produced and etched, and will go down to posterity as a genuine portrait of the third president of the bank. What is doubly unfortunate in this instance is that, although they were not even related, this spurious portrait of the bank president is often used as that of the signer of the Declaration of Independence of the same name, of whom, too, there is no genuine portrait. A similar instance is that of the portrait of Benjamin Chew, the last Tory chief justice of Pennsylvania before the Revolution. There was naught known of him iconographically but a silhouette with a large hat, published in the "Portfolio"¹ the year following his death. Upon this flat profile another spurious portrait was built by filling in the outline, also from a descendant, and it too will soon be looked upon as real instead of what it is, unreal.

But a wholesale deception of a serious character was perpetrated something over a generation ago, for the gratification of a very honorable gentleman residing in New York, who had no intention of imposing upon anyone, but who wanted effigies of all the signers of the Declaration of Independence, although of a number there were, in 1870, when they were made, no authentic portraits known. Notwithstanding, this apparently insurmountable difficulty was overcome and in due time there appeared etched portraits, by H. B. Hall, of Francis Lightfoot Lee, William Whipple, George Taylor, James Smith, Lyman Hall, John Hart, Caesar Rodney, Button Gwinnett, John Penn, Benjamin Harrison, and Carter Braxton, which to-day are looked upon by the uninitiated as genuine portraits. What is most deplorable in this connection is the unfortunate circumstance that fake portraits of at least four of the signers of the Declaration of Independence have gained admission within the sacred portals of the room where the immortal document was adopted. On the walls hang effigies, recently admitted, inscribed with the names of John Hart and of George Taylor, neither of which have the slightest warrant of authenticity as portraits of those worthies, while others of William Whipple and Benjamin Harrison have been there a longer time but without any better warrant.

From the needle of H. B. Hall also appeared another very remarkable fake portrait, which he etched for a coterie of gentlemen calling themselves "The Club," that issued a number of historical portraits nearly half a century ago. There hung in the old Peale Museum in Philadelphia for many years a portrait of Arthur O'Connor, who

¹ Portfolio, 1811. Ser. III, vol. V, p. 89.

led the Irish Guides in Napoleon's army, painted by Rembrandt Peale, in Paris in 1803, and there it remained until the public sale of the collection in 1854, when it was acquired by the city of Philadelphia and, for what reason history does not tell, was rechristened "Charles Lee" and hung in the statehouse collection. There it hung until the restoration of the old building, just prior to the centennial celebration of the event for which the building is most noted, when its identity was recognized and it was turned out of doors, but not until Hall and "The Club" had spread it far and near as a portrait of Lee, who in American history is entitled to a niche close beside Benedict Arnold. This transmigration is exceedingly curious and likewise difficult to classify. It was, too, a most serious fraud because there is no authentic portrait of Charles Lee, and the O'Connor portrait has been used for Lee whenever one was required, as in Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, the Magazine of American History, and elsewhere. Prior to the reproduction of the O'Connor portrait, the familiar portrait lettered Charles Lee formed one of the series of mezzotint spurious portraits of "Rebel officers," issued in London between 1775 and 1778 by one C. Shepherd and others there, as well as on the Continent. The series, which is well known to collectors, contains so-called portraits of Benoit (sic) Arnold, Horatio Gates, John Hancock, Commodore Hopkins, Sir William Howe, Israel Putnam, Robert Rogers, John Sullivan, David Wooster, George Washington, and Charles Lee. Not one of them is authentic, although the Hancock has some resemblance to genuine portraits of the second president of Congress. Several of these effigies have been perpetuated in the illustrated edition of Irving's Life of Washington, thus giving currency to them as veritable likenesses. Among these are Sir William Howe, of whom there is no portrait, John Sullivan and Charles Lee. The portrait of Washington in the series just mentioned is wonderfully and curiously made, and on the day of its issue, September 9, 1775, the same publisher, C. Shepherd, issued yet another of the commander in chief, still more wonderful and curious in its caricature character, the well-known man on horseback inscribed with Washington's name. Both of these we are told on the prints were drawn by one Alexander Campbell of Williamsburg in Virginia, and to these types of Washington portraits the name of the putative artist has been given. One of these prints, which one we do not know, but from Washington's criticism probably the first mentioned, Joseph Reed sent to Mrs. Washington, in acknowledging which Washington writes to Reed: "*Mr. Campbell whom I never saw* to my knowledge, has made a very formidable figure of the commander in chief, giving him sufficient portion of terror in his countenance." That these are not the only fictitious portraits of the Father of his Country is shown by my catalogue of the

Engraved Portraits of Washington, issued by the Grolier Club in 1904, where no less than 147 of such portraits are described, including one of the sentimental German poet Schiller transformed into the American general. But the most pertinacious and best known fictitious portrait of Washington is the "pretty picture" familiarly called "Rembrandt Peale's Washington," which was not painted until 1823, almost a quarter of a century after the subject's death, and is a composite portrait made up from several different ones to suit the idea of the painter, and not, as constantly stated, like in Norman Hapgood's Washington, "painted in 1795." In 1795, when the painter was 17, he did paint a canvas of Washington, when his father, brother, and uncle were painting him; but it is not the familiar spurious portrait or anything like it, and Rembrandt Peale re-committed his offense 79 times.¹

Franklin, too, has not escaped doing duty for others and having others do duty for him. The portrait of Roger Williams prefixed to Gammell's life of the founder of Rhode Island is a vamped-up portrait of Franklin from the earliest authentic portrait of him, painted by Matthew Pratt, as reproduced in Watson's Annals of Philadelphia. This reappears with additional embellishments in Benedict's History of the Baptists.² The portrait engraved by Levy for the famous Versailles gallery as Franklin is one of De la Tour, the eminent French pastellist, while the portrait known for years as the Gainsborough portrait of Franklin is one of David Middleton, a surgeon in the British army. A print by Ryder, after Elmer, doubtless familiar to some of you as "The Politician," later had the name of Franklin engraved upon the plate and was shoved off as an authentic likeness, and as such the original painting now hangs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Nor, as we have seen, has it been considered necessary to wait for a man's death before perpetrating these frauds. Perhaps the most remarkable instance is the portrait of Milton prefixed to the edition of his poems published in 1645. Some of you may know the story of Marshall, the engraver, sending to Milton a proof of the portrait he had engraved for the book to receive Milton's approval. This was so execrable that the poet wrote upon it in Greek, "Will anyone say that this portrait was the work of an ingenious hand? My very friends looking at my own natural countenance know not whom it represents, but laugh at the awkward imitation of the idiotic artist." This Milton sent back to the engraver, who, not understanding Greek, imagined the lines were complimentary and facsimiled them on the plate, so that the poison and the antidote went forth together,

¹ McClure's Magazine for February, 1897, vol. VIII, p. 292.

² S. S. Rider, An inquiry concerning the authenticity of an alleged portrait of Roger Williams, Providence, 1891, R. I. Hist. Tracts, 2d series, no. 2.

to the amusement of the poet and the subsequent chagrin of the artist. There are a number of other spurious portraits of Milton, he having been frequently open to attack.

From this rehearsal you will see that the actual fraud has been committed much more often in engraved portraits than in painted ones. Genuine portraits were engraved of some popular idol or to illustrate some ephemeral book. The plate served its purpose and the portrait of another person was needed. Either from economy of money or of time the original name was obliterated and a new name substituted, with sometimes a slight change in lines or details. A flagrant instance of such fraudulent work occurred in this country at the time of the Bolivar émeute. An itinerant Italian engraver, Michele Pekinino, engraved a large plate of his friend, the mild, gentle American landscape painter, Asher Brown Durand, which he afterward, on falling out with Durand, surrounded with a rectangular frame and sent forth into the world as a veritable portrait of the South American liberator, then at the zenith of his fame. Not satisfied with one such fraud, he changed a small plate of Stephen Decatur into the same Bolivar, as before changing his own name as engraver. In like manner, a print of Sir John Burgh became Gustavus Adolphus; Charles I did service for Oliver Cromwell; Cromwell for William of Orange; Sir Thomas More for Erasmus; Sir William Jones, the orientalist, with his locks lopped off, for Henry Clay; and so on ad infinitum.

The earliest fraudulent portrait engraved in this country doubtless is the very rare but well-known one of Col. Benjamin Church, that was engraved by Paul Revere for the Newport edition (1772) of Church's History of King Philip's Wars, from a portrait of Charles Churchill, the satirist, which Revere copied exactly, only adding a powder horn slung around the neck.¹ The familiar profile portrait of Anthony Wayne, in uniform and cocked hat, commonly but inaccurately called "Trumbull's portrait of Wayne," is a spurious portrait of him, whom, according to the true portraits of Wayne by Peale, Savage, and Elouis, it does not in the least resemble.² All of the figures tableted as Francis Marion, the daring hero of the South in the Revolution, are the creations of fancy, as no authentic portrait of him has been discovered, the one most commonly seen being the invention of the English illustrator, Thomas Stothard, in his picture of the battle of Eutaw. Mary Ball, the mother of Washington, has at least four totally different and wholly dissimilar portraits christened with her name, but no veritable portrait of this notable woman has as yet been identified.³ Thomas

¹ See Proceedings, Mass. Hist. Soc., 1882, XIX, 245.

² Penna. Magazine of Hist. and Biog., 1911, Vol. XXXV, p. 257.

³ Since this was written I have identified one of the four as a true authentic life portrait of Washington's mother painted by Robert Edge Pine in Virginia, in 1786, and owned by W. Lanier Washington, her lineal descendant in the sixth generation.

Jefferson,¹ the great-grandfather of Joe Jefferson, of Rip Van Winkle memory, has masqueraded² for the President of the United States with the same name, while the President of the United States has stood for Joe Jefferson's father. The most commonly seen portrait of "Burgoyne," wearing a cocked hat, is not of the general who surrendered at Saratoga, but of his cousin and namesake, who became Sir John Burgoyne in 1780. As is universally known to-day, all of the effigies called Christopher Columbus are spurious, there being no verified portrait of the discoverer of America.

In later days, we have the present distinguished President of the United States, in his *History of the American People*, giving a portrait of Capt. Nicholas Biddle, of the Continental Navy, in full uniform, for his nephew of the same name, the eminent financier. And in Paul Leicester Ford's *True George Washington*, a well-known portrait of Mrs. Siddons, by Lawrence, is given for Eleanor Custis, while in *Universities and Their Sons*,³ a portrait of Dr. Thomas Bond (1790-1859), of Watertown, Mass., is given in the section devoted to the University of Pennsylvania for Dr. Thomas Bond (1712-1784), the man who suggested to Franklin the need of a hospital in Philadelphia. The whole series of so-called portraits of distinguished characters, both American and foreign, drawn by one Alonzo Chappell is spurious, and the portraits of the women in Griswold's *Republican Court* were likewise designed for the book, some of them with authentic faces and some of them fake ab initio.

In a rapid survey of the enormous field open to us it is impossible to note all of the spurious portraits that strut about as the real counterfeit presentments of the individuals whose names they bear, but there are some too prominent to pass by. For instance, the charming, poetical head by Guido Reni that so many of you have admired in the Barberini Palace, in Rome, for its subtle beauty and the tragic history of its supposed original, can not be a portrait of Beatrice Cenci, as it has been for so long called, as Guido did not visit Rome until some years after the youthful parricide had been executed. In Westminster Abbey many of you have gazed with kindly thoughts of "The Spectator" upon Westmacott's statue of Joseph Addison, but few of you perhaps knew that the portrait from which it was modeled, while it had hung in Holland House for more than a century as a true likeness of the great essayist, was in reality a portrait of Sir Andrew Fountaine, who succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as master of the mint.

But the name above every other name to which the whole world bows in awe and reverence and admiration is not written upon any true limning of his features. Of William Shakespeare we have no

¹ Monthly Mirror, 1804.² Hibernian Magazine, 1810.³ Vol. 1, p. 257.

portrait. "Tis true, 'tis pity; and pity 'tis 'tis true." Whether Ben Johnson was in his cups when he wrote the inscription on the Droeshout print, prefaced to the first folio published seven years after the bard's death, or whether he did not mean what his words would import, as has been contended by many, no rational human being can ever accept that meaningless, wooden, doughfaced head as a veritable portrait of the author of the poems and plays that go by Shakespeare's name; yet it is the only effigy that can receive even serious consideration as a representation of the Bard of Avon. I have theories of my own on the Shakespeare question that this lack of authentic portraiture helps strongly to support, but this is not the occasion to discuss them, although I want it to be understood that I in no wise follow the absurd deductions of a recent Baconian pedant on this subject.¹ I will, however, essay to bridge the gulf of three centuries since Shakespeare's time by telling you the last bits of spurious portraiture in our midst that have come to my knowledge. In October, 1912, there died in Florence, Italy, a sculptor named Frederick Beer, who had made a statue of Columbus for the World's Fair Building in Chicago. His death caused a search for the monument, when it was discovered in McKinley Park in the Windy City with the name of Columbus neatly chiseled off, as also some of his flowing locks, and the name of William McKinley placed on the pedestal. Surely we do need an art commission for this broad land.

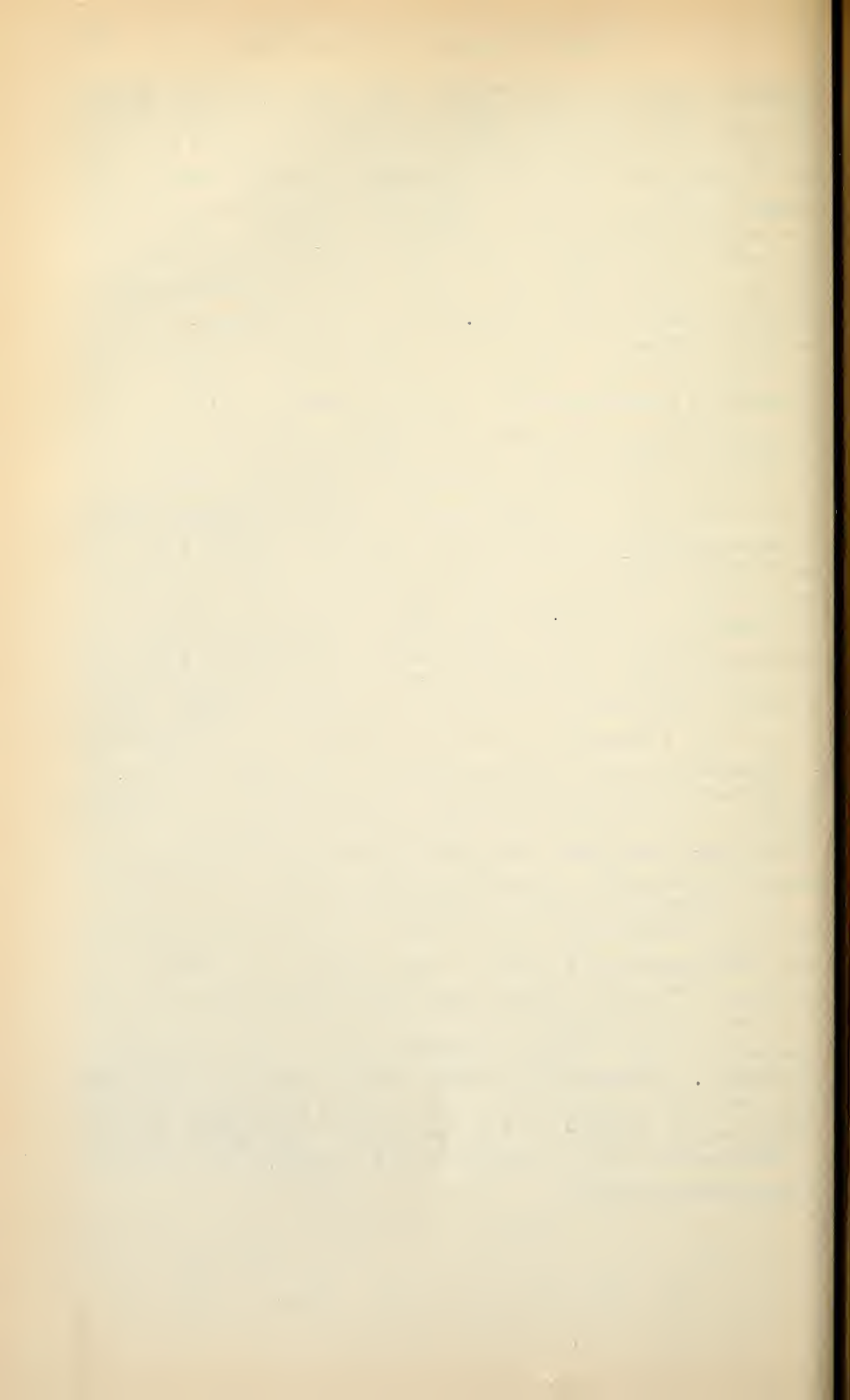
The other, of greater moment in the fields of art and of historical portraiture, has been discovered within the present month, and while it is clear that a mistake has been made somewhere, it is not determined with absolute certainty where the mistake is. In 1819, William Short, who was secretary of legation to Thomas Jefferson, when the latter was American minister to France, sent to the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia a marble bust by the greatest of French sculptors, Jean Antoine Houdon, as a bust of Condorcet, accompanying it with a letter to Jefferson, who was the president of the society, giving a minute circumstantial account of how the bust came into his possession in 1795, from the granddaughter of Madam de la Rochefoucauld, at whose hotel, he reminded Jefferson, they both had often seen it. As "Condorcet by Houdon," this bust has been the chief art treasure of the society for within half a dozen years of a century, when, on December 1, 1913, M. Paul Vitry, of Paris, the conservateur of sculpture at the Louvre, visited the philosophical hall to see this bust, and immediately declared that it was not Condorcet, but that it was Lavoisier, for the reason that there is in the Salle Houdon at the Louvre a duplicate of this bust, in terra cotta, so labeled. Upon inquiry, M. Vitry told that the

¹ W. S. Booth, "The Droeshout Portrait of William Shakespeare," Boston, 1911.

Louvre acquired its bust as late as 1896, and that it was named Lavoisier upon comparison with a portrait of him painted by David, and there can be no question but that the David portrait of Lavoisier and the Houdon bust under consideration strongly resemble each other. But then we have a circumstantial contemporary record of a very convincing character that the bust is of Condorcet. Now, which one of these two intimate friends is it, Condorcet or Lavoisier, for the terra cotta in the Louvre and the marble in the Philosophical Hall are identical, and by whom has the mistake been made? Short writes to Jefferson: "You recollect, without doubt, the marble bust of Condorcet which stood on a marble table in the salon of the Hôtel de la Rochefoucauld." He then proceeds to tell how it has been, since 1795, getting here, and it may be possible, though not probable, that the bust Short was actually given was by mistake one of Lavoisier instead of that of Condorcet, and that in the 24 years of its migrations in reaching him, his memory had grown dim as to the versimilitude of the bust and he did not recognize the difference. It is a riddle that will in all probability never be solved, for it can only be solved by the production of another bust, indubitably of Condorcet that Houdon did make, although it is claimed to be unknown to-day, and comparing the two. Except for truth and accuracy it matters little, as the bust is by Houdon, signed "houdon f. 1785," and Lavoisier, the chemist, is as important and as appropriate to the Philosophical Society as Condorcet, the metaphysician.

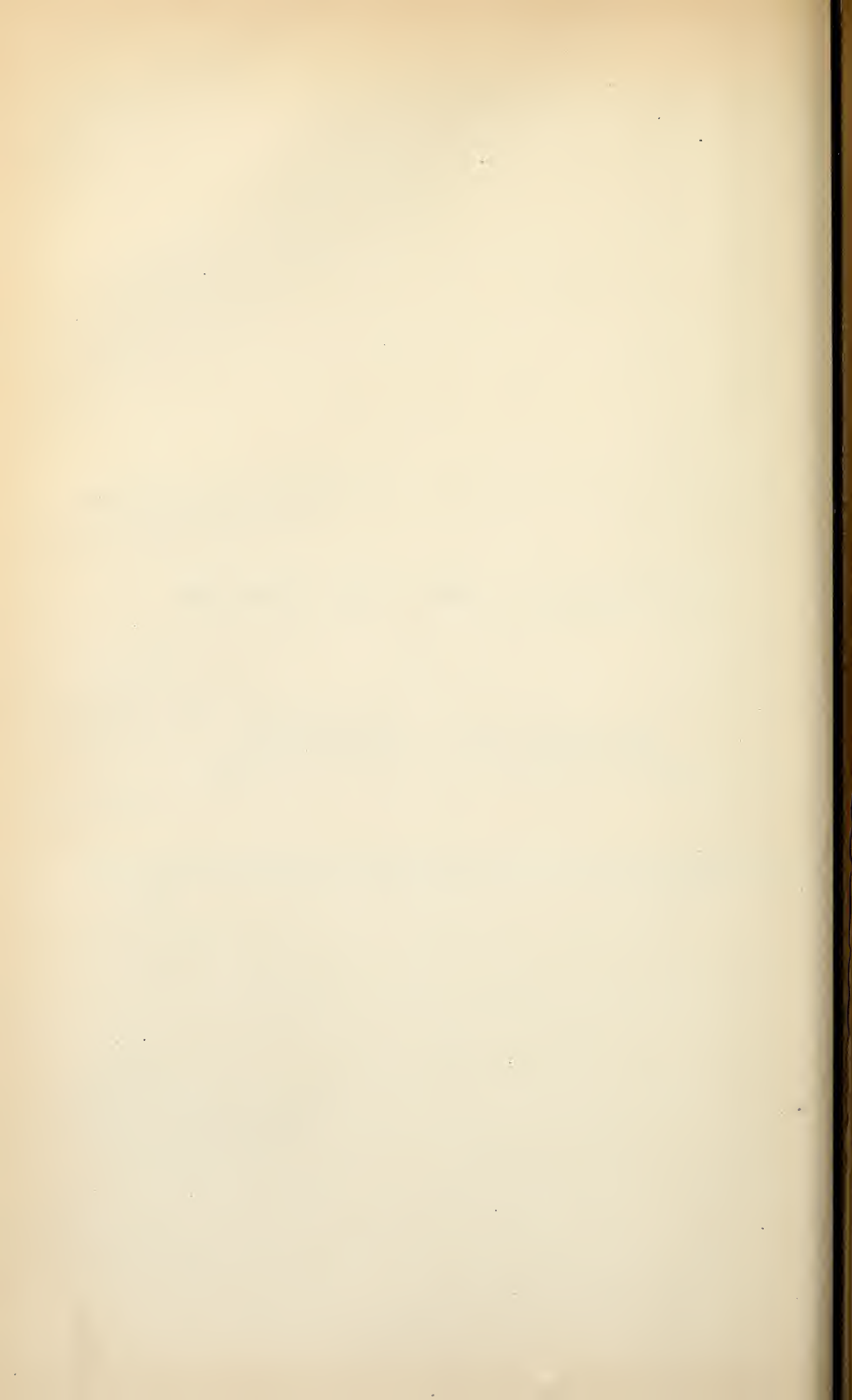
The newspapers are, of course, in the van as circulators of false portraits, but the ephemeral character of these "teachers of disjointed thinking," as Dr. James Rush dubs them in his bequest for a public library from which they are excluded, robs them of anything more serious than transitory amusement for their victims and their friends.

In concluding this address dealing with the human face divine, I feel it may not be without interest for you to learn what interested one of England's great minds the most when he was sitting for his portrait. Sir Francis Galton, whose monumental works on heredity have not been supplanted, sat at least twice to have his portrait painted, and what engaged his active mind during the sittings was the number of strokes of the artist's brush necessary to accomplish the work. He counted them and in each case they numbered about 20,000, which resulted in his unanswered philosophical inquiry, whether painters had mastered the art of getting the maximum result from their labor.



V. THE PLACE OF HISTORY IN THE CURRICULUM.

By NATHANIEL W. STEPHENSON,
Professor of History in the College of Charleston.



THE PLACE OF HISTORY IN THE CURRICULUM.

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The subject assigned to me is "The place of history in the curriculum," and I am given to understand that what is chiefly wanted is a discussion of its bearing upon secondary schools. I take it there are involved two questions: Why is history in the curriculum at all? and, assuming its place there, What work is it expected to do? In a word, if I interpret my assignment correctly, I am to open the case on behalf of history as a secondary study by applying to it that touchstone which is the characteristic contemporaneous one in all things intellectual, the merciless question, "What's the use?" So asks the modern world of all things; especially, so ask Americans. What's the use, in education, of Latin, of mechanics, of history; in a larger sphere, of morals, or art, of Christianity, of life itself?

Let us imagine the American layman—the intelligent member of a school board, say—asking himself this question, What's the use of history in schools? Where shall he look for an authoritative answer? Judging from my own experience, if he question rather widely he will soon be struck by the fact that the people most likely to have answers to the question are not agreed among themselves. If you will pardon the personality, I have had some opportunity to compare views on this point, because in connection with an important publishing house it has been my duty to classify and report upon the various criticisms of presumptive authorities upon certain manuscripts. What has struck me above all else is the great range and variety in the nature of the tests applied by these many-minded critics. I will not invariably accuse them of that vigilant mentality, so irksome to the average mind, which definitely formulates its standards. But none the less the standards are there, all the more insistent—as is the case with so many deep-laid things—because not tested by the pitiless exposure of a logical examination.

An excellent instance of what I have in mind occurred the other day in a criticism of a grammar-school text of State history. The author had mentioned certain actions of the Civil War, but had contented himself—wisely, it seems to me—with a note that did not exceed mere mention. The critic in question objected with evident feeling. Singling out one of these actions he protested: "It was

much too gallant an achievement to be passed over in a footnote." Here is a point of view that could be matched in citations from other critics almost without number. And note how definite even though unformulated is the assumption lying behind it. Ask the critic, "What's the use in teaching history to the young?" and, if he is true to himself, he will say: "It's use is to inculcate principles of conduct, to cultivate a respect for brave and unselfish action."

I am the last person to sneer at such a point of view. If our schools are not to inculcate courage and patriotism, I, for one, have no use for our schools. But is the history classroom the place in which to achieve this laudable end? Is not this chiefly an incidental accomplishment, a matter of the personal influence of the teacher's character—the one thing we appear to consider valueless in our present system when teachers are paid so often on the same scale as butlers, when none probably draw equal wages with a first-class chauffeur. In the history classroom are there not other lessons crying out for consideration that history alone can teach and are not these the things that history study ought to stress? Surely all of us here present will agree that such should be the case. History, even for the young, is a subtler and more complex affair than any, even the most impressive, object lessons in civic virtue. Merely to point a moral is too narrow a function for this rich and stimulating pursuit.

Well, what else can we discover among the various viewpoints of our critics? One other stands conspicuous. Over and over again I have encountered the objection that a given manuscript does not sufficiently glorify our ancestors. History, as ancestor-worship, is the implied standard of innumerable critics. To inculcate a reverence for our own past, regardless of the question how much of that reverence is deserved; to soothe our vanity, to afford a basis for the praise of ourselves—such, frankly, is the ignoble standard of a great army of the worshipers of their ancestors. Surely, one need but to mention this to do one's full duty by way of protest. Who, with the genuine impulse of historical scholarship—the mere impulse, I say, let alone the achievement—can fail to be indignant over such an attitude? Virgil gave us our true motto when he put into the mouth of Aeneas, "Neither Trojan nor Tyrian shall sway me"; and Tennyson richly enlarged the theme when he expressed the spirit of pure inquiry—that spirit, remember, which failed in the "Palace of Art" merely because it attempted to substitute thought for life, not because it had a wrong conception of the life of thought—saying:

I take possession of man's mind and deed;
I care not what the sects may brawl;
I sit as God, holding no form of creed,
But contemplating all.

Of many other standards for the criticism of historical studies in secondary schools, I will forbear to speak. But there is one more that it is not safe to pass over in silence. However, before examining it permit me to arrange the perspective—if I may so express myself—in which this third great fallacy should be placed. In parenthesis, as it were, let me remind you of several things, common, I have no doubt, to the experience of us all. First, is there anyone accustomed to examine college freshmen in history who does not feel that secondary teaching of history, take it by and large, is at present chaotic? I should be most happy to be persuaded that my own experience is exceptional. I fear it is not. The historical impression left in the minds of high-school pupils is too often of the same sort as one that lay behind a paper in an English literature examination which I once assisted in conducting at a noted State university. The paper informed us that in Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar," Cæsar was warned to beware the ides of March, but that Cæsar ignored the warning, and Brutus and Cassius and "the rest of the ides" waylaid him and killed him.

No, we confront a double confusion, a confusion of standards in the minds of the teachers, a confusion of impressions in the minds of the pupils. We have not yet come to the third great fallacy, but are fast approaching it. It has been brought about in part—in part only—by the disgusted reaction of many well-meaning teachers against the crass absurdities of old-style memory drills in history. What has paved the way to the third fallacy is a vain confusion of the teaching methods of high school and college. Without entering into subtleties upon a matter so obvious to common sense, it is enough to remind ourselves that we were, our pupils still are, quite different beings at 15 and 20, and that methods which worked with us at the golden age of 15 were not the same as those which worked at the brazen age of 20. Unfortunately, some good people have parted with their youth forever—alas, that it should be so—and can no longer so much as guess at Wordsworth's meaning, praising the long happiness of "days bound each to each by natural piety." These unfortunate people, justly indignant over the confusion in a boy's mind of the slayers of Cæsar with the ides of March, have no formula for a reformation, but to impose their mental processes—the processes not even of the brazen age, but so to speak of a still more sophisticated one, the age of iron—upon the stubborn romanticism, the potent idleness, of unconquered youth.

And now for the third great fallacy. It is the assumption that history, even in secondary schools, should be treated as a descriptive science, as the free play of a masterful curiosity ranging, with a sportsman's instinct for the difficult, through the jungle of the past. Such is the ideal of university history, an ideal of mature minds who

have reached a point where it is safe to eat the fruit of knowledge for its own sake, who may justly say, "We are old enough to think of all mental activities but as tonics to our own minds;" who may look with equal joy upon the handling of a policy by a statesman, or the management of a theme in a Wagner opera, or the smiling victory of Utamaro over the demon of a color chord that none but he could master. I am unable to measure my disdain for the man or woman of mature life to whom such a conception of history, of music, of painting, is a vain thing, who will omit it from a catalogue of the utilities of the spirit. Such a conception is involved in that true ideal of a liberal education so nobly phrased by Newman in his seventh discourse on the "Idea of a University." But what, pray, has this to do with high schools? What connection between history as a descriptive science and the mental aptitudes, the general capacities, of boys and girls of 14, 15, 16? For my own part the connection appears so slight as to be practically negligible. Unless I am quite on the wrong track the idea of history as a descriptive science is as false a standard for the judgment of secondary teaching as are those other fallacies, history as sermonizing and history as ancestor worship. The consciousness of the years between 14 and 18 is still too plastic, too barbaric, if you will, for real results in descriptive science. Essentially impressionistic, these years must be cultivated through imagination upon the one hand and a discreet routine of habit upon the other. Analysis, genuine science, in history at least, is not yet. But it is in just these years that interest in history is most likely either to be established for life or be put to rout for life. Premature imposition of scientific methods may easily cut its throat. A warning never to be forgotten is that satiric fable which is a classic of the British medical tradition.

Said an English surgeon of a certain supremely difficult operation:

"Yes; it is a final test of the operator. I have ventured to perform it only twice; both times, fortunately, with good results."

"Pooh, that is nothing," said the Frenchman, "I have performed it five times."

"Indeed," replied the Englishman. "A wonderful record. And what of the patients?"

"Oh," with a jaunty shrug of the shoulders, "they all died."

Is there any doubt that the satire might be adapted to explain the active dislike of history acquired by many a youth in school?

Let us always remember that in secondary schools we are dealing with vivid, impressionable young people, quick to respond to anything that seems true, but having as yet slight power of analysis, still less fondness for analysis, and that all work done in this period is a sort of bridge linking the grammar-school age, in which analysis

does not exist at all, with the college age, in which some degree of analytic faculty may always be assumed. In the secondary period the analytic faculty is to be awakened, but awakened with great cautiousness, got upon its feet with a patient tact, watchful lest the shy young thing escape out of one's hand into the desert of youth's illogical stubbornness. So, since our problem all through this difficult age is to lure youth into the paths of analytic method, it behooves us to take very careful thought what use we can make of a given study in accomplishing this end, what place it should have in an ideal curriculum.

Hitherto my paper has been made up chiefly of objections—of negation. Permit me now, briefly, to be positive. I speak but tentatively—especially in view of the names that follow mine on the program of this conference, names that justly carry such great weight of authority—and I never, I trust, forget that history and dogma are mutually exclusive, that even on this question of methods of instruction the dogmatic historian is a contradiction in terms. That tribal poet who was the first historian—as well, apparently, as the first pragmatist—knew what he was about when he whispered out of the remotest past into Kipling's ear, "There are nine and forty ways of composing tribal lays. And every single one of them is right"—right, that is, if it arrives, if it delivers the goods.

In this purely tentative spirit, then, I will venture upon two suggestions, hoping thus to contribute a little toward fixing the place, defining the function, of history in the secondary curriculum. One of my suggestions will deal with subject matter, the other with method.

First, however, let us all take a momentary review of the various historical interests present in our own minds. Do we not find that they fall into three classes? To me, at least, this is unquestionable. I find in my mind to-day a vivid interest in the magnificent, the multiform drama of the warfare of man with circumstance considered merely as a true story that thrills my heart like a trumpet; I find also an interest equally vivid in tracing back into the past the causes of the present, in locating there evidence that will explain the present; lastly, I find that subtlest interest of all—delight not primarily in the results of research but in its process, what we may call the interest of the historical sportsman, big-game shooting in the jungle of the past's misrepresentations. It is my fixed belief that all three interests are normal properties, genuine treasures, of the fully rounded, mature mind. To ignore the first—as is done by an entire school of historians, one of whose conspicuous members in a recent work on the Civil War devotes to the actual drama, the agony and the bloody sweat just one page and a half—seems to

me an abnormal point of view. To my mind these three interests differ, not by the times at which they cease out of our lives—for I believe that none should ever cease—but by the times at which they enter our lives. And if such is the case, then of course the general character of study at the times when these interests successively appear may easily be determined.

Am I not right in thinking that the purely dramatic interest traces back to earliest childhood and forms the true touchstone by which to try history teaching in the grammar-school period? Am I not also right in holding that at the other extreme the third interest—the zeal for research as an intellectual tonic, a force acting upon the mature mind in the same way as music and painting—is a thing practically unthinkable in all periods previous to that of the university or, at least, the college? Surely, then, it is in the intermediate period, the period when analysis is in the bud, when we need to encourage it by giving it an obvious function readily grasped by common sense, that we should take up the study of history as a conscious search for the explanation of our present world, the oracle from which, through due attention to its utterances, we may receive an answer to the question, How to live.

Such, then, would be my touchstone of the subject matter of history teaching in secondary schools. I would have it continue the interest in the human drama begun in the grammar-school period, but carefully blend with that interest the more advanced analytic one, the interest in the past as the clue to the labyrinth of the present. All the data employed, both in textbooks and in classrooms, should serve as predication of one or other of these subjects.

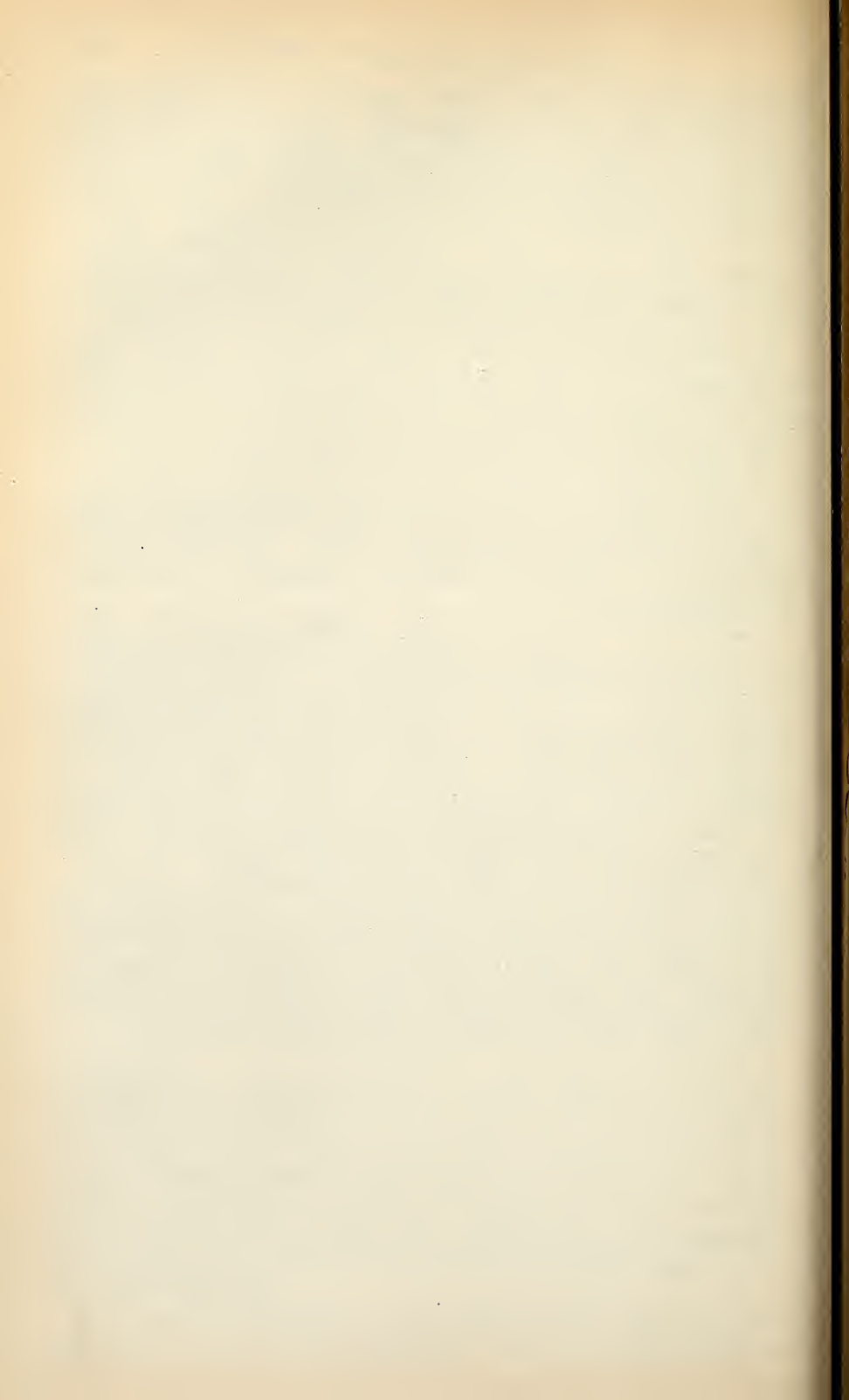
But it is a truism that in every study the process is as vital a matter as the content. Here, again, I can not escape the conclusion that a whole school of teachers and textbook writers are gravely in error. Even when they are seeking to explain the present by the past these teachers, these writers, vitiate their attempt through an inadequate sense of their undertaking. I refer to all those who carry to excess the topical method of study, who reduce their picture of the past to a series of propositions, a catalogue of illustrations, of applications. Did time permit, it would be interesting to analyze the textbooks of our day to show how insidiously the topical method is replacing old conventions by new ones, substituting for the old canon of rigid propositions upon ancestor worship a new canon, rapidly solidifying into rigidity, of propositions upon economic effects in history; how, in both cases, understanding tends inevitably to give way to memory; how, in a word, new presbyter again is but old priest writ large.

But time does not permit. I will content myself with a final and this time an unconditional statement. The one thing needful in

history teaching, the thing so often missed, but without which there is no result worth while, is imagination. The process of ideal historical study all up and down the scale from kindergarten to university must be through and through imaginative. Not to catalogue the features of the past, but to re-create the life that once informed those features, is the true aim of history in all its phases. To acquire the difficult art of calling up that life, of bodying it forth out of the strange and ambiguous things known as human documents, is a feat of the disciplined imagination as difficult as it is precious.

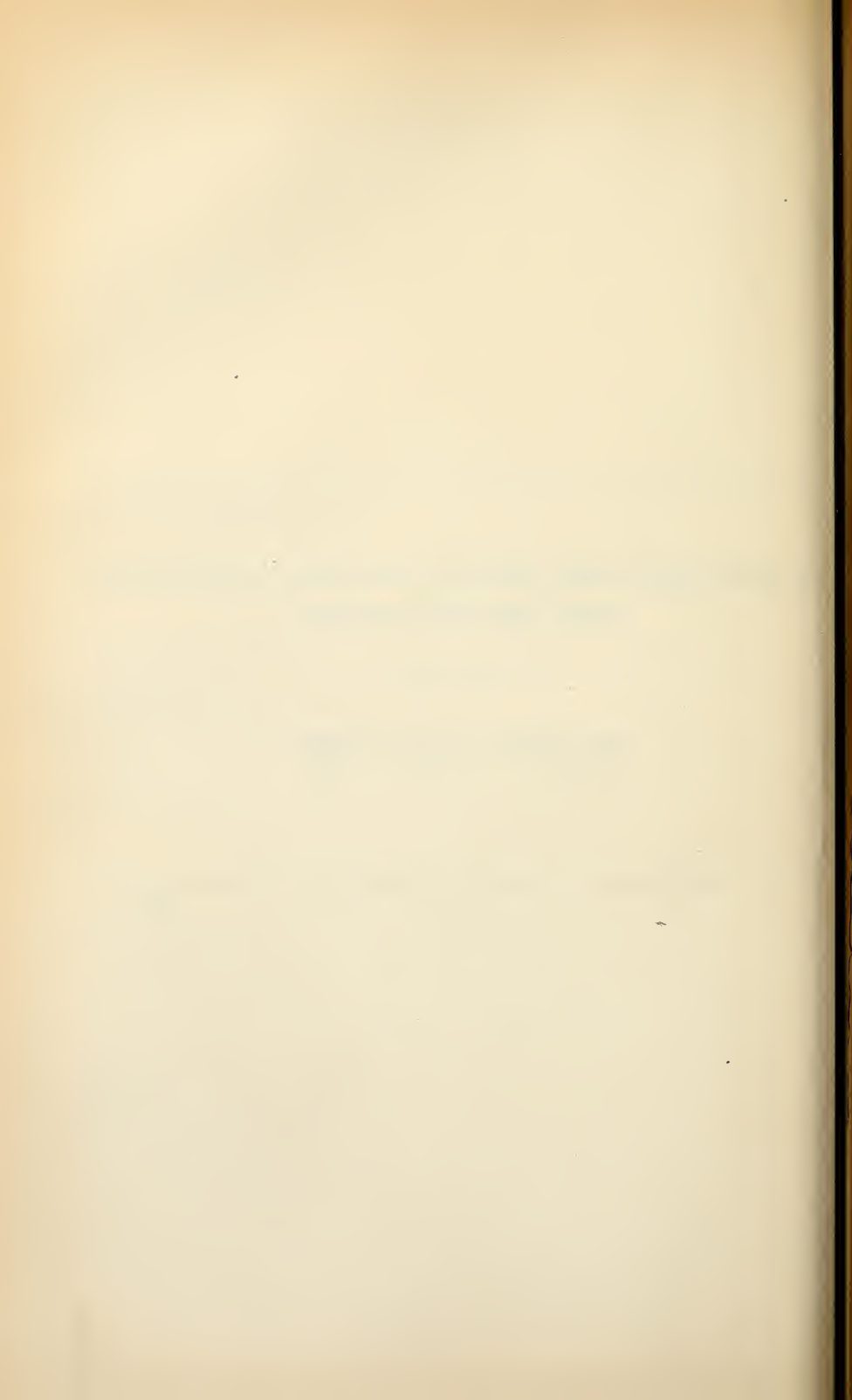
You will observe that I have dropped the word "science" and introduced the word "art." Both the charm and the pain of history grow out of its dual character, its unique blending of art and science. When one assigns as its highest function the extraction imaginatively of the fluid human facts—not the rigid physical facts—concealed in the written word or implied in tradition, one seems to make the historical imagination almost the same thing as the literary imagination, to make history preponderantly artistic. Into such a delicate subtlety I may be forgiven for declining to enter in the last moment of my allotted time.

Surely all of us, on second thought, whether we have an answer pat or only wish we had, appreciate that the historic imagination is not the same as the literary imagination. Let us go further and say that in history our imaginative effort, lacking much of the freedom, the unscrupulousness of the literary imagination, yet resembles this literary imagination in having a wonderful responsiveness to suggestion, but that in the case of history this responsiveness works under exact control, projecting upon an imaginary screen, as it were, not a picture of our own contriving, not impressionism of any sort, but a true and accurate bodying forth of suggestions contained in specific records. I am not sure that this is not a greater feat of imagination—in some ways, at least—than even the strictly literary feat. Certain I am that it is the last achievement of historical scholarship, that unfortunately few people experience it, and that, to the average reader of history, it is as foreign as Sophocles.



VI. SOME PHASES OF THE PROBLEM OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION
UNDER THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

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SOME PHASES OF THE PROBLEM OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

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That the expansion of the Roman Republic was somewhat irregular and haphazard, that its provinces were acquired piecemeal, one here, one there, has long been recognized. That the senate was, upon the whole, opposed to expansion has likewise been recognized, and the motive attributed to the senate has usually been the independence of the governors and the difficulty of controlling them. Yet there are some features of the story which this motive would hardly seem to explain and which, perhaps, have been too little noticed.

The first of these is the intermittent character of Roman expansion. In a relatively short space of time Rome annexed several provinces, and then for a number of years no additions were made to her empire. A brief table will, perhaps, make this clearer. From 241 B. C. to 197 B. C., during a period of 44 years, Rome annexed four provinces. Then from 197 B. C. to 146 B. C., during a period of 51 years, no new territories were acquired. From 146 B. C. to 121 B. C., during a period of 25 years, four more provinces were annexed. Then from 121 B. C. to 63 B. C., during a period of 58 years, we find no further acquisitions. Thus the dominions of Rome advanced rapidly for 44 years, then stood still for 51 years, then advanced again for 25 years, then remained stationary for 58 years.

The second peculiarity is that in the periods of rest, if they may be so described, the republic not only did not annex new provinces but strove earnestly to avoid it. It is not that opportunities were lacking, but that Rome refused to take advantage of them. One or two illustrations will suffice to make this clear. As was said above, in the 51 years between 197 B. C. and 146 B. C., Rome acquired no new territory. Yet in this time Rome carried on several important wars. From 200 B. C. to 196 B. C., Rome was engaged in the second Macedonian War. The result of that war was to place Greece and Macedon at her feet. Yet Rome contented herself with curtailing the power of Macedon and withdrew. Hardly had Rome withdrawn when in 192 B. C. Antiochus of Syria landed in Greece and Rome

was forced into a war with him. The result of that war, which ended with the battle of Magnesia in 190 B. C., was to leave Rome mistress of Greece and Asia Minor. She gave up her conquests, annexed no territory, and withdrew her forces. In 171 B. C. Perseus, king of Macedon, began a war of revenge on Rome. He was crushed at the battle of Pydna in 168 B. C., and Macedon lay helpless. Instead of annexing Macedon, which had so far caused her no less than three wars, Rome abolished the Macedonian monarchy, divided the country into four republics, and went home. Nineteen years after Pydna, the Macedonians revolted under a pretender in 149 B. C. Then at length Rome yielded to the inevitable, and, as there was simply no other way of keeping Macedon quiet, she annexed it as a province at the beginning of the second period of expansion.

Another instance of this same aversion to conquest is furnished by the province of Narbonensis. After Rome had acquired possessions in Spain it was, as has been pointed out very often, inevitable that she should seek to get a land connection between Spain and Italy. In ancient times the Mediterranean could only be navigated with safety at certain seasons, and it would thus be unwise in Rome to rely wholly on communications by sea with her provinces in Spain. All historians have felt the force of these considerations. What has not been explained is why Rome remained blind to them for 76 years. Perhaps we may attribute it in part to the policy of no expansion which prevailed from 197 B. C. to 146 B. C. Once she resumed her forward policy, the province of Narbonensis was annexed and land communications with Spain assured.

One more instance of Roman anti-imperialism. In the second period of stagnation—from an imperial standpoint—Rome received a bequest of Egypt. The last legitimate Ptolemy in his will bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. The senate promptly declined it. Mommsen has attempted to explain this attitude of the senate.

Egypt [he says], by its peculiar position and its financial organization, placed in the hands of any governor commanding it a pecuniary and naval power, and generally an independent authority, which were absolutely incompatible with the suspicious and feeble government of the oligarchy: in this point of view it was judicious to forego the direct possession of the country of the Nile.¹

Amplified and adapted to the special circumstances of each case, the reason given by Mommsen has been generally followed in explaining the reluctance of the senate to annex new provinces. Jealousy of the governor is the reason generally assigned,² yet this can

¹ Mommsen, "History of Rome," IV, 319.

² Thus Mr. Heitland, the latest historian of the Roman Republic, says: "That the senate was anything but eager to annex provinces is clear enough, and was no doubt mainly due to the known difficulty of controlling distant governors." Though he also points out some other considerations, such as the influence of the "old Roman" party and the wealth or poverty of the province, he seems to regard the reason given above as the chief cause of the senate's attitude. "The Roman Republic," II, 187-188.

hardly be the whole explanation, since this motive would be likely to be as strongly felt at one time as another, while the reluctance of the senate to make new annexations is plainly much stronger at some periods than at others. Why, in other words, should the senate be more reluctant to annex territory before 146 B. C. than after that year?

If we turn, however, to the constitutional problem which the government of provinces presented to the Romans, an explanation is readily forthcoming. Previous to 146 B. C. the problem presented difficulties which it did not present after that year. And this explanation will apply equally at another point. The growth of Rome stopped in 121 B. C., but it so happens that the problem had again and in that year become difficult. It would seem, therefore, that this phase of Roman imperial development—namely, the constitutional problem presented by the government of the provinces—is worthy of a more careful consideration than it seems to have received.

In this study I wish to concentrate attention wholly on the constitutional aspects of the problem, but without meaning in any way to deny that many other causes entered in in each particular case. It will be noted also that the motives here attributed to the senate are precisely of the sort that would not be brought forward openly in debate; hence the silence as to these motives of the ancient writers will, perhaps, not seem unduly strange.

The key to the senate's motives may, perhaps, be found in its composition and in its position in the Roman state. From early times the duty of making out the list of senators was intrusted to the censor. Soon, however, his freedom of choice began to be much restricted in practice. Certain persons, especially the ex-magistrates, were felt to have a moral if not a legal right to be placed upon the roll. This had come to be the case as early as 216 B. C., at least, for it is clear from the account which Livy gives us of the filling up of the senate after the battle of Cannæ that there was a well-understood order which the censor was expected to follow in filling vacancies in the senate. In the first place, all ex-consuls, all ex-prætors, and all ex-curule ædiles were entitled to a seat. In the second place, all ex-ædiles of the plebs, all ex-tribunes, and all ex-quæstors. In the third place only, citizens who had distinguished themselves in war but had not held office. In ordinary times such a rule must have left the censor but a slight liberty of choice, and, moreover, that range of choice must have been diminished with every increase in the number of the magistrates. A time would therefore come when any further increase in the number of the magistrates would, *if these rules of precedence were allowed to stand*, necessitate an increase in the size of the senate.

With a government so constituted how did the problem of governing the provinces present itself and what solution was found? The first provinces of the Roman people were Sardinia and Sicily, taken for the purpose of keeping Carthage at a safe distance from Italy. Having annexed them, Rome was obliged to provide in some fashion for their government. A brief experience sufficed to convince the Romans that the tranquillity and safety of these provinces required the presence in them of a Roman governor armed with the *imperium*; that is, a Roman magistrate. But all the magistrates were then fully occupied at Rome. The obvious course to follow under these circumstances was to increase the number of magistrates with *imperium* and send the new magistrates to the provinces. As it was out of the question to increase the number of consuls, the prætors were chosen and the number increased from two to four. At the same time, as it was customary for a magistrate holding an independent command to be accompanied by a quæstor, the number of quæstors was increased to meet the new needs.

This successfully solved the difficulty for the time being, and when, at the close of the Second Punic War, Rome acquired two new provinces in Spain, she resorted to the same method to secure governors. The number of prætors was now raised to 6 and that of the quæstors to 12. In the 51 years that followed Rome strove earnestly to avoid any new annexations. The reason would seem to be that it was impossible to provide governors for any new provinces by the method so far followed, and this for the reason that *the number of magistrates did not admit of further increase*. This was due to the hard and fast system which the republic had gradually built up. This system required, in the first place, that the candidates for the prætorship should have held the quæstorship and that the quæstorship should confer a seat in the senate. There were now 6 prætors and 12 quæstors elected each year. If the number of the prætors was increased without increasing the number of quæstors two inconveniencies followed: first, the new prætors could not be accompanied by quæstors as custom required, and secondly, the freedom of the people in election was materially curtailed. If, on the other hand, the number of the quæstors was increased, then it followed that, either the number of the senate must be increased, or the rule giving the quæstor a seat in the senate must be set aside. Thus to carry the existing system further in any direction required an extensive readjustment of the constitutional machinery, and there was no one of sufficient width of vision and sufficient power to carry through such an adjustment against the outcry of those who would be adversely affected and against the strongly conservative instincts of the Roman people.

That the number of magistrates was now sufficient to fill the senate may be easily made clear. The number of quæstors was at this time 12 and the traditional number of the senate 300. Sulla, when he reorganized the Roman constitution, decided to increase the size of the senate from 300 to 500,¹ and to accomplish this he raised the number of the quæstors to 20. Now by a very simple arithmetical computation, if 20 quæstors would give a senate of 500, 12 quæstors would give one of 300 members. We have, therefore, good grounds for believing that the number of magistrates did not admit of increase under the existing system.

But why should not the existing system be changed? Either of two changes would have met the situation. On the one hand, the close association between the magistracy and the senate might be broken, or, on the other, the size of the senate might be increased. Neither change was in fact feasible, or, at least, neither could be made by anyone but a man of blood and iron, clothed with resistless power like Sulla, and, like him, prepared to ride roughshod over all opposition. It may be well to consider briefly the nature of the obstacles to change.

The chief difficulty sprang from the fact that the Roman government was no longer what it pretended to be. In law Rome was a democracy and had been one from the time when the plebeians had been accorded equal rights with the patricians. In fact, however, hardly had the patrician aristocracy been overthrown than a new patricio-plebeian aristocracy began to develop. This new nobility was composed of those families members of which had held curule office under the republic. The development was of course gradual, but already, in 217 B. C., Livy tells us that a tribune bitterly denounced the plebeian nobles and asserted that they began to look down upon the plebeians from the moment that they ceased to be despised by the patricians, and clamored for the election of a real plebeian consul, a new man; that is, one belonging to a family that had not before held office.

We may, then, reasonably infer that the nobility was by this time a clearly marked class. If so, they would naturally view any change in the constitution from the standpoint of their own interests. Now, either of the changes suggested would have been injurious to the nobility.

Since nobility was acquired by the holding of a magistracy, there would of necessity be a sufficient number of families already noble to hold the offices and fill the senate. Their obvious interest would consist in not allowing the number to become very much greater,

¹ This seems, at any rate, to have been the result of his reforms. See Willems, "Le Sénat de la République Romaine," I, 405, and his reconstructions of the senate of the earlier period.

and such was consistently their policy. Now, any attempt to increase the size of the senate was sure to encounter the bitter opposition of the nobles. An aristocracy tends always to exclusiveness, and an increase in the size of the senate meant neither more nor less than an extensive creation of new peers. Twice in English history the House of Lords has stooped to bitter humiliation solely in order to avert such an event. But the Roman nobility itself controlled the size of the senate, and therefore no increase in the size of that body was in the least feasible.

There remained the other alternative, namely, that of breaking the close connection between officeholding and a seat in the senate. The simplest plan in this direction would have been to provide for the election of special governors for the provinces and to provide that the holding of these offices should not confer a title to a seat. But this plan was likewise open to serious objection from the standpoint of the senate and the nobility, which used it as an organ of government.

In the first place, a large part of the power and influence of the senate sprang precisely from the fact that it concentrated in itself the whole official experience of the Roman world. Consuls and praetors must inevitably treat with respect the deliberate judgment of a body in which sat every Roman who had ever led an army or governed a province. Once let official knowledge accumulate outside the senate and much of the senate's influence was gone. This was a consideration absolutely vital to a body which, like the senate, ruled rather by influence than by legal right.

Indirectly, too, such a proposal would be injurious to the nobles. In Roman minds there was the closest association between the magistracies, the senate, and the nobility. A seat in the senate was one of the essential badges of the noble. Once create important magistracies which did not confer a seat there and you must raise up a new order to rival the existing nobles, and such a proposition was little likely to find favor at their hands.

Still again, a considerable part of the senate's control over the provincial governors lay in the fact that they were *ipso facto* senators, and the opinions of their order, spoken through that body of which they were themselves a part, could not but weigh heavily with them. Break this connection, let the people name governors who have no direct personal interest in the supremacy of the senate, and you strike a direct blow at its power. Since already the senate found its control, great as it was, over the provinces too weak, it would scarcely have consented to a change that would have weakened it still more.

One possibility, indeed, remained. If the connection between the lower and the higher magistracies was severed, the number of the

prætors could be increased. This could be done by making two changes—first, by ceasing to require the quæstorship to be held before the prætorship and by decreeing that the quæstorship should no longer confer a seat in the senate. But such a change would meet with little favor from the nobility. It would conflict with the conservative instincts of the Romans and with many private interests. As an example of these private interests the *ordo quæstorius* in the senate would be strongly opposed, and the *ordo prætorius* could hardly wish their numbers to be enlarged.

But larger difficulties arose. One can scarcely fail to wonder at the ease with which the nobility were able to keep their monopoly of the offices. Why was it so rarely that "new men" could force their way into their ranks? It seems difficult not to suspect that the peculiar character of the office of quæstor worked silently in their favor. How this might be the case may easily be seen. The quæstorship was the first office to be held in an official career. Hence it was held early. Ordinarily it could be held at the age of 28. Thus a quæstor would usually be from 28 to 30. Now at the age of 30 it would very rarely happen that a man had had an opportunity to do anything to attract general attention or make a mark for himself by his own personality. If, therefore, two relatively unknown men were candidates for the office, and one of them bore a well-known name, that one would be nearly sure of being chosen. Hence it would easily happen that the nobles could secure it for the younger members of their families. If, now, it were made a necessary preliminary to the higher offices, it would clearly throw them into the hands of the nobles. Looking at it from this point of view, we can readily understand why no proposal should have been made to change the rules that worked so well in favor of the dominant aristocracy.

Hence, from whatever side the problem of providing more governors for new provinces might be approached, it was nearly impossible of solution in a sense agreeable to the senate. Is it, therefore, surprising that the senate took the stand that there should be no new provinces to provide for, and that it directed the whole foreign policy of Rome with that end in view? In other words, the senate permitted the rapid expansion of the Roman Empire as long as the existing system could be expanded to meet the urgent needs of government. When that point was reached and when any new annexations required extensive readjustments, the senate called a halt.

Yet, although the expansion of Rome could be, and was, stopped during some 50 years, the existing system could not be made permanent. On the one hand, new annexations could not be forever avoided, and on the other, the system broke down from within.

The growth of judicial business at Rome ended by demanding the retention there of more than two prætors, especially after the estab-

lishment of the standing court *de Repetundis* in 148 B. C., and the senate's Macedonian policy having ended in an utter fiasco, that unhappy country was finally annexed at the same time that the destruction of Carthage placed Africa in the hands of the Romans. Thus the number of the provinces was increased to six, while but three prætors were available as governors.

Faced by this situation, the senate threw the whole system of governing by prætors overboard and worked out a new plan. This was rendered possible by a new and most significant development in the Roman constitution, namely, the rise of the promagistracy.

The origin of the promagistracy was simple. In the early days of the republic, when the number of magistrates with *imperium* was very restricted, the state occasionally needed a larger number than there were. The right to prolong the *imperium* of a magistrate was originally exercised by the people, but during the period of the Great Wars the senate usurped it, as it usurped so many other powers of government.

The convenience of this power for the senate in arranging for the government of the provinces was from the first great. Indeed, without it the government could scarcely have been carried on. The Roman state was equipped with only eight magistrates with *imperium*—the two consuls and six prætors. Normally two prætors were kept in Rome and four sent to the four provinces then existing. But it sometimes happened that a magistrate with *imperium* was imperatively needed somewhere else. In this case the senate dispatched one of the prætors and to replace him left one of the provincial governors in office for a second year as a *proprætor*. This usage was the more easily established, as it was a regular rule of the constitution that a governor continued in office till his successor arrived to take over the government. Now, as each year the senate settled what provinces should be distributed by lot among the prætors, therefore, if they failed to designate one of the four regular provinces for this purpose, the prætor there in charge could not be superseded for another year.

Thus the power which the senate had assumed of continuing in office at its discretion a consul or a prætor beyond his regular term supplied the element of elasticity required to make the rigid system workable. Since it was clearly a necessity, no serious objection seems to have been made to this assumption of power on the senate's part. Once established as a legitimate part of the machinery of government to meet exceptional emergencies it came to be employed with increasing frequency. The more the steadily growing needs of the Roman state pressed upon the heavily burdened regular magistrates, the greater the temptation to relieve the pressure by the intervention of the promagistrates.

Thus, by the year 146 B. C. the promagistrate had come to be a frequent visitor in the Roman government. But up to that year he had always remained a visitor. That is, the use of a proconsul or proprætor was always looked upon as something exceptional—a temporary expedient to meet an unusual situation. In 146 B. C. the senate solved the problem of governing the increased number of provinces by turning the exception into the rule. Henceforth the promagistrate, instead of being a special office intended to meet an emergency, was a regular part of the ordinary constitution, and the provinces were governed not by magistrates but by promagistrates.

This new method of administering the provinces had from some standpoints little to commend it. So far as the efficiency of the government was concerned, it was unqualifiedly bad. It made directly and powerfully for poor administration, and this for the simplest of reasons. If a man is elected to fill an office he can be chosen with some reference to fitness. But if a man is elected to one office and then when his term is over he is sent to fill some quite different office this becomes impossible. Every year the Roman people elected prætors to serve as judges in Rome; when their year of judicial service there was over the senate shipped them off to govern provinces and command armies. They were necessarily chosen without the smallest reference to their qualifications for these new duties. Of course, some of them, like Julius Cæsar, were men of so versatile a genius that they could do almost anything and do it well; but such men were rare, and it necessarily happened that the majority were ill-adapted to their posts. As a result the provincial administration suffered and Rome suffered in consequence.

Yet, whatever the demerits of the system from the standpoint of political science, from the standpoint of the nobles it had signal merits. It solved all the problems of administration and solved them in a way entirely agreeable to the senate. Its advantages may be summed up as four. It enabled the senate to relieve the congestion of business at Rome by keeping all six prætors there during their year of office. At the same time it furnished enough governors to meet the increased demands, as all six, together with the two retiring consuls, were available for provincial governorships. It did both these things without increasing the number of the magistrates, and hence the size of the senate, and, in the fourth place, it did so without disturbing any of the existing rules and regulations.

The year 146 B. C. may be taken, then, as marking the beginning of a new form of provincial administration. Henceforth the consuls and prætors were to serve their year of office in Italy, and, when that was over, were to go out for a second year as proconsuls and proprætors to govern the provinces. But the year is significant for another reason. It marks the beginning of a second period of ex-

pansion, and this, in part at least, because of the new system. If we have been justified in concluding that from 197 B. C. to 146 B. C. the senate was seriously opposed to annexing new provinces because it had no governors to put in charge, after 146 B. C. this reason ceased to apply. While, under the old system, the senate had at most only four prætors to send out as governors, under the new there were at least eight promagistrates available for service. As after 146 B. C. there were only six provinces the senate had no longer the same motive for resisting expansion. Yet the expansion, which was possible under the new arrangement, was distinctly limited. The new system would provide for the government of eight provinces, and there a halt must be called or the system would break down.

Yet the new limit of growth imposed by the number of available governors was not quite so rigid as in the case of the former system. The same power which extended the *imperium* of a magistrate for one year could as easily extend it again. If, therefore, some of the governors were allowed to serve for two years instead of one a number of provinces somewhat in excess of eight could be provided for. Yet such an extension must have appeared, from the senate's standpoint, dangerous. Two years' service in a province might give time for a bad governor to do serious mischief and for a good one to become dangerously strong. In a single year a governor could hardly inaugurate and carry far a policy contrary to the wishes of the senate, whereas in two he would be in a far more independent position and might irrevocably commit the state. Moreover, it tended directly to making the governor less responsible for his actions. It was an established principle of the republican constitution that a magistrate could not be called to answer for his conduct while he remained in office. It was, therefore, a sound constitutional principle which insisted upon an interval between offices so that the magistrate should become again a private citizen and as such liable to prosecution for any illegal acts. To secure this, the rule had been established that two years must elapse before a man who had held one office was eligible for another. If he were allowed to spend both years as the governor of a province, this rule might be practically annulled. If his governorship, however, was limited to one year, the purpose of the rule would still be attained, as there would still remain one year which must be spent in private life.

It results from this that, while the senate might have no grave objection to an increase in the number of the provinces to eight, it would not be willing to see the number increase much beyond that point. This, indeed, seems to have been its actual policy. Though not exactly imperialistic, it offered little opposition to expansion between the year 146 B. C. and 121 B. C. During these years besides the two provinces of Macedon and Africa, annexed at its beginning,

two other provinces, Asia and Narbonensis, were acquired. At this point the limit of the new system had been reached, and we find the senate once more strongly opposed to expansion. That body had offered little opposition when Asia was annexed under the will of Attalus of Pergamum, but it promptly rejected Egypt offered them by the will of Ptolemy Alexander. For the 58 years following the annexation of Narbonensis the growth of the empire was practically arrested. Indeed, if the existing system was to be maintained, the senate had little choice. It had at its disposal only eight governors. Yet situations continually arose to call for one or more of these in places that did not normally require a resident governor. When this happened some of the governors had to be given a second year in their provinces, and if this practice were once allowed to spread and to become the regular usage of the constitution, serious consequences might follow. In fact, the number of the provinces already amounted to ten. Neither Cisalpine Gaul nor Cilicia seem to have been regarded at first as among the regular provinces, yet they ended by making themselves such. A word concerning them may not be out of place.

The conquest of Cisalpine Gaul was a long and gradual process. It was begun as far back as 200 B. C. But the Gauls offered a prolonged though somewhat intermittent resistance. The surviving books of Livy furnish fairly complete information as to the regular annual assignments of provinces from 198 to 167 B. C. The regular method at that time of governing a province was by a prætor, yet during these 31 years prætors were sent to Gaul only five times, with 3 years for which Livy gives us no information. On seven occasions consuls were dispatched to Gaul, so that in all there were not more than 12 or 15 years during which a regular magistrate was stationed in the province. The inference from this would seem to be clear. When Gaul was quiet it was not thought to require a special governor, and when it was turbulent a prætor or a consul was sent to deal with it. This was probably rendered easier by the troubles in Liguria, which called for the presence in the north of Italy of one or both the consuls with a good deal of regularity. If there was a consul in Liguria, he could doubtless keep an eye on the Po Valley and see that all went well. This was the case in at least eight years where no magistrate was sent to Gaul itself.

Thus we may reasonably doubt whether the senate viewed the Cisalpine province as a regular charge upon its supply of governors. This seems the more reasonable as the Romans planted numerous colonies in the Po Valley, something not done in any of the other provinces. We may, perhaps, conclude that for a long time the senate did not regard Cisalpine Gaul as requiring the regular presence of a governor. Gradually the irregular presence of one became

so frequent as to be regular, and a ninth province had usually to be provided for.

The province of Cilicia was in a somewhat similar case. In 103 B. C. the Romans established a military post in this region. We may well doubt if they had at that time any idea of acquiring a province, since the territory was very restricted in extent. Yet here, too, it gradually became evident that the conditions were such as made the presence of a governor necessary during the greater part of the time.

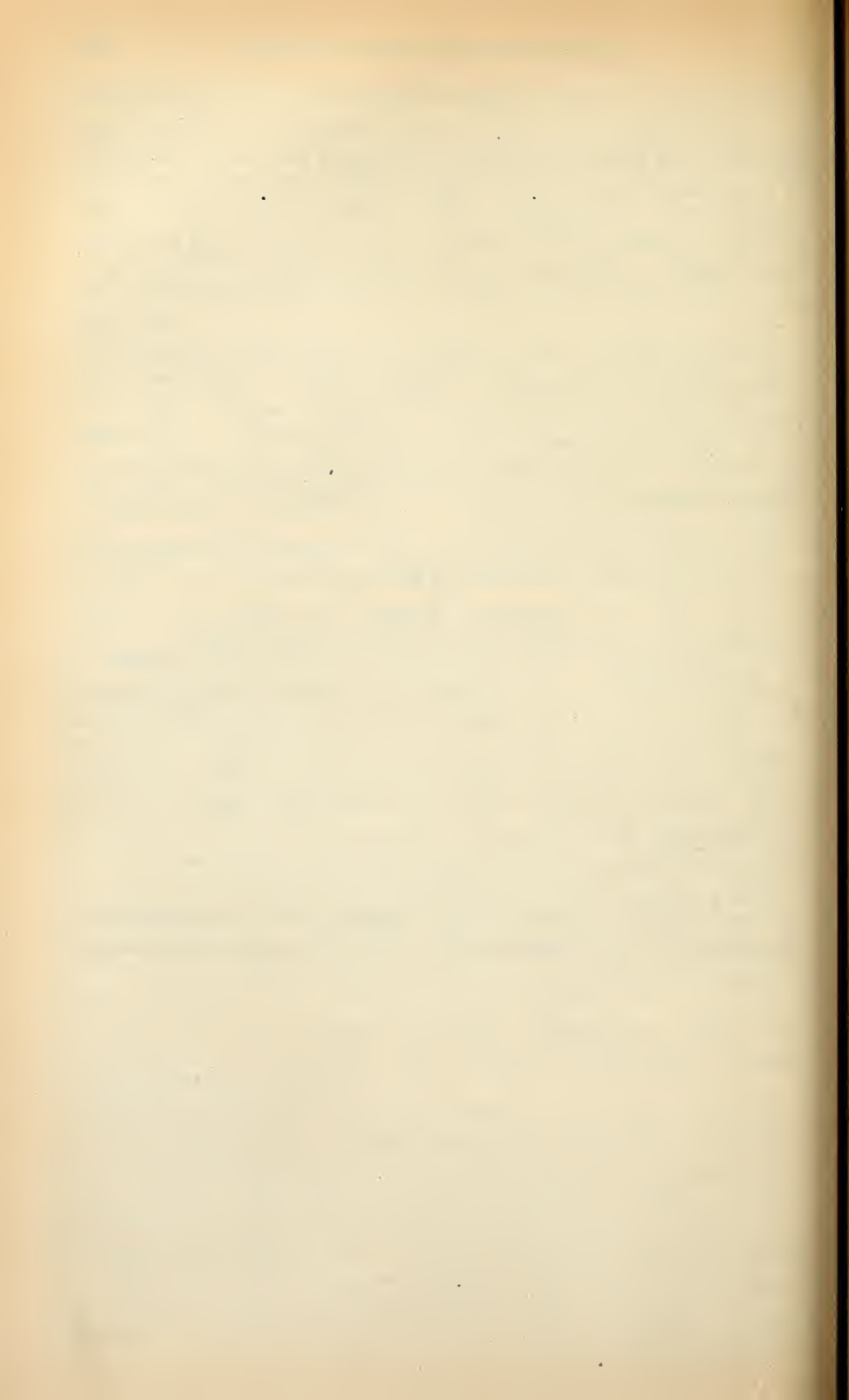
If Cisalpine Gaul and Cilicia were made part of the regular provinces, the limits of the promagistracy were already exceeded. This was remedied for the senate by Sulla, who, during his dictatorship, increased the number of prætors to eight, thus making the number of promagistrates each year available balance the number of Provinces. This policy of increasing the number of the magistrates was possible to Sulla since, in the first place, he was clothed with irresistible power, and, in the second, because, disregarding the feelings of the nobility, he created peers wholesale by increasing the number of the senate.

In spite of Sulla's masterful recasting of the republican system the same considerations continued to apply. The whole policy of the senate, as he reorganized it, was antiexpansionist. The underlying motives of the senate were doubtless still the same. There were no governors available to send out to new provinces, and hence the senate was resolved not to assume new burdens. Yet in spite of senate and nobility new responsibilities arose and could not be evaded. Since the senate would not meet them, the people intervened. Their method of solution was by intrusting sweeping powers to popular favorites. For this the incompetent administration, which was the necessary fruit of the existing system, furnished not only the excuse but the provocation. With the fall of the reactionary régime of Sulla, and even from his death, we enter on the period of great commands, extending over several provinces and intrusted for a term of years to the great leaders of the day. This system ended, and could end, only in the empire, but with that development we need not here concern ourselves.

What it has been the aim of this study to point out is the close connection between the constitutional problem raised by the necessity of providing governors for the provinces and the foreign policy of the republic. We have seen that the difficulty was first met by increasing the number of the magistrates invested with the *imperium*. As long as this method could be followed the Roman state expanded, but when any further increase tended to break up the republican constitution as it then was, there came a pause. Then, for a time, the senate successfully opposed all further expansion, until at length

such expansion could no longer be resisted. By that time, however, the promagistrate had become so far familiar to the Roman mind that the use of the promagistracy as a regular part of the machinery of government was possible. This device of substituting the promagistrate for the magistrate made possible another period of expansion, and when this, too, had been carried to the limit the senate again sought by all means to avoid a forward policy. When, however, a new policy of imperialism was forced upon the state the constitutional problem could be met only by means fatal, in no long time, to the existence of the republic. So long as the crude and complicated municipal institutions of Rome could, in some sort, be adjusted to meet the crying needs of the day the republic could continue; when such adjustment had become impossible, or, at any rate, too difficult for the statesmen of the time, then, in spite of the protests of idealists and the daggers of patriots, it had to cease and another system took its place.

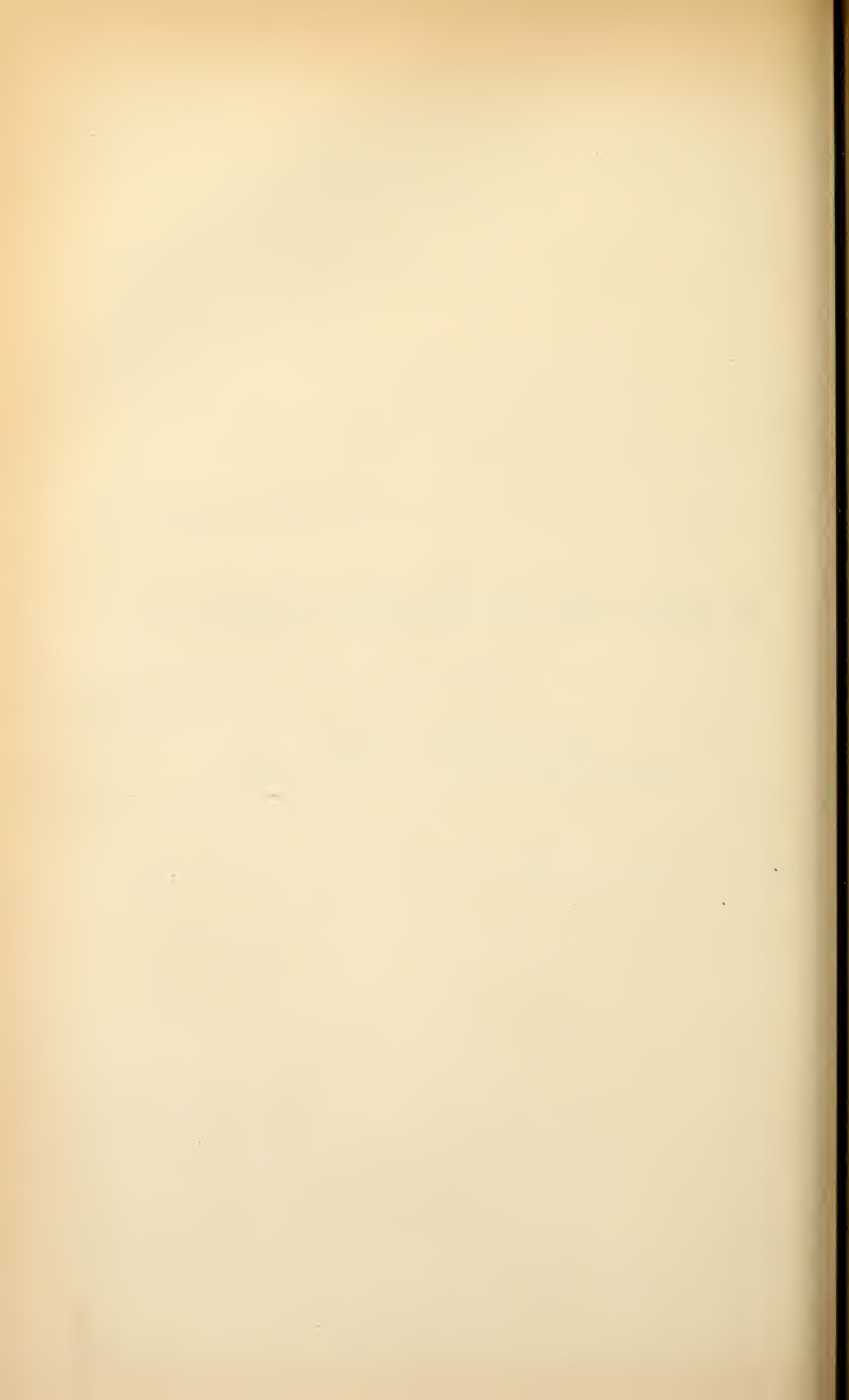
The irony of the situation lay in the fact that the machine had become inadequate to the needs of the empire that it was forced to govern. After the conquests of Pompey in the East and of Caesar in Gaul there were at least 14 provinces to be provided for and only 10 promagistrates. Yet any attempt to increase the number of governors available must necessitate an extensive readjustment of the whole machine of government. To any such readjustment the nobility were bitterly opposed. From this it followed that the republic, if saved at all, would have to be saved in despite of the opposition of the republicans. For a time the senate might get around the difficulties of its position by virtue of the fact that the people had over its head intrusted several provinces to one governor; but this was a device which if persisted in was fatal, and yet there was no way back to a normal system except by the intervention of a second Sulla. But Caesar was not a Sulla and the machine stopped forever.



VII. CERTAIN EARLY REACTIONS AGAINST LAISSEZ-FAIRE.

By WALTER P. HALL,

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CERTAIN EARLY REACTIONS AGAINST LAISSEZ-FAIRE.

By WALTER P. HALL.

To laissez-faire, the predominant social and economic philosophy of nineteenth-century England, the historian has already given the glory and the honors that are the spoils of victory. But laissez-faire is now thoroughly discredited, and he who would comprehend the causes of its overthrow and understand the origin of those theories of social welfare that now are triumphant, must know the story of the early fight against it, which, apparently so hopeless, almost fatuous in the beginning, ended in the complete route of laissez-faire.

And great has been the overthrow, for with the possible exception of apocalyptic dogmas born of defeat and despair in distant Mesopotamia, no human theory has ever wrought in man such deep conviction. Under its hypnotic influence the nation long lay spellbound; its tenets met with widespread approbation; its clear-cut creeds and rigid syllogisms, as iron-bracing and non-human as the steam engine, its concomitant, seemed irrefutable, as firmly founded as Newton's law of gravitation.

To those whom it enthralled—and it can not be disputed that among them were the ablest men of nineteenth-century England—it was the very guide and beacon light for all humanity. From Adam Smith, Ricardo, Huskisson, through Cobden, Mill, and Bright, to Herbert Spencer and our own late Prof. Sumner, this new philosophy was held to have its rootage fast, impregnable, in what were deemed the laws of human nature. It advocated thought in terms of individualism, conceived of progress as forever linked with competition, applied in later days Darwinian theories quite unmodified to human life, and argued that society must be freed completely from governmental efforts to control, and direct its destiny.

On the other hand, they who feared this thing and hated it knew laissez-faire to be a nightmare that befogged clear reason, benumbed all charity. The steam engine had brought great wealth to England. Power increased a thousandfold, production grew apace, but the few reaped the profits. The doctrine seemed uncouth, bereft of reason, that would necessitate more toil, and more, and more, until man died.

Yet such in its results to them was laissez-faire—let nature run its course. And to this specious plea most men submitted, sat tame as school-girls beneath the instructions of political economy, mumbling helplessly "God's will immutable," while before their eyes the children toiled in factories and men starved. A paralysis of mind and soul crept abroad; for the spider's web, fragile yet clinging, inclosed and covered man, a web of laissez-faire, spun ceaselessly by the metallic and remorseless brains of Ricardo, Poulett Thomson, Nassau Senior, and the whole troop of classical economists.

This paper makes no pretense either to trace the origin of laissez-faire or to describe its progress. No definition even will be attempted, for my purpose is simply this, to indicate in broadest outline certain phases of the warfare waged against it and the pragmatic value that an intensive study of that warfare should afford.

Three distinct schools of thought opposed this dominant philosophy; one sought salvation for the working classes through an aristocracy, awakened, quickened, to a common brotherhood; another, through trade-unionism; a third, deriding half-way measures, urged the destruction, root and branch, of competition and the substitution of a cooperative commonwealth.

The first, the Tory Socialist, demanded that the strong arm of the state be stretched forth everywhere till pauperism, crime, and misery were destroyed. This should and must be done, and by the aristocracy of England. No mere reform of electoral districts was their shibboleth; they saw no virtue in extended suffrage. In that direction lurked disaster for the state, disruption in society. They held the Christian law of service paramount, and threatened with a prophet's vision the selfishness and luxury of those wealthy men of England who, forgetful of their social obligations, accepted privilege and power and in return gave nothing. If the Tory-Socialist movement had found its ending in vapid rhetoric or wordy repetition of feudal incantations long made obsolete, it would have proven worthless. But such was not the case. Its leaders made concrete and effective criticism of this laissez-faire, this fast-becoming citadel of British Liberalism, and concrete proposals also. They spoke much of the will of God, it is true, and smote with the Gospels as a weapon against the harshnesses and wickedness of capitalism. But they ripped to pieces at the same time with shrewdness and good sense certain highly cherished dogmas of England's great economists, apostles of her new philosophy.

The Tory Socialists were drawn into two great contests; in the first, concerning factory legislation, they won a partial victory; in the second, which determined the attitude of the state toward poverty, they met with complete defeat. A cardinal corollary of laissez-faire was that government should stand aloof from all interference with

the methods of production. It was acknowledged that evils of child and woman labor did exist; that in certain instances factories were far from sanitary; that machinery at times was left unfenced, unguarded. But natural laws would right these matters in due season and society could do little to prevent them. Certain barbarities must of course be stopped; but, as Macaulay said in 1832, "If the laboring classes expect any great or extensive relief from any practical measure of legislation they are under a delusion." The Tory Socialist held this was absurd, awoke the public conscience to what was done within the factory, forced through Parliament several factory acts, compelled even political economists to concede that in the case of child and woman labor the state must intervene.

Lord Ashley, later Earl of Shaftesbury, has been hailed the foremost champion of England's factory children, but another Tory Socialist should have that honor. To Richard Oastler more than to any other man England owes the rescue of these little laborers. Others helped in the emancipation, preceded Oastler in their pleas, played rôles more prominent in politics; but Oastler did the initiatory work, set flame to fire, and by his mighty, ceaseless roar of protest woke the north country and all England to what took place so shamefully in the pitiless white noontide of her factory towns. Neither in rank nor ability nor wealth was this burly Englishman distinguished; fierce temper and great-hearted sympathy alone marked him apart from the common run of man. The issue was a simple one to him. Nassau Senior might prove to his heart's content that all the profits of the mill owner came from the last hour of the 12-hour day. This mattered nothing to Richard Oastler. He had seen with his own eyes children beaten, flogged, abused, their food covered with dust and lint, the arches of their insteps broken, their legs supported by iron braces that they might stand—a hundred cases Oastler knew of and could prove. That was enough. It must be stopped, if every factory wheel ceased to turn; and pounding on that single theme he stormed through northern England, exposed by name the manufacturer, sent evidence day by day to statesmen, newspapers, raised funds for children crippled at their work, and thundered forth incessantly in schoolhouse, Baptist chapel, public square, until his 10-hour bill for children became law.

Equally serious, and even more far-reaching in its consequences, was another central postulate of laissez-faire—the Malthusian law of population, deduced from scattered writings of Hume, Dr. Steuart, and Adam Smith, and put into striking formulas by Malthus. The generally accepted content of his gospel was that population constantly presses on the means of subsistence to such a serious degree that poverty and resultant misery are practically inevitable.

This specious hypothesis, apparently so unanswerable, became, with all its cruel implications, instant a conviction, as firm and hard as ever Athanasian theory of the Trinity. The very clergy of the Church of Christ contended not against it, but swallowed, without even choking, this amazing poison that paralyzed completely the very kernel of their Christian faith. As Dr. Chalmers, their distinguished exponent said, of what avail are the panaceas "proposed for the amelioration of the economic conditions of the people, since any increase in comfort will lead to an increase in numbers, and the last state of affairs will be worse than the first?" The poor were primarily to blame for their own lot. If they did not multiply so rapidly, the pressure of the population on the food supply would be relieved. The old poor law and the state aid which it granted furthered this increase; let us change it. And, arguing thus, the Malthusians, all powerful in the eighteen thirties, passed the new poor law, which aimed at ending superabundant population, improvidence, and pauperism by making poverty a crime. And to this end they built the new bastilles that separated man from wife, tore child from parent, and gave free rein to all the savage cruelties and neglect that finds its echo in our literature from Dickens's classic to Arnold Bennett's "Clayhanger."

The new poor law drew the immediate fire of the Tory Socialists. They held the law unchristian, contrasted in parallel columns the words of Malthus and of Jesus, scoffed at a church that said with holy unction, "Whom God hath brought together let no man put asunder," while approving in the same breath of laws that made this very sacrament null and void. They quoted direct from the homilies of the Church of England the Christian duty there made incumbent upon all "to help and succor the poor hungered and naked Christ that cometh to your door a begging," and demanded even as they did so that the church denounce these infamies. They also sought to rest their case upon authority, searched Montesquieu, Blackstone, Coke, Paley, Grotius to show how clearly the intent and purpose of Great Britain's constitution was to guard the welfare of all classes in the State. They hurled at Peel, Graham, and other statesmen, who proclaimed in chanting chorus that the State was not responsible, the ringing words of Pitt: "The Government is omnipotent to protect."

And they fought with other weapons, for by direct rebuttal of Malthusian logic and statistics they demonstrated the falsity of his so-called law. Invective came so naturally to these country squires, so surcharged with scriptural language are their speeches, it is natural not to credit them with deeper study, calm, impassive reason. But Michael Sadler's book on population can not be so readily dismissed. He wrote in terms numerical, fought Malthus on his own

chosen battle ground, picked flaws with skill unerring in the chosen gospel of political economy, and argued for another law of population, which, though it may not be above the reach of modern criticism, can stand comparison at any rate with that of Malthus. The census tables of England, France, America, and Sweden are used exhaustively, Malthus's historical errors are uncovered, his theory of the break-up of the Roman Empire shattered, his hypothesis of the slow increase in the world's food supply demolished, his assumption that increased prosperity inevitably means increased numbers proven false. And Sadler has his own law to present as well, a formula quite distinct, opposed to Malthus, namely, that "the prolificness of human beings, otherwise in similar circumstances, varies inversely to their numbers." The truth or falsity of this theory can not be argued here. "The causes that modify the force of sexual instinct and those which lead to variation in fecundity" still defy the researches of the scientist. But Sadler did at least explode Malthusian determinism, and he who glances at his book must admit that the anti-Malthusians did not campaign on sentiment alone.

Yet the Tory Socialists stood for the impossible. Decency, fair play, and justice—these things they knew for good. The weakening of the social bond, the squire no longer in duty bound to aid his tenant, the partnership transformed into the company, the master to employer, the workingman to hand—all this they feared, and justly. But here the vision stopped. The great strides onward toward democracy were not within their ken. They could not think in forward terms; their mind swept backward and envisaged once again the medieval dream; a church, all kind and charitable; a crown, wise, temperate, and paternal; a populace, contented, grateful. The very motto on Oastler's little periodical "The Home" betrays its own futility. "The Throne, the Altar, and the Cottage," so it read—the King, the bishops, and the people—an ideal beautiful, but to history's knowledge never brought to pass beyond Arthurian legend.

Another attack on laissez-faire came from the trade-unionists. Uncertain in their aim, but poorly organized, without discipline or leadership in the beginning, the trade-unionists found themselves by the fourth decade of the nineteenth century firmly entrenched behind their strong but somewhat confined barrier of "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work"—a simple formula this, but one which meant at bottom, compromise, intended to be static, permanent. The trade-unionism of 1845 stood very definitely for certain things—a withdrawal from the field of politics; a closed and separate organization of each trade; a careful strengthening of the treasury by high dues; abstention when possible from the strike; the publication of trade journals; strict limitation of apprentices—the formulation

in the last analysis of a skilled aristocracy of labor, content with a hard-earned, if partial, victory, and indifferent altogether to those who stood without the pale.

But this particularism, as characteristic of trade-unions now as it was then, developed haltingly through many years of hard experience. The half-emancipated serfs of 1820 had no such hopes; they knew that something was amiss, and struck first this way then another for a better livelihood. Some followed those who urged the destruction of the new machinery, and others felt that ballot freedom was their one salvation. A few, and they the canniest, had yet another remedy, and by sheer industry and keen intelligence compressed and drove in one direction the energies of the skilled craftsmen. They analyzed the economic doctrines of their day and quickly found the enemy. A central principle of laissez-faire was that wages were, and of right ought to be, determined solely by the economic laws of supply and demand, and that all efforts to prevent the operation of this law were detrimental to the welfare of society, and in the long run would prove futile. Labor, according to this theory, was purely a commodity that could be bought and sold, transported, and transplanted like any other article of commerce. Here was the lion in the path, and if it was to be defeated the workers must monopolize in their own interests the supply of labor, sell it at the highest price that it would bring. To do this union was essential, and union was forbidden by the anti-combination acts. Hence they must be destroyed, and to that end the little London tailor, Francis Place, began his deep-laid scheming. His quiet field of action, from 1814 till 1824, when he won his victory, was the back parlor of his tailor shop in Charing Cross. Reports from every trades dispute in England were gathered here, digested, placed on file. The room became a labor reference library and by mutual consent the headquarters of the trade-union movement; its owner, the acknowledged leader—for Francis Place, in complete mastery of fact, in tactful treatment of blustering moods and changing attitudes of important politicians, in calm mastery of the ruffled tempers of his fellow workmen, in diplomatic yielding of the post of honor in times of critical emergency to men like Hume and Burdett—knew no superior in England. And, finally, by use of many stratagems, the skillful friends of Place passed through Parliament, almost unnoticed in the midst of other legislation, a bill to repeal the combination acts, and the right of collective bargaining was secured.

The first result was a strike fever, which the ever-active Owen made use of in his abortive effort to unite all workers. And after this collapsed, the trade-union movement gradually assumed its present form. This did not come about without a struggle; the Chart-

ists tried to win over the trade-unionists to their own pet projects, and so, too, did the manufacturers. The more skillful trades, however, pursued their own way with such evident advantage to themselves that soon they set the standard for the other trades to follow, and the trade-unionists became absorbed so wholly in furthering their own especial ends that they speedily lost sight of their broader sympathies and duty.

Quite opposite in fundamentals were the ideals of Robert Owen and his followers. To them no compromise was possible; they understood beyond the peradventure of a doubt the diagnosis of all human woes and, what is more, they knew the cure, so positive, so sweet, convincing that society of its own accord would quickly be won over without necessity of friction or of hardship. They realized well enough the inhumanities and horrors that inevitably followed in the wake of crude and rigid competition; they criticized with logic sound and true the broader meanings and significance of *laissez-faire*, and then, with all the rosy hopes, ingenuous optimisms that characterized so well their celebrated founder, jumped far to opposite extremes, plunged headlong into untried ventures, and rubbed their eyes with childlike wonderment when face to face with proven failure.

The early history of English socialism is not easy to unravel, so interwoven is it with the curious quirks of circumstance and character that were part and parcel of Robert Owen's public life. That broad-souled Welshman, by the very force and magnetism of his personality, drew the socialistic movement into such various directions that to generalize upon the aims and measures of the Owenites is a task beset with difficulties. Their propaganda permeated for a time trade-unionism, and for a season captured it; their orators were friendly with that strange clique of atheists who thought primarily to regenerate mankind by undermining and destroying organized religion; their missionaries hobnobbed with the Chartists and sought with considerable measure of success to win them from their political mirage; for Robert Owen and his disciples never sought to crystallize their message of salvation within the limits of a party platform.

Their fundamental creed, indeed, was simple—the character of all men depends upon environment, and that environment alone is healthy where private property, private interests and ambitions exist no longer. But the creed is one thing, the application yet another; for by three distinct and separate methods Robert Owen sought to demonstrate the worth and substance of his gospel.

The first of these was by founding industrial societies upon a communistic basis, or, as he put it, "villages of cooperation and industry"; and such was the persuasive earnestness of this leader that

capital and lands and friends came quickly. At Orbiston in Scotland, New Harmony in Indiana, at Manea Fen and Queenswood in England they were started, flourished for a season, and then failed.

The second method, organically less pretentious, aimed to unite all British workmen on a broad and common basis. Owen's organization to accomplish this, the "Grand National Consolidated Trades-Union," grew with great rapidity; a half million members were enrolled. "The London Operative Cabinet Makers," "The Ploughman's Union," of distant Perthshire, Leicester hosiers, the workers in all trades and occupations here were welcome. The enthusiasm of Owen, prophet, founder, organizer, was boundless. The change, he said, "shall come upon society like a thief in the night. It is intended that national arrangements shall be found to include all workingmen in the great organization * * * that all individual competition shall cease, that all manufactures are to be carried on by national companies;" for under this system of Owen's, so similar in aim to modern syndicalism, the instruments of production were to become not the property of the whole community, but of the particular set of workers who used them. But Owen's proposals in this second instance never met with a fair trial. The Government, thoroughly alarmed, believed, as did Sir Robert Peel, that the "Grand National" must be suppressed; and armed with their favorite weapon, then, as almost always, the judiciary, they swiftly came to the attack. The "Grand National," new, untried, with empty treasury, bent before the storm, and less than one year after its inception fell to pieces.

And finally the Owenites endeavored, by the labor exchange, to revolutionize economic distribution. Ignoring altogether, like Carl Marx, the reality and significance of economic rent, they thought "all exchange value could be measured in terms of labor time alone." All wealth proceeds from labor, said Robert Owen, and consequently let us have depots where anyone may exchange the goods which he produces for labor notes; with these he may buy goods which others deposit at the labor exchange, and so receive the exact value of the labor time expended. And this idea, so simple, met with extensive approbation. The exchanges started; in London they were so much approved that labor notes were taken freely by theaters and shops in lieu of ready cash. Again the sanguine Owenites saw in the near future the millennial days, the downfall of all specie currency, justice triumphant. But the exchanges, unsuccessful, closed their doors.

Except for the modest endeavors of the Rochdale Pioneers, the English socialism of the early nineteenth century was a failure. The socialists reasoned logically enough, but not with thoroughness. The truths that they were sure of were halfway truths alone; environment determines human character, but not altogether so; in-

dividualism also in personal habits, life, and thought is, or should be, sacred. But this they did not fathom; and finally they erred most signally in attacking religious sanctions—which above all things are tabooed. They did not have the wit to see that many things will die a natural death if left alone, but if handled roughly, violently assailed, become more powerful than before. When in the forties the Bishop of Exeter began his holy war against the lovable and simple Owen the death knell sounded for the latter's propaganda.

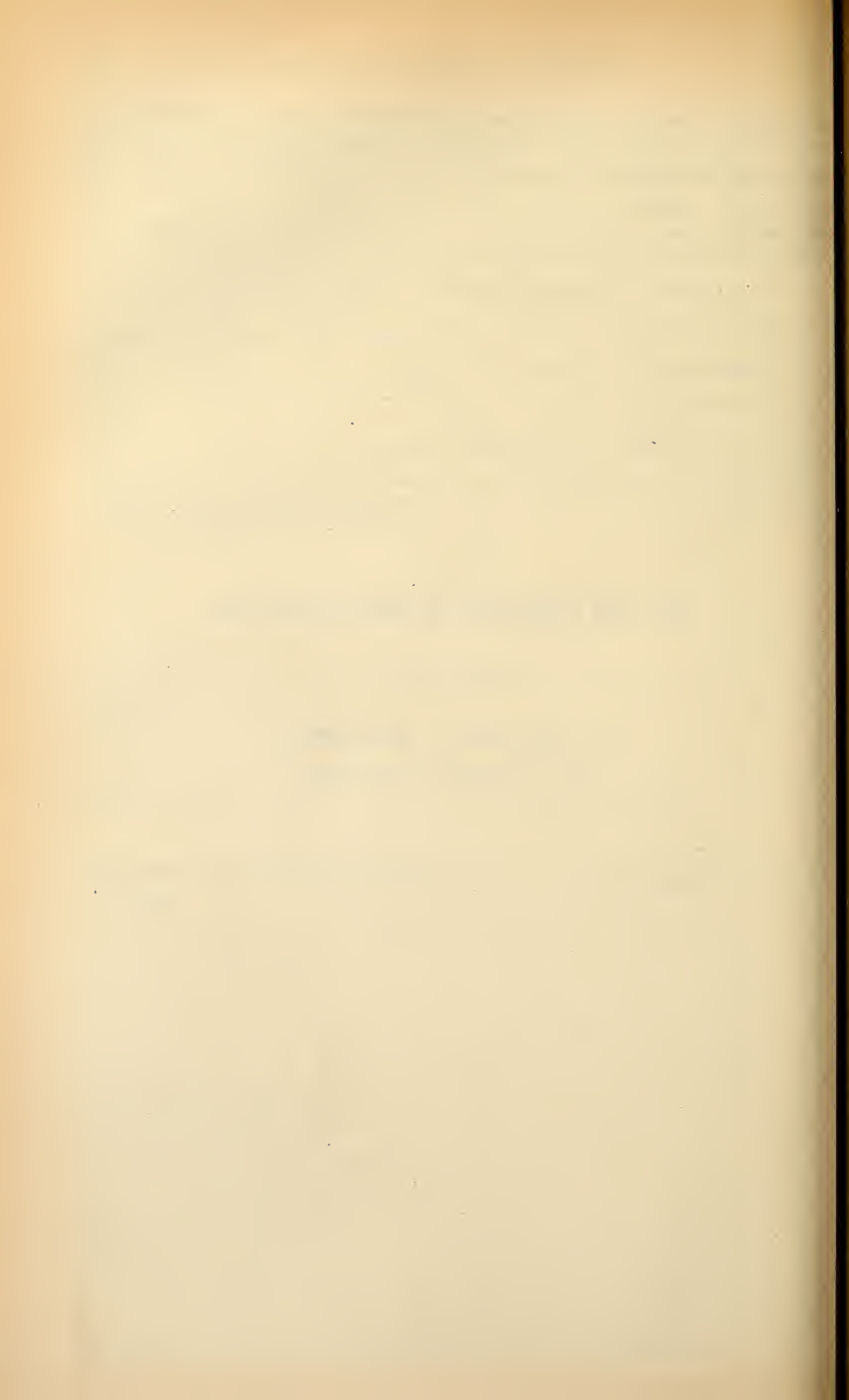
For him who seeks in history the picturesque and the dramatic, legitimately analyzing the personalities and characters of noted heroes, statesmen, the social history of the nineteenth century affords tales of heroism, suffering, bravery, as startling as ever Motley painted of the siege of Haarlem. The story of the seven Dorsetshire laborers vies in vividness with the coronation of Queen Victoria. The hardships and calamities the Rev. J. R. Stephens faced in wandering penniless and alone upon the Yorkshire heath, a counselor of violence to the Chartists, are full as worthy of description as is the curious composition of "The Ministry of all the Talents." But the true historian ever seeks for more than the dramatic, for the obligation which is his of demonstrating the direct utility of his history for the needs of his own generation never can be laid aside. His work must bear directly on the causes that have brought about the complexities of the society in which he lives. Surely, if this is so, the attitude of organized Christianity toward the child-labor agitation of Richard Oastler has more pragmatic value than debates upon the divorce of George IV. When Oastler, maddened to fury by the indifference of the clergy, cried out, "Where are the ministers of Jesus? With a few honorable exceptions, they, like the priests of old, pass by on the other side," we understand to some extent the attitude of the English working class toward the church. Certainly this is as noteworthy as any limitations upon the prerogative of the crown that may have accrued from the amours of the first gentleman in Europe. The Bed-Chamber Question in the early reign of Queen Victoria is not without genuine constitutional significance; but he who would understand the decay, both moral and physical, in the very fiber of the English working classes should study Dr. Kay's report of 1842 on the Manchester operatives.

The source material for our social history is almost inexhaustible. The blue books of the nineteenth century, as yet but faintly tapped by the general historian, are full to overflowing with the most exact and scientific data. And beyond these lies the newspaper. The columns of the Leeds Mercury alone portray with an unique clearness the rifts within the nation. Certainly no one is more typical of the English manufacturer than Edward Baines, its editor, whom Cobbett dubbed "the great white liar of the north." His Yorkshire daily

fairly teems with most enlightening controversial matter. To appreciate in full Macaulay's stand in politics in 1832 one must delve into the columns of the *Mercury*, see there Macaulay's other side, the evils of the Whiggism inherent in the man, class conscious, obdurate. These provincial journals tell to him who scans them sympathetically the story of the nation in a way that makes us wonder at the written history of nineteenth-century England, composed so largely as it is from diplomatic correspondence, parliamentary debates, statesmen's memoirs. Because of this one-sided research, the point of view of even Spencer Walpole is sadly warped and narrowed, as may readily be seen by his treatment of poor Wooler, the editor of that naïve labor weekly, *The Black Dwarf*. Not, indeed, until the historian includes within his narrative, in broadest knowledge and fullest sympathy, the aims and aspirations of every social stratum is his labor well proportioned and truly catholic.

VIII. THE COMMITTEE OF THE STATES, 1784.

By EDMUND C. BURNETT,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.



THE COMMITTEE OF THE STATES, 1784.

By EDMUND C. BURNETT.

On the 3d of June, 1784, the Continental Congress, then sitting in Annapolis, adjourned to meet in Trenton on the 30th of October, leaving a Committee of the States to hold in the interim the reins of Federal authority. Although such a committee, to sit during the recess of Congress, was provided for by the Articles of Confederation, this was the first instance in which it had been called into being, and it was also the last. Contrary to its earlier expectations,¹ Congress had sat almost continuously, with scarce a break in its sessions, since its assembling in May, 1775. The Committee of the States was therefore an experiment. That it was not altogether a successful one it is one of the purposes of this paper to show. The committee accomplished nothing of first-rate importance. Its career was brief; it was also checkered; it ended in fiasco. Nevertheless, the development of the Committee of the States as a constitutional idea possesses some interest, and its rise and fall in the summer of 1784, although scarcely more than an episode, is not without importance for its bearing upon the growth of opinion in favor of a better Constitution. The history of this episode, it may be remarked, is much elucidated by the letters written by the Members of Congress, which the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution has been assembling. The account here presented is drawn principally from these letters.

The Committee of the States is a direct descendant (to trace its lineage no further) of the executive council in the plan of confederation proposed by Franklin in July, 1775.² In the draft of the Articles of Confederation drawn up by John Dickinson and presented to Congress July 12, 1776,³ the executive council appears as a Council of State, although somewhat differently constituted.

There was, however, an intervening stage in the development of the Committee of the States, of which it is necessary to take note.

¹ See, for instance, John Adams's notes of debates, July 25, 1776; "Works", II, 494; "Journals" (ed. W. C. Ford), VI, 1077.

² Franklin's proposed articles of confederation are printed in the "Journals" (ed. W. C. Ford), under July 21. They are also found in the several editions of Franklin's "Works": Sparks, III, 91; Bigelow, V, 548; Smyth, VI, 420.

³ Dickinson's draft is printed in the "Journals" (Ford) under July 12, and again, together with the amended form, under August 20.

Throughout the summer of 1775 there was intermittent talk, chiefly out of doors, of adjourning to Hartford or some other point nearer to the scene of action, or else of placing a committee of Congress there with large delegated powers.¹ Once at least the question was seriously debated in Congress, although no mention of the debate appears on the journals. On July 21 Benjamin Harrison wrote to Washington: "Your hint for a remove of the Congress to some place nearer to you will come on to Morrow. I think it will not answer your expectations if we should remove, you shall have the result in the close of this." Then on the 23d he added: "The debate about our remove was taken up yesterday, and determined in the Negative. I proposed a Committee, but could not carry it. I think the last Method would have answered your purpose best, but the Gentleman could not think of parting with the least Particle of their Power."²

During the brief recess which Congress took from August 1 to September 5, 1775, it left no committee for administrative purposes,³ but on December 13 of that year, so Richard Smith tells us in his diary,⁴ the question of a longer adjournment was debated, and the journals show that a committee was appointed to prepare instructions for a committee to sit during the recess.⁵ This committee, of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman, proposed extensive administrative powers to be conferred on the recess committee, but the

¹ May 21 Silas Deane wrote to his wife: "I mentioned adjourning to Hartford, but no motion has as yet been stirred or made public on the subject, and all is uncertainty." June 2 he wrote: "I am in hopes that the Congress will, in their adjournment appoint a large Committee of their body to sit constantly at Hartford or elsewhere near the scene of action." "Conn. His. Soc. Collections", II, 233, 249; "N. Y. His. Soc. Collections", "Deane Papers", I, 49, 59. See also Deane's letter of June 16, in the volumes cited. June 5 Joseph Hewes wrote to Samuel Johnston: "It has been often proposed by some of our Members out of Doors to adjourn to Hartford or New Haven in Connecticut in Order that we might be near the seat of Action, but some of the Southern Gentlemen have not yet given their consent, nor do I think they ever will. Hooper and myself are willing." (Copy, from the original, in possession of the Carnegie Institution. What is probably a first draft of this letter, with date June 4, is in "N. C. State Records", XXII, 514.) In Force, "Am. Arch.", 4th ser., II, 1033, is an extract (June 20), from an anonymous writer containing a similar statement: "As the scene of action is far removed from hence, it is thought they will shortly adjourn to or depute a council to sit at Hartford, in Connecticut." Cf. Connecticut Delegates to Trumbull, June 26. (Mass. Hist. Soc., C 51-27, f. 284.)

² P. R. O., A. W. I., 139:509 (new reference, C. O. 5:92); transcript in Library of Congress, box 123; Force, "Am. Arch.", 4th ser., II, 1697.

³ There was, however, a committee of one from each colony "in the recess of Congress, to make enquiry in all the colonies, after virgin lead and leaden ore, and the best methods of collecting, smelting, and refining it", and also "to enquire into the cheapest and easiest methods of making salt in these colonies." "Journals", July 31, 1775.

⁴ Richard Smith, Diary, in "Am. Hist. Review", I, 293.

⁵ "On motion, *Resolved*, That when this Congress shall adjourn, it will be necessary to appoint a committee to sit during the adjournment, for the purpose of superintending the Treasury, carrying on necessary correspondence, and such other services as shall be directed by Congress.

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed to consider and prepare instructions for the committee above-mentioned." The committee appointed consisted of Jefferson, Hooper, Franklin, Jay, and Deane.

report was never acted upon;¹ Congress did not adjourn; consequently the committee to sit during the recess was not appointed. The powers of the committee as drawn up by Jefferson are, however, of importance, because, in Dickinson's article providing for a Council of State, the functions of the council are set forth in great measure in the very language of Jefferson's report of instructions for the recess committee in December, 1775, although there were both additions and subtractions. But what marks a notable advance is that the Council of State was to be not merely a committee sitting during the recess of Congress, but a committee of correspondence, a sort of steering committee, and the chief administrative arm of Congress at all times.

When, however, in October and November, 1777, the Articles of Confederation were debated seriatim in Congress Dickinson's Council of State was swept away and for it was substituted a Committee of the States to sit during the recess of Congress and to have such powers as Congress might confer upon it: "*Provided*," reads the article, "that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States, in the Congress of the United States assembled, is requisite."² The committee was to consist of one delegate from each State, and nine members were to form a quorum.

One effort at least prior to 1784 was made to have Congress adjourn and leave a Committee of the States. On March 2, 1781—that is, on the day following the completion of the confederation—John Sullivan made a motion for the appointment of such a committee,³ and on March 6 he wrote to Washington:

I am now endeavoring to obtain an adjournment of Congress and for Leaving a Committee to Transact the Business as the only way of having the Publick business done with Propriety and Dispatch. I fully agree with your Excellency That Congress ought to have more power but I also think that the old Members Should be in Heaven or at Home before this Takes place.⁴

The idea of adjourning during the summer of 1784 began to take shape almost a year before, for on July 18, 1783, a committee was appointed to report upon the powers of a committee of the States in

¹ The report of the committee is in the "Journals" (ed. W. C. Ford), December 15; also in the "Writings of Thomas Jefferson" (ed. P. L. Ford), I, 496. See also the "Journals", December 23.

² See the "Journals", October 30, November 7, 15.

³ The motion, in the writing of Charles Thomson and dated March 2, is in the Papers of the Continental Congress, no. 36, vol. IV., f. 417:

"Motion by Mr. Sullivan Seconded by

That Congress be adjourned to the first day of June next and that a com^{ee} of one member from each State be appointed to form a Com^{ee} of the United States.

Passed in the negative."

See the "Journals" (ed. Ford), March 2, 1781. For another instance of a proposed adjournment, although without mention of a Committee of the States, see the "Journals", December 1 and 3, 1779.

⁴ Library of Congress, Letters to Washington, XLVII, 83; Sparks, "Letters to Washington", III, 252.

the recess of Congress. The committee brought in a report September 17, but the report was not acted on until January 23, 1784, when, on a motion of Jefferson, it was referred to a new committee, consisting of Jefferson, Osgood, and Sherman.¹ Meanwhile, in December, Howell of Rhode Island had proposed an adjournment.² It is an interesting coincidence that Jefferson, who nine years before had prepared the instructions for the committee to sit in the recess of Congress, was again chairman of a similar committee and prepared the report. Jefferson says in his autobiography, speaking of his plan for the Committee of the States, that he aimed to separate the executive from the legislative functions, reserving the legislative for Congress and conferring the executive upon the committee.³ The elaborate scheme which he drew up had in part this character, but it was to a considerable degree blue-penciled by his committee, whose report was delivered to Congress on January 30, 1784, although the journals do not record any action upon it until April 26.⁴

Meanwhile, throughout the winter and spring numerous letters of the delegates bear testimony to the fact that, out of doors at least, there was constant talk of adjournment and also of leaving a Committee of the States.⁵ Most of the delegates favored adjournment, but not all of them were in favor of appointing the committee.⁶ The great obstacle to adjournment was the difficulty of getting together delegates sufficient to transact the business which was deemed to be very essential. Decision upon most of these measures required the concurrence of nine States; yet it had been impossible to hold nine States together for more than two or three days at a time since Congress assembled in the preceding November. Much of the time not even seven States could be mustered. It was only with the utmost difficulty that the requisite number of nine States had been brought together to ratify the definitive treaty, and when that was done several of those who came to Congress for that express purpose forthwith mounted their horses and rode home again. The difficulty had begun before the close of the war, and now that the war was over the whole idea of the union relaxed, and only by the

¹ The report of September 17 (in the writing of Duane) is in *Pap. Cont. Cong.*, no. 23, f. 163. See also committee books, nos. 186 and 191.

² Howell to Greene, December 24 (Staples, "R. I. in Cont. Cong.", 459).

³ "Writings of Jefferson" (ed. Ford), I, 75. Cf. *ibid.*, I, 496.

⁴ Jefferson's draft of the report is in his "Writings" (Ford), III, 388. The report as handed in by the committee is in *ibid.*, III, 392, and in *Pap. Cont. Cong.*, no. 23, f. 169. It is endorsed as having been delivered January 30, postponed May 27, and passed May 29. It is, nevertheless, recorded in the "Journals", under April 26. See also Jefferson's draft of a committee report on a petition of Zebulon Butler and others, in "Writings" (Ford), III, 332, and the proceedings of Congress thereon, January 23.

⁵ That there was discussion in doors also is evidenced by Howell's letter of February 10 quoted below.

⁶ The delegates from Pennsylvania southward were for the most part in favor of the committee; those from New Jersey northward were opposed to it.

determined and strenuous effort of a few men was Congress held together at all. Even in Congress attention was largely centered on issues that primarily concerned the individual States. When such an issue arose the delegates of that State would float into Congress, and when the issue had been decided they would pack their baggage and decamp. A few men kept hammering at matters that were of general concern, hoping and striving to hold the union intact and little by little to give it strength sufficient for its purposes. Others, however, left Congress in disgust.¹ In fact, not only had interest in the Union greatly lagged, there was even a rapidly developing inclination in some quarters to favor its dissolution.² Others saw the threatening dissolution without desiring it.

On February 1, 1784, George Partridge and Samuel Osgood, delegates from Massachusetts, wrote to the governor (John Hancock): "It is expected that Congress may so far dispatch the public Business in the Course of two Months, as to have a Recess of Several Months, leaving a Committee of the States in the Interim:—But this, however desirable, depends entirely on a fuller Representation than we have at present."³

The paralysis of Congress was, if anything, more complete after the ratification of the treaty than it had been before. To Jefferson it appeared that because of the inattendance of Members Congress would be compelled to adjourn until spring. "I believe," he added, in a letter to Gov. Harrison, January 16, "if we had 13 States present, represented by three members each, we could clear off our business in two or three months, and that hereafter a session of two or three months in the year could suffice."⁴ And on February 1 William Ellery of Rhode Island wrote to Governor Greene:

For want of nine States we have not been able to transact business of importance. After having wrote many pressing letters, and sent off two ex-

¹ Richard Peters, writing to Charles Thomson, Oct. 20, 1783, said: "I am much the happiest when I hear and think nothing of the erratic meteor which rose with so much splendor and I fear will set with no small disgrace * * * the whole body want influence and power to do themselves and the public justice, and while gentlemen come to execute instead of control the prejudices of their States, a seat will neither be an object of ambition or pleasure." "N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections", Thomson Papers, p. 177; To Peters, Thomson wrote (January 19, 1784): "Considering what a deep share I have taken in this controversy and how anxious I have ever been not only for the success of our cause but for the honor and dignity of the United States you will readily conceive that a recollection of the events which have taken place these six months past must give me the most pungent pain. During the contest I have been witness to scenes which gave me extreme uneasiness and distress. * * * Oh that it could be obliterated from the annals of America and utterly effaced from my memory!" Hist. Soc. of Pa., Peters Papers.

² On the very day on which the treaty of peace was ratified Samuel Osgood wrote to John Adams: "Time will discover whether our Union is natural; or whether the Dispositions and Views of the several Parts of the Continent are so similar as that they can and will be happy under the same Form of Government. There is too much Reason to believe they are not." Adams MSS., Boston.

³ Archives of Massachusetts, Senate Files, 163. As early as January 14 Osgood had written to John Adams: "Congress, I think will certainly adjourn the Beginning of May next to the first Monday in November following. The Business has greatly diminished since Peace took Place. There are a few Objects of great Magnitude which require the Assent of Nine States." Adams MSS., Boston. See also Osgood to Robert Treat Paine, February 14. N. Y. Pub. Library, Samuel Adams Papers (copy).

⁴ "Writings" (ed. Ford), III, 378. Cf. pp. 147, 148, 149, below.

presses, nine States were at length collected, and the definitive treaty ratified. As soon as this was done one of the Delaware members left Congress; and there have been only eight States represented since his departure. Georgia has not had a delegate on the floor for a twelvemonth. New Hampshire has had but one ever since I have attended. New York is not at present represented, and New Jersey has but one Member. We hope to have a representation from these States in the course of a month or six weeks, and then we promise ourselves that business will proceed with so much celerity as to admit of a recess or adjournment some time in May. In the mean time matters are ripening, as far as they can be matured, for the decision of nine States.¹

On February 9 Howell again brought forward a motion looking to an early adjournment.

In consequence of late letters from the State, as well as agreeably to my private opinion [he wrote to Deputy Gov. Bowen, February 10], I yesterday moved for a letter to be written to the States giving them information that Congress had in contemplation a recess, or adjournment over the summer and that it was absolutely necessary for them immediately to send forward a representation to enable us to dispatch the public business in the meantime. The motion was opposed from all parts of the House, and referred to a committee. * * * If this fails of bringing in a representation, Congress must adjourn.²

On February 16, Tilton, of Delaware, wrote to Gov. Van Dyke: "The situation of Congress is truly alarming; the most important business pending and not States enough to take it up; whilst those present are fatigued into resentment and almost despair, with loitering away their time, to little purpose, besides waiting for others to come. It is the resolute intention of Congress to adjourn this spring, leaving a committee, consisting of a Member from each State."³ On the 20th he wrote again to Van Dyke:

In this exigency, six States being present, today, gave it as their advice to the president, to write a letter in his own name, to the executives of the *delinquent* states, stating certain facts descriptive of the alarming situation of congress, which letter I expect you will receive by this post.⁴ I can assure you, sir, that it was proposed by several of the members as an article of the letter, that the absent states should be informed, that those present would think it their duty to retire to their own homes, rather than be a useless expence to the public, unless speedily [*sic*] attended by such additional representation as would enable them to do the public business. This paragraph, however, was overruled by a majority, who were unwilling to familiarise the idea of a dissolution of our federal government: but I mention it to shew the temper of mind that members are falling into, and the necessity there is for urging Mr. Bedford forward as soon as possible.⁵

¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors; Staples, "R. I. in Cont. Cong.," 467. David Howell wrote to Governor Greene on the same day in a similar strain. *Ibid.*, 470.

² R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors; Staples, "R. I. in Cont. Cong.," 476. The motion does not appear on the journals, for there were only six States represented on that day, with a few individual members from other States; consequently nothing definite could be done.

³ Library of Congress, Van Dyke Papers. On the other hand, Foster, of New Hampshire, wrote to Josiah Bartlett, February 21: "It is much talked of to leave no committee." N. Y. Public Library, Emmet Collection, No. 458. The hostility of the New England members to the Committee of the States is further evidenced by a letter of Jonathan Blanchard to Bartlett, March 5: "Congress have in contemplation an Adjournment and Recess, after about 10 weeks without leaving a Comtee." Dartmouth College Library, Bartlett Correspondence.

⁴ The letter sent out by President Mifflin, February 20, is printed in "N. C. State Records," XVII, 16; and in "Pennsylvania Archives," 1st ser., X, 206. It is recorded in the President's letter-book, Papers of the Continental Congress, XVI, 290, and the copy sent to Governor Paca of Maryland is in the Maryland Historical Society, *Crimson Book*, VI, 77.

⁵ Copy, from the original, in possession of the Carnegie Institution.

On the same day Jefferson wrote to Madison:

We cannot make up a Congress at all. there are 8. states in town, 6. of which are represented by two members only. of these two members of different states are confined by the gout so that we cannot make a house. We have not sit above 3. days I believe in as many weeks. admonition after admonition has been sent to the states to no effect. We have sent one to-day. if it fails, it seems as well we should all retire. there have never been 9 states on the floor but for the ratification of the treaty and a day or two after.¹

On the 29th he wrote to Pendleton:

A ninth state appeared yesterday. but eight of the nine being represented by two delegates each, all important questions will require not only an unanimity of states, but of members, for which we have no reason to hope. I very much apprehend we shall be unable to get through even those which seem indispensable. I think it will be prudent immediately to define the powers of a committee of the states, that if we are left in the lurch again as we have been, there may be some power to place at the head of affairs till the states can be made sensible of the necessity of sending on full delegations.²

The appearance of a single additional delegate on March 1 seemed to stir the members with hope;³ yet two weeks later they appear to have fallen again into the slough of despond, for on March 15 Jefferson wrote to Washington:

I suppose the crippled state of Congress is not new to you. We have only 9. states present, 8. of whom are represented by two members each; and of course, on all great questions not only a unanimity of states but of members, is necessary. an unanimity which never can be obtained on a matter of any importance. The consequence is that we are wasting our time and labour in vain efforts to do business. nothing less than the presence of 13. states represented by an odd number of delegates will enable us to get forward a single capital point.⁴

To Madison he wrote the next day:

We have done nothing and can do nothing in this condition but waste our time, temper, and spirits in debating things for days or weeks and then losing them by the negative of one or two individuals.⁵

¹ Library of Congress, Madison Papers; Jefferson's "Writings" (Ford), III, 396. On the same day John Montgomery wrote to Edward Hand: "We have had a Congress only three days and [in] two weeks. Spaight has the gout and cant attend and Lloyd is laid up. Hall has resigned and this State is unrepresented." Collection of Adrian H. Joline.

² N. Y. Public Library, Miscellaneous MSS., Jefferson. Cf. Monroe to Harrison, May 14, p. 149.

³ "That season of Inactivity is I hope now entirely over a Gentleman having this day arrived from New Hampshire by which means that State is represented and nine States being on the floor we are once more enabled to proceed with the Important business of the Union. New York Delaware and Maryland are however still unrepresented tho' the Latter had elected no less than Six Delegates and we are actually Seated in the Capital of the State." Jacob Read to Governor Guerard of South Carolina, March 1, 1784. (Copy, from original, in possession of the Carnegie Institution.)

⁴ Library of Congress, Letters to Washington, LXVI, 148; Sparks, "Letters to Washington," IV, 62. To the same effect Jefferson wrote to Madison on the following day. Library of Congress, Madison Papers; "Writings" (Ford), III, 425.

⁵ "Writings" (Ford), III, 425. Even with the addition of two more States the difficulties did not entirely disappear.

April 2 Jefferson wrote to Pendleton: "we have now eleven states present, and are applying ourselves to important matters alone. I hope we shall be able to adjourn by the 1st. of May, not to meet again till November. we surely should, but that we are every now and then retarded by divisions of votes; 8 of the 11. states being represented by 2 members only, so that three of 16 members dissenting, can still stop our proceedings." (N. Y. Public Library, Miscellaneous MSS., "Jefferson".) On the same day he wrote in almost the identical language to Governor Harrison (Hist. Soc. of Pa., Dreer Collection, Jefferson Letters), and similarly to Washington on April 6 (Library of Congress, Letters to Washington, LXVI, 13; Jefferson, "Works," Memorial ed., IV, 448), and again to Harrison, April 9 (Haverford College, Roberts Collection).

About the same time (March 19) Williamson, of North Carolina, wrote to Gov. Martin:

It is now expected that Congress will be ready to adjourn by the end of May. The federal year begins on the first Monday in November; wherefore we cannot adjourn over that period. It is expected from that time forward while heaven is pleased to give us peace, Congress will never have occasion to sit except in the winter season. A Committee to consist of one Member from every State, is to sit during the recess of Congress.¹

As the question of appointing a committee of the States was necessarily involved with the question of adjournment, so the question of adjournment in its turn became entangled with the question of the place where Congress should next forgather. This question had already plagued Congress not a little, and it was to plague that body yet again and again.² These questions were all sprung when, on April 14, Howell moved that on May 26 Congress should adjourn to meet at Newport on October 26.³ The motion of Howell brought on a tug of war between Newport, Philadelphia, Georgetown, Alexandria, and Trenton, with the odds in favor of Trenton, and in the midst of the tussle Jefferson moved for the appointment of a Committee of the States.⁴

On April 25 Jefferson wrote to Madison:

The question [of the location of Congress] is put off to be considered with the establishment of a committee of the states, which to my astonishment would have been negatived when first proposed had not the question been staved off. Some of the states who were against the measure, I believe because they had never reflected on the consequence of leaving the government without a head, seemed to be come over. . . Congress hope to adjourn by the last of May.⁵

Meanwhile, on April 19, Howell had written to Deputy Gov. Bowen:

Enclose I send you a copy of the proceedings of Congress relative to an adjournment. We have since found its good effects having gone through more business in a day than in a week preceding. We shall revive this motion the

¹ "N. C. State Records," XVII, 27. "There is some talk of leaving a Committee of the States when Congress adjourn but it has not yet been determined." Roger Sherman to Governor Trumbull, March 29, 1784 (Mass. Hist. Soc., C 81-B, f. 143.) "We talk of adjourning in May and leaving a Committee of the States. It will I think be wrong; but some Members are so afraid of a southern Climate in the summer, that they take it for granted they shall die unless they adjourn." Arthur Lee to Theodorick Bland, April 7, 1784 (N. Y. Public Library, Myers collection, Distinguished Americans).

² In a letter to Francis Hopkinson February 18, after referring to a balloon experiment that had attracted much attention, Jefferson wrote: "I think this discovery may lead to things useful. for instance, there is no longer a difficulty how Congress shall move backwards and forwards, and your bungling scheme of moving houses and moving towns is quite suspended." Hopkinson Papers, Philadelphia, furnished by courtesy of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. In his letter to Madison February 20 (see above) Jefferson said: "The smile is hardly covered now when the federal towns are spoken of."

³ The motion was prefaced by the presentation of a resolve, of the Rhode Island assembly of February preceding. The resolve is in the "Journals," April 14, and in Staples, "R. I. in Cont. Cong.," p. 441.

⁴ See the "Journals." Jefferson's draft of the resolve is in his "Writings" (Ford), III, 463.

⁵ Library of Congress, Madison Papers; "Writings" (Ford), III, 470.

first convenient opportunity. I fear an adjournment will not be obtained without leaving a Committee of the States.¹

For a time there was a lull in the storm; then, on April 26, Howell himself made a motion for adjournment to Trenton and coupled with it the appointment of a Committee of the States. McHenry, Williamson, and Spaight endeavored to have the appointment of the committee and the definition of its powers take precedence of the motion to adjourn,² but Howell's motion prevailed.

Monroe wrote to Gov. Harrison, May 14:

Your Excellency hath also been advis'd of the resolution of Congress to adjourn on the 3^d of June next to meet in Trenton on the 30. of October. It is further resolv'd to leave sitting a committee of the States. This I am persuaded sh^d. always be the case during the recess of Congress for while there exists a foederal government and any arrangements abroad or within depending on it, any responsible characters acting under it, there sh^d. always be a foederal head.³

It was not, however, until May 27, that the powers of the committee, as reported by Jefferson, Osgood, and Sherman,⁴ were taken into consideration, and meanwhile Congress had been rent by a disturbance, cyclonic in its character. The struggle was in the first instance over the sitting place of Congress, but the secondary and

¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors; Staples, "R. I. in Cont. Cong.", 438. April 16 Edward Hand wrote to Jasper Yeates: "It is the Genl. opinion of Congress that we shall adjourn towards the end of may the day however is not yet fix'd nor have we agreed on the place of our next meeting Trenton seems the most likely

Business goes on Slowly but I hope the General desire of an Adjournment which appears in the house will be a Stimulus." (N. Y. Public Library, Emmet Collection, Hand Papers.) See also John Montgomery to Benjamin Rush, April 16 (?), Phila. Library Company, Ridgeway Branch, Corresp. of Benjamin Rush, vol. XLI, f. 70, and Montgomery to William Irvine, April 17, Hist. Soc. of Pa., Irvine Papers, IV, 10.

"If a pritty full Delegation is on the Ground in Nov^r. annually it is supposed that the Necessary business of these States may be compleated in the Space of three Months and I think under this view some of our best hand may afford to come and if thay *Snarl* some times at Others an Agreeable Amusement will take place.

As to an adjournment it is not yet agreed to and a Com.^{tee} of the States are not appointed and until these Matters are Generally discuss'd I can give no Opinion—Out door talk is an adjournm^t on the 26.th of May and a Vote has fix'd it at Trenton." Jonathan Blanchard to Josiah Bartlett, April 20, 1784 (Dartmouth College Library, Bartlett Correspondence, vol. II).

² Spaight wrote to Gov. Martin April 30: "The business which Congress have before them, in my opinion cannot be finished, by the time which they have fixed on for their adjournment, that is the 3d of June next." "N. C. State Records," XVII, 65. Spaight made a further effort June 1 and 3 to postpone the adjournment. See the "Journals."

³ Virginia State Library, Executive Papers. Cf. above, Jefferson's letters of February 29 and April 25.

⁴ See above, p. 146, and the "Journals," April 26. "Congress persist in the resolution of rising the 3^d of June—if they do, they must wrangle less, and do more business, or leave much undone." Edward Hand to Jasper Yeates, May 7 (N. Y. Public Library, Emmet Collection, Hand Papers). "It is determined to adjourn on the third day of next month, and to appoint a Committee of the States to sit in the recess; and as it will not be convenient for either of us to stay after the Congress is adjourned, it will be necessary that another delegate come to be a member of the committee." Roger Sherman and James Wadsworth to Governor Trumbull, May 8, 1784 (Collection of Wolcott G. Lane, New York). Cf. Charles DeWitt to Governor Clinton, May 8 (N. Y. State Library, Clinton Papers, no. 5432 A), and DeWitt to R. R. Livingston, May 9 (Hist. Soc. of Pa., Dreer Collection, Members of the old Congress, I, 115).

more violent contest was over the right of the Rhode Island delegates to their seats in Congress.¹ Before this storm was over Howell had been twice challenged to mortal combat.² In the end the Rhode Island delegates were constructively unseated; but actually they retained their seats and continued to vote and to make motions. But the bitterness engendered in the struggle was to affect vitally the Committee of the States and even for a time the succeeding sessions of Congress.

The resolve specifying the powers of the Committee of the States was passed on May 29. What Jefferson proposed in his draft of the powers of the Committee of the States was little short of as thorough administrative and executive authority as Congress could bestow. It might direct the determination of controversies concerning the private right of soil, regulate trade and the post offices, manage Indian affairs, appoint and commission officers in the land and naval forces and make rules for their government, superintend all offices, direct the operation of the forces, make requisitions on the States for their quotas, direct the application of money according to the general appropriation of Congress, and in general execute the resolutions, orders, and ordinances of Congress, although it could not repeal or

¹ "If Congress should not adjourn by the first wednesday in May, our qualifications to sit beyond that time may be called in question, and perhaps our seats may be vacated; altho there is an act of the State which I conceive would justify our sitting until we shall be relieved. * * * I hope we shall be able to finish, or put the most important business in train so that Congress may adjourn by the middle of May to the first Monday in November." William Ellery to Deputy Gov. Bowen, April 10 (R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors; Staples, "R. I. in Cont. Cong.," 484).

² "Some young men in Congress pursue the object of taking away our seats in Congress as if it was of the first magnitude. * * * I shall not enlarge on this head as the Journals will soon disclose to you the marvellous tale * * * I have received two written challenges to fight duels; one from Col. Mercer, of Virginia, the other from Col. Spaight, of No. Carolina * * * I answered them that I meant to chastise any insults I might receive, and laid their letters before Congress." Howell to Deputy Gov'r Bowen, May 22 (R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors; Staples, "R. I. in Cont. Cong.," 513). "Since your departure," Hardy wrote to Jefferson, May 21, "we have done nothing. Congress have been involved in a scene of Confusion greater than you can conceive * * * [The Rhode Island question] has produced great diversity of sentiment, and more altercation than I have ever seen either in Congress or any other place—so that I begin seriously to apprehend we shall be forced to adjourn and confess to the world that the division of our councils has prevented the adoption of those Measures which the interest of the Union so loudly call'd for at our hands." Library of Congress, Jefferson Papers, 2d ser., XL, 55; Bancroft, "Formation of the Constitution," I, 364. "I expected in Congress," moaned Ephraim Paine, "to find justice sit enthroned, supported by all the virtues. Judge, then, how great was my disappointment when I found caballing, selfishness, and injustice reign almost perpetually; and in place of that good order and decency which ought to preside in all public bodies, especially in that august one, tumult and disorder prevail, even to the degree of challenging in the house. * * * Scarce any business of importance has been done in the house for about ten days." To Robert R. Livingston, May 24, in Bancroft, "Form. of the Const.," I, 364, and N. Y. Pub. Lib., Bancroft Collection, Livingston Papers (copy). "I never," said Monroe, "saw more indecent conduct in any Assembly before. The dispute was more pointed between Mercer and Howell." To Jefferson, May 25, in Jefferson Papers, 2d ser., LVII, 7; "Writings" (ed. S. M. Hamilton), I, 99. See also a letter of Samuel Hardy and John Francis Mercer to Governor Harrison, June 4 (Virginia State Library, copy).

contravene them. The committee was further empowered to call Congress together if the public exigencies required it. Only the larger matters were excluded from it, such as engaging in war, entering into treaties and alliances, sending and receiving ambassadors, issuing, borrowing, or appropriating money, appointing the commander in chief of the Army or Navy, deciding disputes between States, and some others. Nine States should be a quorum and the concurrence of seven States should be necessary to the determination of any question other than adjourning from day to day.¹

As reported by the committee of three, however, the enumerated powers as proposed by Jefferson were largely shorn away and in their stead was substituted a general provision that the committee should possess all the powers which might be exercised by seven States in Congress, but left for the most part Jefferson's enumeration of exceptions, and in this form the measure passed Congress. According to Jefferson's plan the President might be a member of the committee and should in that case be the presiding officer. But this provision was eliminated and the committee was authorized to choose its own chairman.² A later resolution of Congress definitely eliminated the President from any official powers or duties during the recess of Congress. The committee was in the first instance appointed by Congress, but to provide for the certain exigency of a lapse in the membership of the committee, it was provided that the members of the delegation of any State might relieve each other in such manner as might be agreed upon among themselves or as directed by their State.³ The committee was also authorized to convene Congress at an earlier date than that to which it stood adjourned if the public exigencies required it. But what was of most serious consequence, the resolve declared that no question except that of adjourning from day to day could be decided by the committee without the voice of nine States. This requirement effectually paralyzed the committee, for except on the opening day it never mustered more

¹ Jefferson had gone further and laid out a program of specific work for the committee. For instance, the committee was to make the necessary investigations and prepare an ordinance for establishing a money coinage, the outlines of which he laid down. A resolution instructing the committee to prepare an ordinance for making the necessary arrangements for the treasury and likewise for revising the office of foreign affairs and the war office was adopted. Sundry motions made are in Pap. Cont. Cong., no. 23, ff. 171-177.

² Howell made a motion, May 27, that the committee choose its chairman monthly, but failed to carry it.

³ The Committee of the States was appointed May 29 and was as follows: Blanchard of New Hampshire, Dana of Massachusetts, Ellery of Rhode Island, Sherman of Connecticut, DeWitt of New York, Dick of New Jersey, Hand of Pennsylvania, J. T. Chase of Maryland, Hardy of Virginia, Spaight of North Carolina, and Read of South Carolina. Delaware and Georgia were not at the time represented in Congress, but by a resolve of the Committee of the States, June 4, were called upon to send representatives. The letter of Samuel Hardy, chairman, to the Governor of Georgia is in Haverford College, Roberts Collection.

than nine States. Writing to Deputy Governor Bowen, May 31, Howell exults over these limitations:

I freely confess I consented to appoint a Committee only with a view to obtain a recess. If they do no good, their powers are too much restricted to admit of their doing much hurt. Mr. Ellery is chosen a member of this Committee for our State; in consequence whereof I have requested him to stay, till the Sense of the General Assembly could be communicated to him on the Subject what he will determine finally is with himself. As Congress has made the concurrence of nine voices necessary in every act there is ample Security against the Committee's sitting in Philadelphia, unless infatuated.¹

Monroe wrote to Jefferson, June 1:

Two points have been effected since my last, the putting the office of finance into commission and establishment of the committee of the States and appointment of the members. each State nominated its own member and congress confirmed the preference. the committee consists of Mr. Blanchard, Dana, Ellery, Sherman, DeWit, Dick, Hand, Chase, Hardy, Spaight, and Read; for the States not represented on the floor any member who produces credentials may take his seat. the members also may relieve each other at pleasure. these resolutions were introduc'd by Mercer and supported by Read. by wh. the appointment, if this rule continues (longer than the present congress or rather committee) is taken out of the hands of congress and vested in the delegation of each State and of course given it to whomever the chance of a popular vote, may place at the head of a delegation, for those who pay a delicate attention to the sense of the State must take that sense from such evidence as appears to them. the powers of the committee are confin'd so that no injury can be effected. Sherman and Dana will necessarily govern it. Read and Spaight will be together. Hardy will perhaps be of the same society and as the part they will act will perhaps be rather an intemperate one, they will have no weight themselves and throw the indifferent states into the other scale.²

Francis Dana wrote to the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, June 11:

The Committee of the States met on the 4th inst. eleven States being represented therein; but as the Delegates from Rhode Island, from Connecticut, from New York, and from Pennsylvania were determined to return home the next day, and nine states were requisite to any Act of the Committee of the States, except that of adjourning from day to day, they adjourned themselves to the 26th inst; then to meet at this place [Annapolis], after choosing their Chairman, and passing two or three Acts of very little consequence.

Being apprehensive that we shall not make up a Committee of the States at the time of adjournment, or near it, I propose to wait here eight or ten days after it; and if no Committee shou'd be made up then to return home. Besides that this Climate is very injurious to my present state of health, it appears to me that my residence after that time, unless there shou'd be a certain prospect of soon making up a Committee of the States, wou'd subject the State to a very needless expence. Shou'd the time admit of it, I shou'd be happy to receive the directions of the Legislature on this point; to which I shall most certainly conform myself, unless my health shou'd prevent my doing it. Before I set off as proposed above, I shall endeavour to procure an adjournment of the Committee of the States by as many members as may then be present, to Trenton in the beginning of sep^r.; where they will be ready with the public Records, to meet Congress on the day they shall open their Session there. Such an adjournment must necessarily take place a considerable time previous to that event.³

It is not necessary to pause over the official acts of the committee. They are recorded in its journal. It is rather the unofficial and

¹ R. I. Arch., Letters to the Governors; Staples, "R. I. in Cont. Cong.", 514.

² Library of Congress, Jefferson Papers, 2d ser., LVII, 6; "Writings" (ed. Hamilton), I, 31.

³ Mass. Arch., Senate Files, 159.

semiofficial proceedings that call for notice. On June 3 Congress adjourned, De Witt says, near 11 o'clock at night and in confusion.¹ On June 4 the committee met, organized, and straightway adjourned until June 26 "for the benefit of the health of the members." Jonathan Blanchard wrote to Josiah Bartlett, June 6: "Congress are now adjourned, to meet at Trenton on the 30th of Octr. next. The Committee of the States to remain here, if they do not desert, but some are taking French leave. I shall tarry so long as any prospect remains of doing business, and when that is over I shall return to New Hampshire."²

The committee gathered its requisite nine members rather earlier and held them together rather longer than Dana had apparently expected; in fact, rather longer than he and Blanchard appear to have desired, for the committee made its quorum, although with difficulty,³ on July 8 and held it intermittently until August 3. On July 15 Dana wrote to the Massachusetts Legislature:

Contrary to my expectations expressed in my last, we obtained a representation of Nine States, in the Committee of the States, on the fifth inst; but since

¹ De Witt to Clinton, June 4 (N. Y. State Library, Clinton Papers, no. 5446).

² "Historical Magazine", VII, 53. "Yesterday evening the President of Congress in conformity to the act of the 26th of April pronounced Congress to be adjourned until the 3rd of November next then to meet at Trenton.

"As we have ever doubted the constitutional propriety of the measure, and the right of Congress to invest their President with a power which the confederation seems to have reserved to the body, we opposed it originally. And when the period arrived at which the act was to be carried into execution we declined giving a constitutional sanction to the removal.

"It was not thought expedient to change the vote of the 26; and for the seven States who originally voted for the President to adjourn Congress; again to adjourn themselves. The reason of this may be discovered by a reference to the Journals." Samuel Hardy and John Francis Mercer to Gov. Harrison, June 4 (Va. State Library, copy).

³ Thomson wrote to Jefferson June 18: "I had some doubts of their being able to form a Committee, but as delegates from Georgia are come on and Delaware it is said will attend I fancy they will have a quorum on the 28 and have great hopes they will be so tired of their situation in Annapolis that they will be induced to remove to the northward. I wish Congress were settled. This mode of rambling is neither consistent with dignity nor convenience. But I find we must go the common round of nations before us and learn wisdom from our own experience." (Library of Congress, Jefferson Papers, 2d ser., LXXXI, 17; "N. Y. Hist. Soc., Collections", Thomson Papers, p. 190.) "The Comm^{ee} of the States were to have assembled on the 26th, but as yet we have but Six States Represented, today we hope to be able to proceed to business as Several Members are expected." (Read to Washington, June 29, Library of Congress, Letters to Washington, LXVI, 158.) "I arrived here on Saturday morning last, and found 4 members waiting, on Monday we made 6 including myself * * * on Tuesday we had an accession of two members, one is yet wanting to enable us to go to business—it is to me very disagreeable to be Idle—tho the reflection that I am, notwithstanding, earning dollars to buy firewood for the winter is some alleviation to my distress." (Hand to Yeates, July 2, N. Y. Pub. Library, Emmet collection, Hand papers.) "Not having a Committee we can only adjourn from day to day." (Spaight to Mark Pringle, July 5, Hist. Soc. of Pa., Dreer Collection, Members of the Old Congress). "In such haste were the Eastern members to adjourn that they have taken no measures for making peace with the Southern Indians, though a plan for negotiating with those Indians was reported and ready to be passed upon. * * * It may happen that the Committee will be obliged to convene Congress before the time to which they stand adjourned." (Williamson to Martin, July 5, "N. C. State Records", XVII, 80.)

that time, no addition has been made to it.¹ * * * The assent of all now present, being necessary to pass any Act except that of adjourning from day to day, it cannot be expected that business of much consequence can be transacted in the Committee.²

The Gentleman who represents New Hampshire, will leave the Committee the beginning of next month without waiting to be released; which will disenable us to proceed to business, unless some other State should be represented. And as my health will not permit me without great injury, to remain longer, I propose to return with him.³

A few days later (July 24) the gentleman from New Hampshire wrote to Josiah Bartlett:

We have had Members enough in Town since the 5th inst^t to make a Quorum, but thro the non attendance of some, we have Scarcely made a Comt^{ee} half the time since, and I am in hopes that Mr. Dana and myself will soon be able to prevail for an adjournment to Trenton,—if we cannot carry that, I am apprehensive we shall leave this place by the forepart of August—to spend our time at the rate we have, for a Month past, is hardly worth our while.⁴

Twice, on July 29 and August 3, Dana and Blanchard attempted to put through their program of adjournment, but were voted down.⁵ On August 6 Hand wrote to Yeates:

Our New England Members appear determined to prevent the Continuance of the Committee by returning to their homes * * * the Eastern Gentry opposed the formation of a Comm^{ee} very Strenuously—being baffled then, they are now Resolved to render the Institution useless—they indeed [endeavored?] to cover a little their real design by propose^d an Adjournment for 6 weeks, and a removal of the Public papers to Trenton but the person soon be very blind that cannot see in complying with this proposal a dissolution of the Committee, the time between the end of Sept^r and the Meeting of Congress being so Short that Members, uncertain of being continued in Congress will not think of Assembling—besides there are at this very time many matters which Should be attended to tho I must confess they are not peculiarly interesting to the Eastern Combination nor altogether conformable to their System of politics.⁶

On the same day Read wrote to Washington to the same effect, adding:

I fear we shall have no more Committee of the states, this in the present situation of European and Indian Affairs is really alarming—the Delegates from Rhode Island always declared they would not attend.⁷

On August 9, when it became evident that the New England delegates were determined to secede at all hazards, Hand and Spaight

¹ The states represented were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Two delegates from Georgia, long unrepresented, had arrived in Philadelphia June 12, to find neither Congress nor the Committee of the States in session. See a letter from William Gibbons and William Houston, June 24, in Hist. Soc. of Pa., Dreer Collection, Members of the Old Congress, II, 109.

² On the same day Hand wrote to Yeates: "Our Committee Consists of Nine members Only—we must all *say one way* to do anything." N. Y. Pub. Library, Emmet collection, Hand papers. See also Hand to Clinton, July 22, N. Y. State Library, Clinton papers, no. 5466.

³ Mass. Arch., Senate Files, 216.

⁴ Mass. Hist. Soc., C. 81—B, 152.

⁵ "We have had but nine members in Comt^{ee}, since our last meeting.

"Mr. Dana and my self have made a motion for an adjournment, Stating the Reasons for it, with the Yeas and Nays.

"Few things have been done since the Committee were together, a few reports agreed to, but nothing of Moment." Blanchard to Sherman, August 10, 1784 (Mass. Hist. Soc., C 81—B, 158).

⁶ N. Y. Pub. Library, Emmet Collection, Hand Papers.

⁷ Library of Congress, Letters to Washington, LXVI, 232.

sought to stave off the immediate break-up of the committee by a motion for postponement. The proceedings at this point are best told by Richard Dobbs Spaight.

Towards the last of July [he wrote to Governor Martin, October 16] Mr. Dana the Delegate from Massachusetts, seconded by Mr. Blanchard the Delegate from New Hampshire, moved that the Committee might adjourn on the [4th] day of Aug. to meet again at Trenton on the first Monday in September and that in the interim the papers of the secretary's Office and the Office of foreign affairs should be removed to that place. To strengthen the reasons in favor of the adjournment, they said they were obliged to leave Annapolis in a short time, and it would give their colleagues an opportunity to come forward to take their places; and that they did not expect they would come so far South as Annapolis. These reasons being urged and knowing the bad effects the dissolution of the Committee, by the withdrawing of any of its members, would have in the political world on the affairs of the United States, induced me to vote for it thinking it would have a better appearance for the Committee to be dissolved ([if] it should happen to have that effect by its not being formed again) by its own vote than by the former mode, the one would at least bear the face of unanimity, the other of disunion.

Four States being opposed to the motion, negatived it. Those Delegates being still determined in their intentions of returning home, obliged the others who saw the consequences of their leaving the Committee without a competent number to do business, to fall on some mode if possible to prevent their going or to make them postpone it until they should be relieved by their colleagues. Accordingly a motion was brought forward by General Hand, seconded by myself, stating the evils that would result from a dissolution of the Committee, in order to convince them of the necessity there was for their staying until relieved, or until Delegates should come on from the unrepresented States, to fill up the Committee (a copy of the motion is inclosed). After the motion had been some time debated, and the Chairman about to put the question Mr. Blanchard the Delegate from New Hampshire left the room; there being then only eight states on the floor, we could proceed to no business. The members present sent to him requesting him to return, but he declined it. He did not appear the next day, and was again sent for, but declined coming. On Wednesday the 11th of August neither Mr. Dana nor Mr. Blanchard appeared and on that evening they both left Annapolis to return home carrying with them Mr. Dick of Jersey.

This unprecedented step of the Eastern Delegates did not surprize me, it was only acting in unison with their former conduct, and seems to me to be a concerted scheme among the Delegates of the four New England States as they opposed the appointing of a Committee during the recess, and would not have agreed to it, could they have had an adjournment of Congress without.¹

By August 13 only six delegates were left, when the secretary ceased to note the attendance, but later recorded in the journal: "Afterwards the members waited, but met irregularly till the 19th August, when they signed the following paper." The six remaining delegates, Hardy, Hand, Chase, Spaight, Read, and Houston, recommended that the secretary remove the public papers to Philadelphia for safe keeping until the meeting of Congress in Trenton in November.² Four of them (Hand, Spaight, Read, and Houston) also advised the chairman to write to the several States unrepresented to send forward delegates to Philadelphia or to Trenton,

¹ "N. C. State Records", XVII, 172. "The Committee of the States is broken up; the members from the Eastern States, and from New Jersey, having gone off on Wednesday in a most extraordinary manner." Jacob Read to Washington, August 13 (Library of Congress, Letters to Washington, LXVI, 241; Sparks, "Letters to Washington," IV, 77).

² See the "Journals," also the continuation of Spaight's letter to Martin, October 16, "N. C. State Records," XVII, 172.

hoping that a committee might be gathered at one place or the other.¹ Accordingly Chairman Hardy sent out a circular to the delinquent States, August 19, representing the danger to which the United States were exposed "from want of a Federal head" and urging that a delegate be sent to Philadelphia at once.²

September 9 Read wrote to Governor Guerard, of South Carolina :

I do not lose sight of the Hope that we shall be able to assemble a Committee of the States at this place [Philadelphia] in the Course of Ten days or a Fortnight—Indeed I own to your Excellency that I am exceedingly sanguine in this Business, especially when I consider the disadvantageous point of view the United States must appear in in the Eyes of Europe. * * *

I * * * shall proceed for Rhode Island in a day or Two * * * My Colleague Mr. Bull will remain on the Spot to attend the Committee.³

Among the few who listened to the call of Chairman Hardy was John Francis Mercer. The word reached him early in September and he proceeded at once to Annapolis,⁴ but finding that the committee had disbanded he followed the will-o'-the-wisp to Philadelphia. There, September 23, he wrote to Read :⁵

I am here only since eight o'Clock last Evening, but that is long enough to convince me that I am here to no good purpose. A desire that the State of Virginia might shew her respect for the Confoederal Government (if it is not a prostitution of the name of Government to apply it to such a vagabond, strolling, contemptible Crew as Congress) will induce me to spin out a couple of weeks here. * * * if I do not find the ensuing Congress of a very different complexion from the last, and disposed to be very decisive—I will no longer myself degrade the Character of a human being by continuing an useless Cypher among others, who are become as contemptible to the world as they have long been to themselves.

¹ This document is not recorded in the "Journals," but is found in "Pa. Arch.," 1st ser., X, 601. See also Thomson to Montgomery, August 22 (Haverford College, Roberts Collection; facsimile in N. Y. Pub. Library, Myers Collection, Declaration of Independence), and Thomson to Jefferson, October 1 (Jefferson Papers, 2d ser., LXXXI, 18; "N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections," Thomson Papers, p. 192).

² The letter to Gov. Van Dyke, of Delaware, is in the Library of Congress, Van Dyke Papers; that to the governor of Massachusetts is in the Maine Historical Society, Revolution, 3.

³ Copy, from the original, in possession of the Carnegie Institution.

⁴ See his letter to Gov. Harrison, September 5 (Va. State Library, Executive Papers). September 16 he wrote to Gov. Harrison from Annapolis: "It was in consequence of a most earnest request from Mr. Hardy of the 15th of August, that I came hither. But meet with no members of Congress—those who remained here after the dispersion of the Committee having remov'd to Philadelphia.

"I am unapprized of their progress in collecting Members but am led to believe a sufficient number will hardly assemble to constitute a Committee previous to the meeting of Congress.

"I regret the situation of the American Government and feel for the reputation of our States. I would gladly make every exertion in my power to resume the Appearance of a Confoederal Government, but know not whether any other member from the State may have repair'd to Philadelphia for this purpose— or whether an attendance there would meet with the approbation of the State— I wish'd some intimation from y^r Excellency on these subjects— Without such, I can determine on nothing better than my proceeding as far as Philadelphia—where I may act or not as circumstances, there and advices Which I hope to receive from Virginia may render expedient and advisable." (Va. State Library, Executive Papers.)

⁵ Haverford College, Roberts Collection. Read was then in Rhode Island, and Mercer added: "You are now in the Holy Land—much caressed no doubt by those Saints Howell and Ellery."

On September 27, at the behest of five members then gathered in Philadelphia, Thomson sent out a last despairing call for delegates.¹ On the same day he wrote to Jacob Read, then in Rhode Island:

It is conceived of great importance to the Confederacy that the Com^{ee}. should assemble. Whatever little politicians may think, time will evince that it is of no small consequence to save appearances with foreign nations, and not to suffer the federal government to become invisible. A government without a visible head must appear a strange phenomenon to European politicians and will I fear lead them to form no very favorable opinion of our stability, wisdom or Union.²

To Jefferson on October 1 he wrote:

Though this invisibility of a Federal head will have little effect on our affairs here, or on the minds of the citizens of the United States who can easily reconcile themselves to it and who will view it in no other light than the rising or dissolution of their several Legislatures, to which they have been accustomed, yet I am apprehensive it will have an ill aspect in the eyes of European nations and give them unfavorable impressions, which will require all your address and abilities to remove.³

But Thomson's call fell upon deaf ears; the Committee of the States did not assemble again; the Committee of the States was dead, never to be resurrected. Monroe said, in November, that there was talk of having a congressional investigation of the committee. In his opinion, however, the least said about the committee the better;⁴ and Congress seems to have come to the same conclusion, for no investigation was ever made. In the sequence Congress itself had come so perilously near to breathing its last that statesmen had quite enough to do to keep life in its wretched body.

In the later expressions concerning the committee's demise the concern was chiefly for appearances, for the impression on European Governments. Earlier expressions indicated a desire for an actual administrative head. In Jefferson's mind, at least in his later view, the chief lesson was the futility of a plural executive.⁵

¹ Md. Hist. Soc., Crimson Book, VI, 104; "N. C. State Records," XVII, 94.

² "I wish," he continued, "if you have an Opportunity you would urge Connecticut to send on a Delegate. I would press the same with regard to R. I. But so long as How-ellian Politics prevail in that state, I have no hopes of their doing anything that will strengthen or support the confederacy." N. Y. State Library, Signers of the Declaration.

³ Library of Congress, Jefferson Papers, 2d ser., LXXXI, 18; "N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections," Thomson Papers, p. 192.

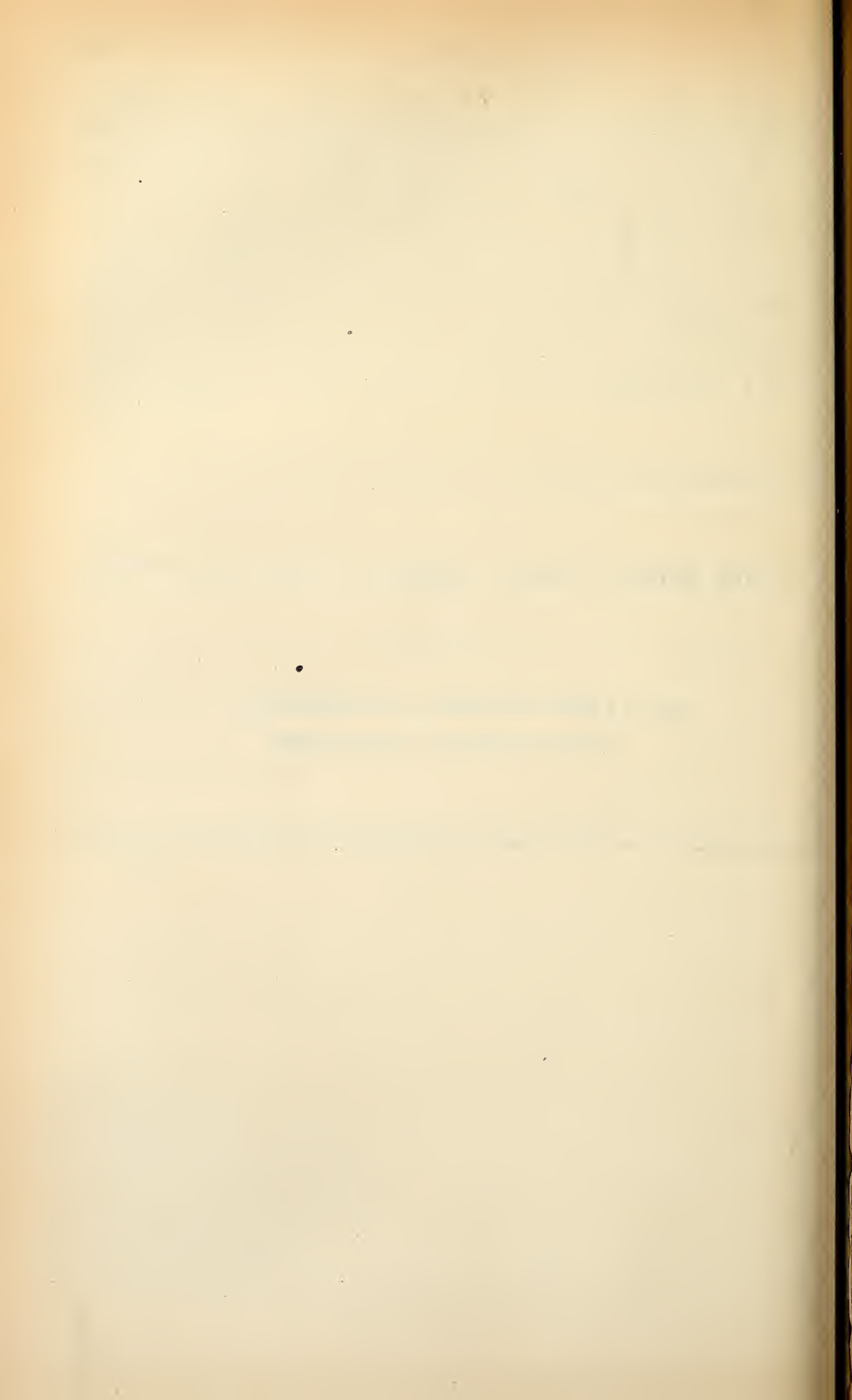
⁴ "The variance wh. took place between the members of the committee of the states wh. terminated in their abrupt dissolution, by a secession on the part of some members, is also an affair which may come before us. but had we not also better keep this affair out of sight and while we lament they could not in that instance be calm and temperate, prevail on them if possible to be so in future?" Monroe to Madison, Nov. 15. Library of Congress, Madison Papers; "Writings" (ed. Hamilton), I, 46. "You ask me," wrote Madison to Jefferson (Aug. 20, 1785), "to unriddle the dissolution of the Comm^{ee} of the States at Annapolis. I am not sure that I am myself possessed fully of the causes different members of Congress having differed in their accounts of the matter. My conception of it is that the abrupt departure of some of the Eastern delegates which destroyed the quorum which Dana is said to have been at the bottom of proceeded partly from irritations among the comm^{ee} partly from dislike to the place of their session and partly from an impatience to get home, which prevailed over their regard for their private characters, as well as for their public duty." "Writings" (ed. Hunt), II, 162.

⁵ See Jefferson's autobiography, "Writings" (ed. Ford), I, 75.

Some allowance must be made for sentiments such as those to which John Francis Mercer gave utterance, hot from feelings of disappointment and chagrin; but after all they give us the key to one useful thing which the Committee of the States accomplished. Its farcical ending formed a fitting climax to the increasing failure of Congress to fulfill the requirements of a union of the States, and brought ridicule not only upon itself but upon Congress. Its utter failure to accomplish the purposes for which it was created emphasized the weakness inherent in the Confederation as constituted, and through the very disgust which it aroused gave a powerful impetus to the agitation, already begun, for a stronger government, a more perfect union.

IX. THE RETURN OF JOHN C. CALHOUN TO THE SENATE IN 1845.

By JAMES ELLIOTT WALMSLEY,
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THE RETURN OF JOHN C. CALHOUN TO THE SENATE IN 1845

By JAMES ELLIOTT WALMSLEY.

With the passing of the time when it was customary to brand all historical characters as either public malefactors or saviors of their country there has come the period of careful, sympathetic study of the real life of great men. Historians no longer speak in a cocksure manner of Calhoun as a malignant embodiment of political conspiracy nor, perhaps, as an ideal statesman far above practical politics. The publication of his correspondence, under the auspices of this association, threw such a flood of light on his character that it relegated his standard biography to the shelf of old books. It is my hope that the letter, herewith published for the first time, dealing with his return to the Senate, will throw additional light on that critical period of his life from 1844 to 1846.

That Calhoun was a conscious if not an avowed candidate for the presidency from the beginning of his brilliant career is evident to all students of his times. It is also evident that when he retired from the Senate in 1842, as Clay had done a few months earlier, his prospects were more favorable than those of any other Democrat. He had strong friends in all sections of the country, such as Robert Winthrop and Abbott Lawrence in Massachusetts. He was the pronounced advocate of that political union of South and West which we have seen in our own days.

He was defeated for the nomination in 1844 by the influence of Thomas Ritchie, the political dictator of Virginia, and of Robert J. Walker, the shifty politician of Mississippi, who seemed to fear that his nomination, with his well-known views, would alienate enough northern votes in New York to elect Clay. When it became evident that the lines were drawn so as to exclude him he withdrew his name—February, 1844—from the consideration of the convention in a public letter, which sounds strangely modern in its denunciation of machine methods in nomination conventions.¹ In spite of the disgraceful manner of selecting delegates to this convention from certain States, Calhoun failed to get any hearing for his plan of

¹ Crallé, "Works of Calhoun," V, 239.

district delegates and per capita vote, and South Carolina was not represented at Baltimore.¹

His entry into Tyler's Cabinet a few months later—March 6, 1844—is usually considered a part of the so-called Texas plot—in fact, one of his biographers says that he came into Tyler's Cabinet to complete a job, and dreamed that Polk would retain him to complete the Oregon affair.² The reading of his correspondence makes it seem much more likely that it was for the purpose of uniting the South and West and thus saving the Democracy.³

Any careful study of the Oregon matter indicates that his remaining in the Cabinet would have given such a turn to affairs that "all Oregon" would have likely fallen to the United States, with consequences which it is interesting to imagine. But his policy of "masterly inactivity" was opposed to that of Polk, who interpreted literally the campaign thunder of 1844, and Calhoun was not asked to remain. Polk probably considered Calhoun now, as he did later, unfriendly to his administration.⁴ In spite of his overture to Jackson, through A. J. Donelson,⁵ the old hero advised against his admission into Polk's Cabinet.⁶ His friends were piqued; one paper spoke of his dismissal,⁷ and the offer of the ministry to London was interpreted as a polite banishment of a man who would overshadow the President. His letters at this time show his disappointment, but also evidence his disposition to retire from politics. However, on his way back to Fort Hill, he, for the moment, won over his Nemesis—Ritchie—who toasted him at a banquet in Richmond as the next President.⁸

From this time he began to receive numerous letters urging him to return to the Senate. The political conditions at this time are of vital importance in any judgment of his character and career. The South, and his State especially, for, paradoxical as it may seem, the State generally led and Calhoun followed, did not trust Polk's administration on the tariff question.⁹ Not all of the cotton planters were in favor of a lower tariff, however, and resolutions were adopted at Jackson, Miss., signed by 104 cotton planters, in the summer of 1845,

¹ Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the United States," II, 671.

² Trent, "Southern Statesmen of the Old Régime," 189.

³ See especially his denunciation of Clay as dangerous in the South and West, in Jameson, "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," 617.

⁴ "Diary of James K. Polk," I, 132.

⁵ Jameson, "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," 614.

⁶ Bassett, "Life of Andrew Jackson," II, 746.

⁷ Charleston Mercury, quoted in Niles' Register, LXVIII, 18.

⁸ Dodd, "Statesmen of the Old South," 148. But Calhoun's own account in Jameson's "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," 650, indicates that this exact toast was made, not by Ritchie, but by others. See also *ibid.*, 1042.

⁹ Niles' Register, LXVIII, 88. That this lack of confidence was, in spite of Polk's "Kane letter," unfounded, is shown by the fact that Calhoun, on his return to the Senate, was placed at the head of the committee having the tariff in charge.

indorsing the tariff of 1842.¹ The slavery question was acute. The South Carolina papers published full accounts of the trial of the Ohioans who attempted to kidnap slaves from western Virginia.² The Texas question was seething, and though South Carolina in 1836 had opposed annexation, and Calhoun was opposed to war, yet toasts and slogans of "Texas or Disunion" abounded in this State and in others through the South. New England threatened disunion if Texas were admitted. Judge William Jay, son of John Jay, copied and rephrased all of the "compact theories" of 1830 to show that New England should and must withdraw if Texas came in.³ This was a year of unprecedented financial depression in South Carolina, which, of course, added to the tenseness of the political situation. State papers speak of starvation in the upper part of the State,⁴ and of hundreds fleeing from the State.⁵ The Methodist Church was dividing, and an interesting correspondence shows the importance that Calhoun, as well as Clay, attached to this step.⁶

All this to Calhoun presaged a speedy dissolution of the Union, and to prevent this he would make any personal sacrifice. I think there is no student to-day who regards Calhoun as a disunionist *per se*. Even his nullification theory was invented for the express purpose of preserving the Union along with what he conceived to be the rights of the South. It was with the hope of so uniting the West and the South that there would be no possibility of disunion that Calhoun began to look to a return to the Senate. This thought runs through all his letters of this period.⁷

With this light on his purpose the following letter⁸ to Maj. Burt, in which he gently prepares the ground for Judge Huger's⁹ resignation, is easily understood:

FORT HILL
17th Sept 1845

MY DEAR SIR,

Since you left me, I have received several letters from different parts, some expressing their regret, that I left the Senate, others praying my return. One in particular, from one of the most intelligent and devoted friends from Ohio, who last winter advised me by no means to return to the Senate, but whose impression now is entirely changed.

¹ Jackson (Miss.) Southerner, quoted in Niles' Register, LXIX, 18.

² "Southern Patriot," Mar. 28, 1845; Charleston Mercury, Aug. 6, 1845; Niles' Register, LXIX, *passim*, etc.

³ Niles' Register, LXVIII, 88; Mercury, July 3, 1845.

⁴ Charleston Mercury, Aug. 27, 1845.

⁵ Greenville Mountaineer and Highland Messenger, quoted in Niles' Register, LXIX, 8.

⁶ Niles' Register, LXVIII, 149.

⁷ Compare letters, "Correspondence," 495, 497, 519, with the later ones, *ibid.*, 647, 651, 663, 671; also with letter from Crallé (confidential clerk for Calhoun), 1051, and from Duff Green, 1054, etc.

⁸ Original loaned by Dr. S. G. Thomson, of Abbeville, S. C. His father, Judge Thomas Thomson, was a law partner of Maj. Burt, to whom the letter is sent.

⁹ Judge Daniel Huger (1779-1854) was opposed to nullification, opposed the secession movement in 1852, was elected to the Senate in Calhoun's place 1842, resigned Nov. 25, 1845, and died Aug. 21, 1854. See O'Neill, "Bench and Bar of South Carolina," for his life. See also Jameson, "Correspondence of Calhoun," 571, 1027.

My own impression is that as far as I am personally concerned, I have nothing to gain by returning, while I may lose much for *the present*. I think the approaching session will be one of great confusion and conflict of opinion. Nothing can prevent it but more nerve and wisdom, than, I fear, those in power have. It will be difficult to go through, on my part, without giving and receiving blows, and losing for the time, much of the good feelings now felt by all. But be that as it may, I owe it to myself and the country to be governed by higher considerations. If it be my duty to return, and such should be the decision of my friends and the state, I ought not to decline, however opposed to my inclinations. To yield our desires and interest to the good of the country is the essence of patriotism.

I write now principally to say that in writing to Elmore¹ and other friends in the state it will be prudent to abstain from making any remarks, from which it might be inferred, that you had conversed with me on the subject of my return to the Senate. It would be better, it seems to me, to rest your opinion on the grounds of the necessity of my going etc. from the state of McDuffie's health; the want of experience on the part of Judge Huger; and the great magnitude of the crisis and the necessity of having some one, who would have the confidence of the South and the state rights party in the Senate, where the great pending issues must, in a great measure, be decided. You might state that it is well known that Judge Huger has been at all times ready to make a vacancy, if it should be thought that my services in the Senate were needed and that from my known principles, I could hardly decline, if the state should deem it to be my duty to serve.

You will regard this as mere suggestions to be adopted or not, in whole or part, as your judgment may dictate.

Mrs. Calhoun returned on Monday. Her health is not restored fully. She is still of a very nervous habit, but otherwise well. I hope she will agree to accompany me to Alabama. She regretted much that you and Martha² left before she could see you. Since you left, I selected three ears of corn that were dry, impartially as possible, of the medium size. I think they were, if anything, below, rather than above. They yielded 1½ quart, dry measure, which would require but 86 to the bushel, which corresponds very much with previous experiments, as I stated you. The yield per acre of the Mill pond, at that rate, would be 74 bushels to the acre. I do not think it will be below 70.

All join in love to you, Martha and George.

Yours truly and Sincerely

J. C. CALHOUN.

Hon: A. BURT³

It is interesting to note the tone of the South Carolina press in regard to this matter. It would seem that Maj. Burt at once gave out his suggestions to the Mercury,⁴ for on October 10 that paper quotes from the Lynchburg (Virginia) Republican a reference to an editorial in the Fredericksburg Recorder urging Calhoun's return to the Senate; on the 14th of the same month it quotes from the New Orleans Jeffersonian to the same effect,⁵ and also publishes a letter from Calhoun on the general state of the country. This is followed up by quotations from other papers, but with no direct suggestions of Huger's resignation. On October 25 Niles' Register prophesies from the tone of the South Carolina papers Calhoun's return to Washington.

¹ Franklin H. Elmore was offered the mission to London after Calhoun's refusal of this mission.

² Calhoun's niece.

³ Married Calhoun's niece, Member of Congress from 1845 to 1853. It is said that his reason for retiring from Congress was that he had no more interest in politics after Calhoun's death.

⁴ Compare a similar reference to the Mercury in "Correspondence," 519.

⁵ This is also quoted in Niles' Register, LXIX, 139.

The election took place on November 26, and on the 28th the Southern Patriot, of Charleston, S. C., says editorially:

The resignation of Judge Huger was received with an evident sensation. The magnanimous character of this distinguished citizen was never more honorably displayed than in this last act of his public life—dictated, as it evidently was, by a patriotic desire to afford to Mr. Calhoun an opportunity of complying with the evident wish of the Nation in returning to the Senate of the United States.

The Courier, which was not in sympathy with Calhoun, mentions his visits to Charleston, but refuses to discuss the senatorship until after the election, when it has a short complimentary paragraph, stating that it holds itself “ever ready to support or oppose measures that Mr. Calhoun advocates.”¹

In the election in joint session of the General Assembly 135 votes were cast for Calhoun, and there were 4 blanks. These were doubtless inspired by opposition to his internal-improvement ideas advocated at the Memphis convention, November 12, 1845, in which he largely returned to his earlier national views² with the purpose again of uniting the West and the South.³ A resolution in the lower house of the South Carolina General Assembly tacitly condemning Calhoun at that time was only laid on the table by a vote of 77 to 34.⁴

This internal-improvement policy for the benefit of the West also alienated Jefferson Davis,⁵ and Ritchie apparently repented of his toast of six months before.⁶ With the support of Ritchie and Virginia Calhoun would have won the nomination in 1848 and probably the election. But if Mr. Calhoun had any idea of reviving his candidacy for the Presidency by his return to the Senate that idea must have vanished by the time he reached Washington in December, 1845.

¹ Charleston Courier, Nov. 28, 1845.

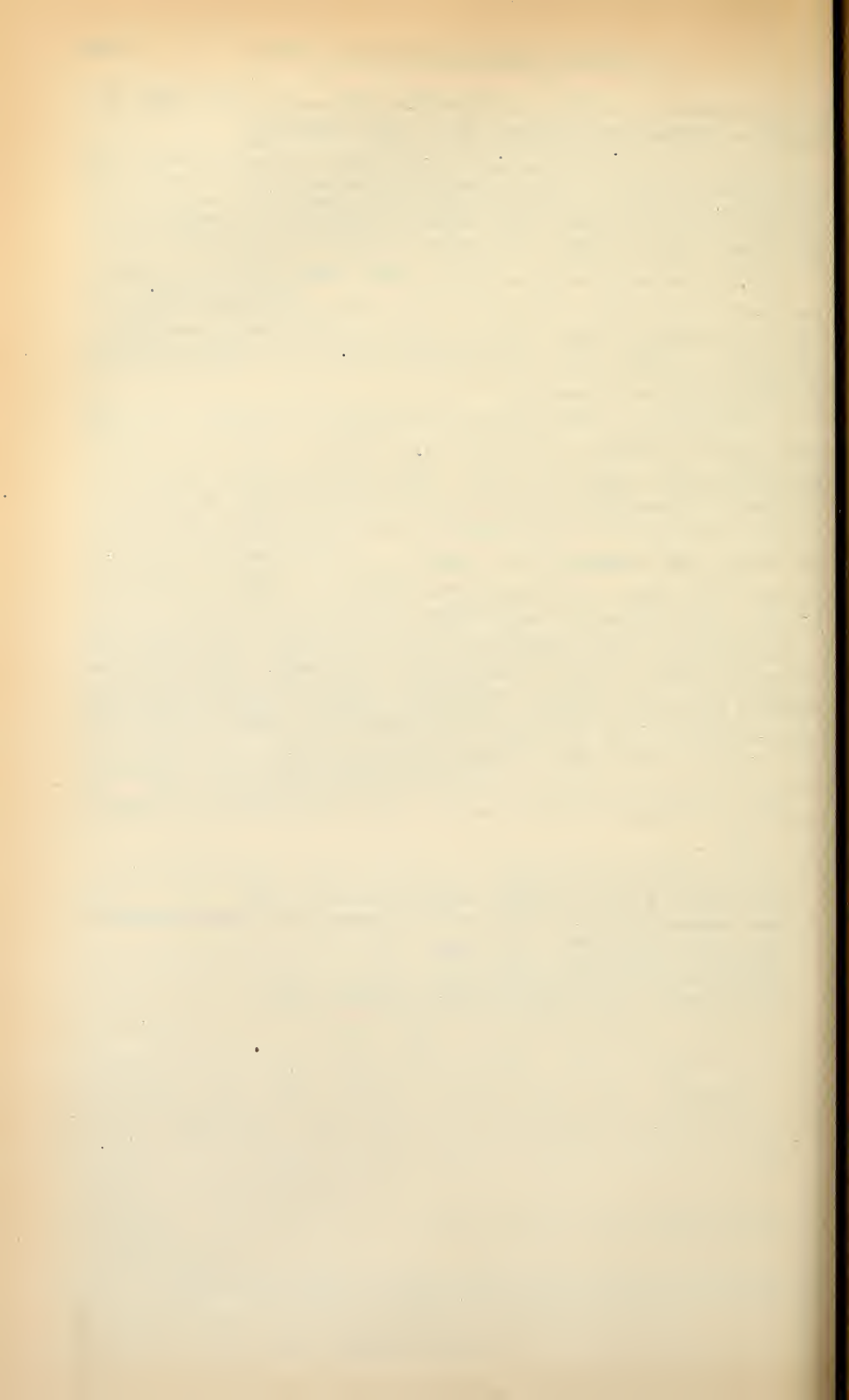
² Niles' Register, LXIX, 212; Crallé, "Works of Calhoun," V, 273.

³ This convention deserves a careful study by the student of this time from both its economic and its political side.

⁴ Charleston Southern Patriot, Dec. 1, 1845.

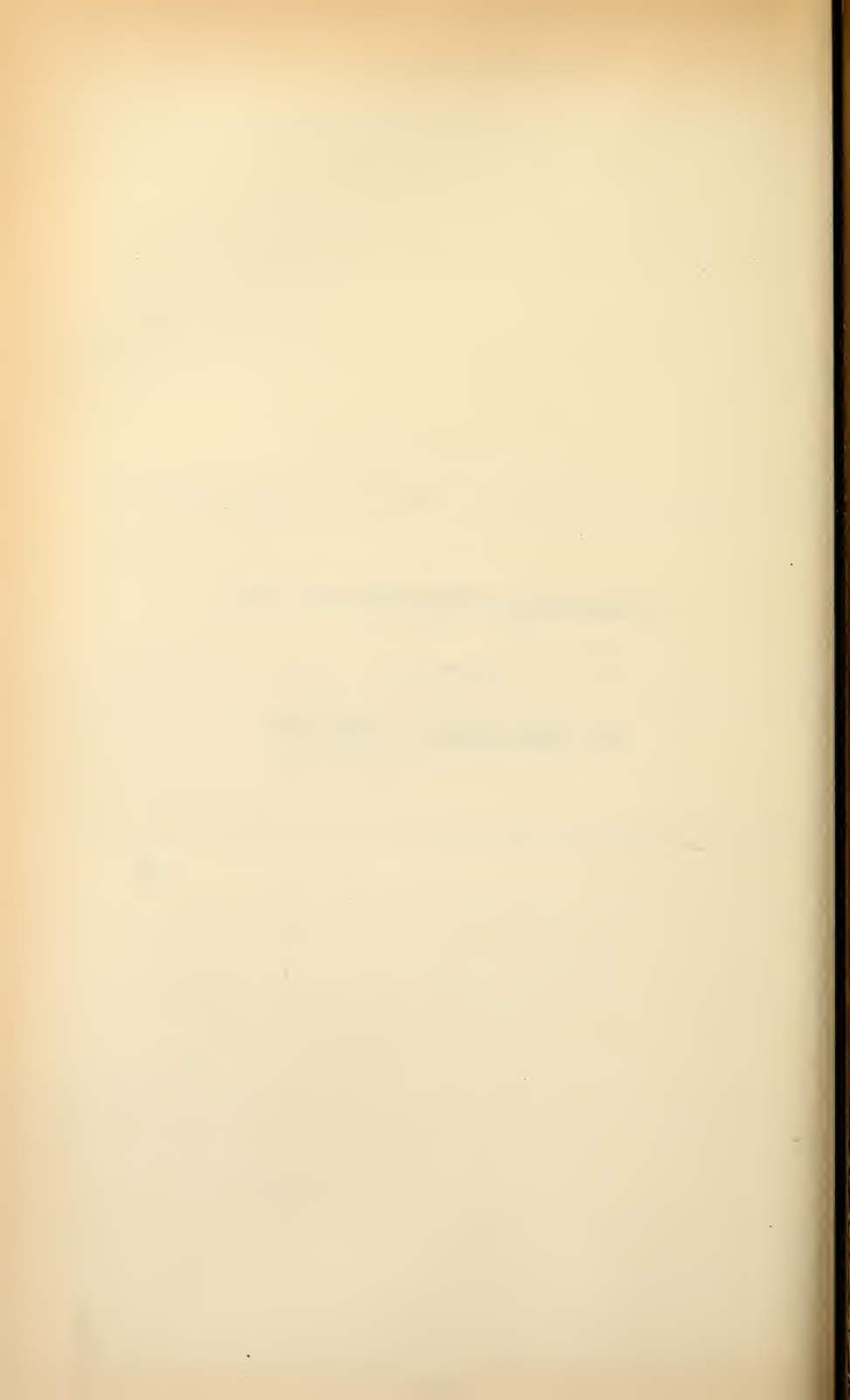
⁵ Dodd, "Life of Jefferson Davis," 68.

⁶ But see Jameson, "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," 1042.



X. CHARLESTON DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

By THEODORE D. JERVEY.



CHARLESTON DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

BY THEODORE D. JERVEY.

Upon the request to prepare a paper for that session of the American Historical Association which was to treat of military history I deemed it important to obtain from the chairman some suggestions of the scope of such, and was informed—

that, on the whole, what we do want most knowledge about are the details of composition and organization of the southern armies. Who, for instance, were the men who officered the South Carolina regiments when the war broke out? How far did the militia organization serve? . . . We have the whole subject of Charleston during the war, and that in every aspect. . . . Blockade running and its practical results. . . . All such topics are perfectly relevant. And the mere fact that information is difficult to get shows how much we need to look into these subordinate matters. For a title: "Charleston during the Civil War," or "Charleston's place (or rôle) in the Confederacy." Length, 25 to 30 minutes.

With these kind hints as a guide, within the limits, I shall attempt to discuss "Charleston during the Civil War"; because it is a far less comprehensive title than the other and one permitting "side lights" to be flashed upon subordinate details, which might be accidentally in the reach of some of us who might well hesitate to reply to wider historical inquiries.

As to the composition and organization of the southern armies, who officered the South Carolina regiments when the war broke out, and how far the militia organization served, particularly as pertaining to Charleston and its environments, the "Memoirs of the War of Secession," by Johnson Hagood, brigadier general, Confederate States Army; "The Defense of Charleston Harbor," by John Johnson, major, Confederate engineers; and "The Military Operations of General Beauregard," by Alfred Roman, A. D. C. and inspector general on the staff of Gen. Beauregard, all furnish quite an amount of valuable information, to which the preparation of the Confederate rolls at Columbia, S. C., will add even more; and a reference to these by me would be more appropriate than any attempt to summarize.

It may be pointed out, however, as a fact of interest, that the lines by which Charleston was successfully defended during the four years of the war were constructed under the supervision, not only of that Confederate general whose attack on Sumter in 1861 opened the war,

but also of that great soldier whose surrender at Appomattox in 1865 ended the struggle. But there are some other facts connected with the construction of these lines, which, if far less important, are not without their local significance. In the graduating class of West Point for the year 1838 the five stars were: First, William H. Wright, of North Carolina, assistant professor of mathematics; second, P. G. T. Beauregard, of Louisiana, assistant teacher of French; third, James H. Trapier, of South Carolina, assistant teacher of French; fourth, Stephen H. Campbell, of Vermont, adjutant; fifth, Jeremiah M. Scarritt, of Illinois, captain.¹ Of these five honor men, two, Beauregard and Trapier, were of French extraction, the one of a Catholic, the other of a Huguenot strain; but this does not seem to have affected in the slightest their intimacy, as subsequent events indicated. One of the first works in which Lieut. Trapier was engaged upon graduation was the construction of Fort Sumter,² which Beauregard, some 23 years later, called upon to surrender. Trapier had resigned from the service in 1848, and was engaged in planting near Georgetown, S. C., at the outbreak of hostilities, when he immediately volunteered his services to his State, and later, as a major of engineers, was responsible for some of the work on the lines about the city. Indeed, Gen. Hagood, to whose valuable book attention has heretofore been called, does not hesitate to criticize adversely the work of Maj. Trapier with regard to the fortification of Coles Island, while excusing his superior, Gen. Beauregard,³ under whose general orders the work was done. The point raised is an interesting one in military engineering, on which I think there may be a difference of opinion. With a distinct admiration for the sterling ability of Gen. Hagood, I am not satisfied that this criticism will stand as put, for if criticism is to be directed to the work it is apt to be found more applicable to the selection of Coles Island by Gen. Beauregard as a point of defense than to the fortifications there erected. Certain it is that to Beauregard the work of his old classmate must have been acceptable, for later, in 1863, when Maj. Trapier, raised to the rank of brigadier general, was in command of the fourth military district of South Carolina, with headquarters at Georgetown, as soon as it appeared that Charleston, not Georgetown, was the objective of the Federal fleet, he was withdrawn from Georgetown and assigned to the command of the second subdivision of the first military district at Sullivan's Island, where he gave the command for the first shot fired at the approaching ironclads.⁴

¹ "Official Register Officers and Cadets," U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y., June, 1838.

² "Confederate Mil. Hist.," V, 421.

³ Hagood, "Memoirs of the War of Secession," 57-59.

⁴ Johnson, "Defense of Charleston Harbor," 48; "Military Operations of Gen. Beauregard," 47, 73.

Had military advancement in the armies of the Confederacy been entirely unaffected by family influence it would have indicated a dislocation of ideas which even war is not always able to break; and the fact that the ancestor of Maj. Trapier had, at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, commanded a company of artillery at Georgetown,¹ S. C., no doubt helped to inspire confidence in the name. Advancement in the British Army had been for years before and continued for years after profoundly affected by family influence, which indeed has had not a few stout defenders, not the least among whom was that cultivated Charleston gentleman, Gabriel Manigault, whose ante bellum novel, "The Actress in High Life," affords a view of its workings during Wellington's peninsular campaigns. As an illustration of the psychological environment of the author in the fifties, this book is not without its interest to the historian, for it reveals to some degree the social atmosphere in which it was produced, English to the core. Not only Charleston, but that great suburb which stretched from above Georgetown to the Savannah River along the rice plantations of the coast, a hundred miles and more, was English in sentiment, pronunciation, and prejudice. For three decades prior to the war the crowning aspiration of the region had been for direct trade with Europe. It was of the languishing commerce of Charleston that Hayne spoke with the greatest earnestness in the debate with Clay on the tariff of 1832,² which ushered in nullification. It was to secure this direct trade that he spent his last days at Asheville, N. C., in 1839, in the effort to push through the railroad from Charleston to Cincinnati. And it was for direct trade with Europe that southern convention after convention, from this date to 1860, vainly resolved. When direct trade did come, in all its fullness, in 1861, it came through the blockade runners; and it is therefore of "blockade running and its practical results" that this paper will treat.

At first the blockade of the southern ports was far from effective, and in the earlier years of the war, at Charleston, the blockade runners, according to northern correspondents with the blockading fleet, came and went almost at will.³ It was claimed in November, 1862, that the firm of John Frasier & Co., of Charleston, had, up to that time, shipped seven-eighths of the cotton that had gone from the ports of the Confederacy for some time prior thereto.⁴

Against objections to the trade it was affirmed by the Charleston Mercury that in making up the return freight of the blockade runners each steamer was first loaded with as much heavy freight for the

¹ McCrady, "South Carolina in the Revolution," 127.

² Jonathan Elliott, "Speech of Robert Y. Hayne, 1832."

³ Scharf, "The Confederate Navy," 441.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 468.

government (Confederate) as she could with safety carry, and that the invoices of John Frasier & Co. were handed to the agents of the government and they were allowed to take whatever the government desired and fix the price themselves. As a concrete example, this paper declared that "the *Minho* had brought in 7,340 rifles, 2,100 swords, 87 cases of ammunition, and 80 cases of caps."¹ From other sources it was gathered that by that year the house of John Frasier & Co. had made as much as \$20,000,000, of which \$6,000,000 was invested in Confederate bonds.² Nassau, in the Bahama Islands, and St. Georges, Bermuda, were the ports to and from which the Charleston blockade runners sailed, and from July, 1862, to June, 1863, it was declared that 57 steamers and 91 sailing vessels left Nassau for Confederate ports, of which 51 of the former and 55 of the latter landed their cargoes; and 44 steamers and 45 sailing vessels reached Nassau from the Confederacy during the same period. From Nassau, by the port of Charleston, it was said that the supplies of arms of the Confederacy had been drawn,³ and from March 16 to April 10, 1862, there were noted at that port 14 arrivals and 6 clearances, among which appears the name of one of the most successful of all the runners, the *Ella and Annie*, consigned with some 10 or 11 others to Henry Adderley & Co.³ In addition to accommodation for passengers, this steamer was capable of carrying 1,300 bales of cotton⁴ and other freight. The government purchasing agent, Maj. E. Willis, quartermaster on the staff of Gen. Beauregard, is cited as the authority for the statement by the Detroit Free Press that for one purchase alone, from goods imported by blockade runners, the government paid \$7,500,000, and that purchases from \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000 were not infrequent.

The claim, however, that the capitalists of the trade were Englishmen⁵ is not apparently borne out by original papers of one company in my possession, in which, at the final accounting in 1876, it would seem as if the bulk of the stockholders were Charlestonians, although shares were held in Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, and New York. The assertion also of Mr. William Watson that, "while during the earlier years it [the trade] was chiefly carried on by swift steamers, running into Charleston and other ports of the Atlantic States, during the latter part of the war the traffic was confined exclusively to the Gulf of Mexico and the States bordering on its shores,"⁶ is incorrect, for, up to the very last of the war, the business was conducted on a considerable scale at Charleston by the "Import-

¹ Scharf, "The Confederate Navy," 468.

² Ibid., 470.

³ Ibid., 473.

⁴ Letter of F. N. Bonneau, Dec. 15, 1864.

⁵ Scharf, "The Confederate Navy," 474.

⁶ Watson, "Adventures of a Blockade Runner," preface.

ing & Exporting Co. of South Carolina," operating some 23 vessels, with a balance sheet running up into the millions, among the items of which appears a charge for "Government freight."¹ From the imperfect lists of vessels which have been tabulated previously, it would seem as if, for the four years, the number of vessels sailing from Charleston and Wilmington was about twice as great as the number noted from Galveston and four times as great as those from either Savannah or Mobile. How far the writer, M. Quad, may be depended on is problematical, but he is authority for the assertion that Charleston was the point where the purchasing agent of the Confederacy was stationed, and that 10 vessels ran in and out of Charleston to 1 leaving any other port.² But leaving these estimates and getting down to actual figures of original entry on the balance sheets of the Importing & Exporting Co. of South Carolina for February, March, and April, 1865, we find the capital account of the company put at \$1,000,000. To Nassau agents due \$38,578.32; to Charleston agents, \$110,352.16; to interest account, \$12,799.10; dividend No. 3, \$408,444.16; exchange account, \$17,691,230.94.

On the other side of the sheet are items indicating obligations of the Confederate government totaling \$759,111.16; the house of John Frasier & Co., \$100,000; the cost of two steamers, the *Alice* and the *Fannie*, \$244,103.69 and \$245,471.85, respectively; sundry steamers, evidently chartered, \$256,548.27; disbursements of one steamer, the *Ella*, \$2,211,440.58; cotton account, \$1,355,940.98; cash account, \$1,826,011.64; profit and loss account, \$6,439,693.45, the totals varying from \$19,798,516.49, in February, to \$19,728,215, in April.³

By just what standards these figures must be measured to get at actual values is a matter of doubt. At first it would seem reasonable that the Confederate currency tables, carefully made out and preserved with the papers, and exhibiting the rate at which Confederate notes and Confederate money were exchangeable for gold from May, 1861, to April, 1865, as adopted by Virginia or ruling at Augusta, Ga., might be taken with some confidence; but, as will later appear, they can not be entirely depended upon, as, whatever the values of the items in these accounts, they must all have been measured by the same standard, and from other papers I am enabled to arrive pretty closely at the values of some items noted in British pounds sterling. Apparently in February, 1864, the credit of the Confederate government was twice as good at Augusta, Ga., as in Virginia, Confederate notes being exchangeable in Virginia at that

¹ Duplicate I. & E. Co. in acct. current with Jas. M. Calder.

² M. Quad, "Field, Fort, and Fleet," 266.

³ Extracts from balance sheets, February, 1865, Importing & Exporting Co. of South Carolina.

time at \$45.65 to \$1 in gold; at Augusta, \$22.50 to \$25 to \$1 in gold.¹ On an accounting with the South Carolina Railroad upon the sale of the vessels above named, in which the railroad apparently had a tenth interest, the realization seems to have been at about 60 per cent of cost on the books. This again is in excess of the price as per contract in British pounds sterling. But some facts we can get at beyond dispute, viz, the price of the vessels as per contract between Capt. James Carlin, agent of the company, and William Denny & Bros., shipbuilders at Dumbarton, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, February 1, 1864, and the net proceeds of some of the cotton they subsequently carried across. For 1,473 bales, sacks, etc., shipped to Liverpool between June 30 and November 19, 1864, the company was credited with £67,174-2-4.² What it paid for the vessels built in Great Britain at the close of the war, the following contract indicates:

DUMBARTON, 1st February 1864

Captain JAMES CARLIN :

DEAR SIR: We offer to build you 2 Paddle Steamers 225 x 28 x 13, 54 oscillating Engines, Large Boilers having 40lbs pressure. These Steamers to be adapted in every way for Blockade running. We also offer to build you one Paddle Steamer 255 x 34 x 16 (Ladd?) 65 oscillating Engines Large Boiler having 40 lbs pressure. This Steamer also to be adapted in every way for Blockade running and to have passenger accommodations similar to the smaller ones in proportion to size. Hull, i. e. Model and Scantiling and Outfit under your supervision and advice. Machinery and Boiler to Mr Slye. Prices each, small ones £22,000., the larger one £35,000., say twenty two thousand Pounds each for small ones, thirty five thousand five hundred Pounds for large one. Delivery of first small one in five and a half months and second in seven months. Large one in nine months from this date. Penalty for non delivery fifteen pounds per day and a premium of fifteen for each day within time. Instalments in 3 payments, one fifth in signing hereof, 2/5 on each ship, as she is plated, remainder, each ship when furnished and approved of. No extras.

We are dear Sir

Yours truly

WILLIAM DENNY AND BROTHERS.³

Accepted

JAMES CARLIN

From Port Muck, Island Magee, Ireland, under date February 10, 1864, is a letter from Capt. Carlin to the president of the Importing & Exporting Co. of South Carolina, in which the above contract was inclosed and where appear in detail his investigations of the various shipyards of the United Kingdom, visited by him in behalf of the company: Stockton on Tees, Middlesboro, Hartlepool, Liverpool (where he mentions being on the trial trip of Frasier's new steel ship under command of Capt. Hammer), Glasgow, Newcastle on Tyne, and finally Dumbarton, where the order was given. The builders of many of the most noted blockade runners of the earlier period are all mentioned as having been interviewed, and from this

¹ Confederacy currency tables.

² Synopsis of account of Importing & Exporting Co. of South Carolina, with James Calder.

³ Original contract.

letter it appears that the Confederate government or the State of South Carolina was connected with the business; for, to the president of the company, who contemplated resigning and later did resign, he writes: "You must not think of deserting us in our infancy and with the State as a partner." He also, in this letter, indicates the disadvantages attending any purchases of existing types of vessels, of these "the Dover boats being the nearest to what would suit our business. They would cost a great deal and need various alterations for the trade that would be expensive and take a great deal of time." He adds, "I should not like to buy unless there were a near approach to perfection. The ship built for Frasier at Liverpool is a failure in speed and draft, and instead of drawing 8 feet will draw 10; otherwise she is a fine ship, very far from perfection, however."¹

Capt. Carlin's visit to Great Britain was probably due not only to a considerable widening of the activities of the company through the participation therein of southern railroads, as well as the Confederate government, but, in addition to the capture just prior thereto of the most successful of the company's fleet, operating between Charleston, Wilmington, Nassau, and Bermuda, on an attempt, about the last of October or the first of November, 1863, to enter Wilmington. On her last outward trip from Charleston to Bermuda the value of her cargo is put by her master at \$143,000; passenger fares, \$3,000.² But if her capacity for cotton was fully utilized, as he also claims, the value of that alone, by account sales subsequently rendered, must have been \$296,400. The "partnership" of the Confederate government was evidently one of those euphemistic terms by which governments at a pinch help themselves. The Boers coined an excellent word for it, "commandeer." With regard to the blockade runners from Charleston, it was, in the last 18 months of the war, a claim for half of the profits, and I think quite properly so.

Master's pay seems to have been as follows: From August, 1863, bringing steamer from Nassau to Charleston, \$8,000, Confederate currency (about \$600 in gold); taking steamer out to Nassau, \$2,000, payable at Nassau; from Nassau to Wilmington, N. C., \$10,000; Wilmington to Bermuda, \$2,500.³

The first of the steamers contracted for with William Denny & Bros. is announced as sailing July 30, 1864, drawing 8 feet, with 550 tons dead weight on board, which Capt. Carlin writes he regards as remarkable and only fears that her return cargo of cotton may not sink her deep enough, as she should draw at least 6 feet, and better still, 7 feet 2 inches on an even keel.⁴ From the same letter

¹ Letter of Capt. James Carlin to William C. Bee, Feb. 10, 1864.

² Letter of F. N. Bonneau, Dec. 10, 1864.

³ Statement of Capt. Carlin, Aug. 25, 1863.

⁴ Letter of Capt. Carlin, July 30, 1864.

it appears that as the vessels were completed they were fitted out, manned, and officered by Capt. Carlin, who kept a full complement on shore pay to meet all requirements; and by the disbursement sheets of the agent at Nassau, May, 1865, there were then operating from that port the *Alice*, the *Caroline*, the *Emily*, and the *Fannie*.¹ The *Ella* does not appear on this, and in December, 1864, Capt. Bonneau alludes to his regret at hearing of her loss; but as, in another letter, he states that the loss of the *Ella and Annie* was the only loss suffered by the company he may have been mistaken. The five vessels above named, however, did not represent all that the company was operating; for in the final accounting of the Liverpool agent in December, 1865, appear charges referring to the *Flying Scud*, the *Wild Pigeon*, the *Monmouth*, the *B. De Wolf*, the *Fearless*, the *Frygia*, the *Pleiades*, the *Troya*, the *Pembroke*, the *Crocodile*, the *Storm King*, the *Enterprise*, the *Orizava*, the *Pink*, the *Electra*, the *Maria*, the *Orion*, the *Mary Garland*, the *Urania*, the *Star of the East*, the *Ariosto*, and the *Harriet*.² But around none centers that personal interest which attaches to the *Ella and Annie*, a fairly accurate representation of which has been preserved in a faded water-color sketch made just prior to her capture. She was, as appears, painted a cream white, an absolutely new departure from accustomed ideas up to her appearance, the prevailing color until then, as I have been informed, having been black, and the experiment of her coat being due to the advice of Capt. Carlin, who insisted that cream white was the most invisible of shades. In the letter of the retiring president of the company I note an allusion to the courage displayed by her captain on the night of her capture, and, whether somewhat apocryphal in its details or not, I shall venture the short account told me by the last president of the company, as an illustration of how gallantly and chivalrously war may be waged by fearless combatants.

On the night that his vessel was overhauled, seeing that his capture was otherwise inevitable, Capt. Bonneau put on all steam and steered for the nearest of the captors in the desperate hope of escaping over her rammed and sinking hulk, for which acknowledged design he was, on trial by court-martial, condemned to death, which sentence was blandly set aside by the United States admiral presiding, with the calm declaration that in Bonneau's place he would have done the same thing himself.

Fifty years have passed since those stirring times, and in all probability many of the captors with their gallant old chief have long since gone to "the reconciling grave that swallows up distinctions that first made us foes," but the captured captain still lives, an illustration of the chances of war.

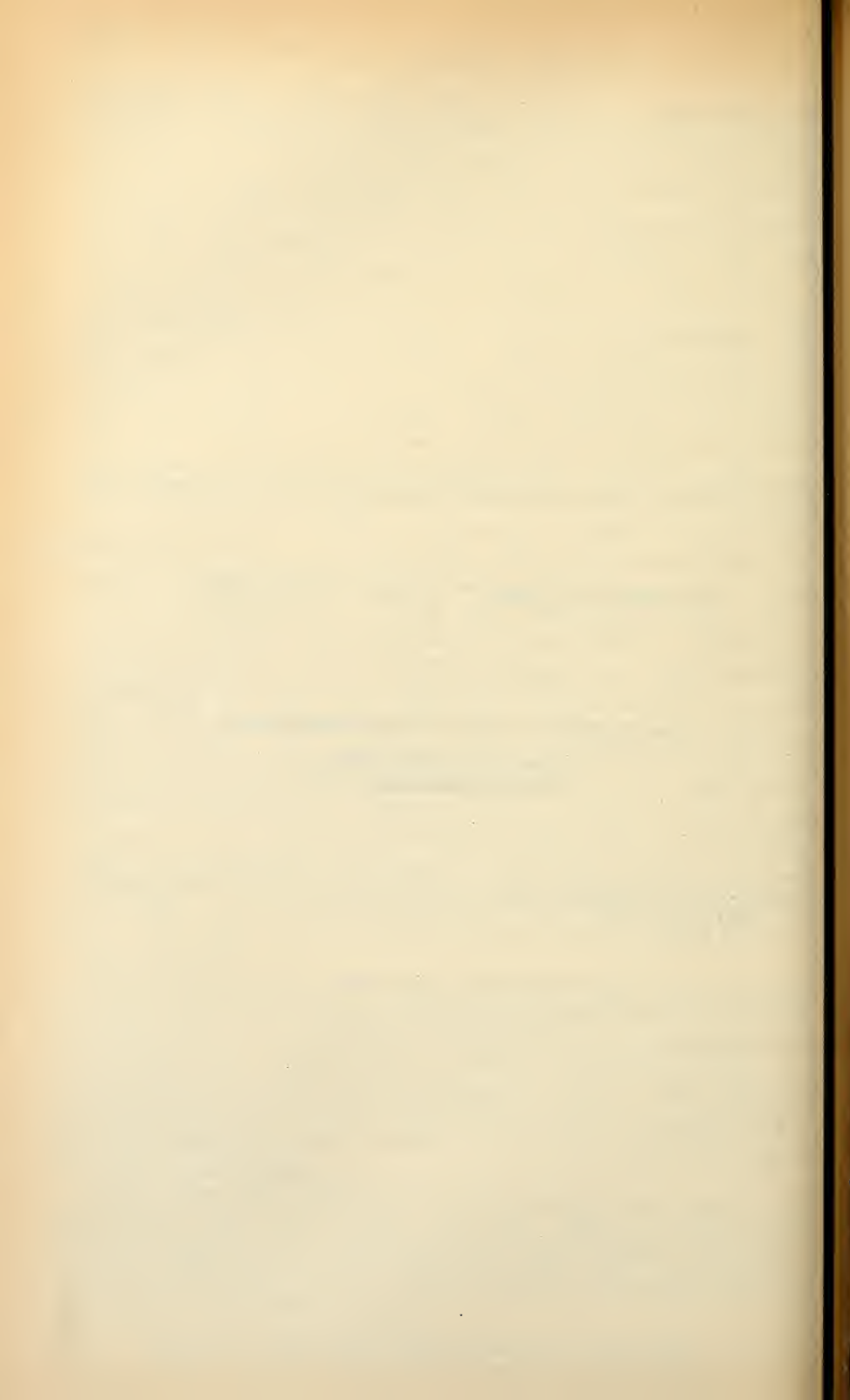
¹ Statement of disbursements of Henry Adderley & Co., May, 1865.

² Duplicate Importing & Exporting Co. in account with James Calder.

XI. THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER, 1861.

By OLIVER LYMAN SPAULDING, JR.,

*Captain Fourth Field Artillery,
United States Army.*



THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER, 1861.

By OLIVER LYMAN SPAULDING, Jr.

On Christmas Day, 1860, the federal garrison of Charleston harbor consisted of two companies of the First Artillery, with the regimental band, all stationed at Fort Moultrie. The companies were very weak, only 75 men all told.¹

The commanding officer was Maj. Robert Anderson,² an officer of high reputation; he had served in the Black Hawk, Seminole, and Mexican wars, had been wounded at Molino del Rey, and held two brevets for gallantry. Besides this he had become widely known as a member of boards to arrange and revise the systems of instruction at the Military Academy and at the Artillery School, and to prepare drill regulations for the Artillery; in connection with this latter work he had published translations of several French artillery manuals, which were extensively used in our service. He had held his present command only about a month; his selection for it was doubtless due in part to a hope that his presence might tend to moderate the growing hostility to the Government. He was from Kentucky and his wife from Georgia, and he had until recently owned land and slaves in Georgia, so that his connections were largely southern. He also had a peculiar interest in Charleston, for his father had taken part in the defense of Fort Moultrie in the Revolutionary War, and he himself had been stationed there once before.

Moultrie was a fort of no great strength, built in 1811 on the site of the Revolutionary battery.³ The walls were of brick, filled in with sand, 12 feet high. Batteries faced the water on three sides; the most important were the "sea battery," facing southeast, and the "Sumter battery," facing southwest. There were no casemates, the guns all being in barbette. Magazines and barracks were of brick; the hospital and storehouses were of wood and outside the walls.

¹ Field return, Nov. 28, "Official Records," I, 79.

² Doubleday, 41, 74; Cullom, 406; Birkhimer, 305, 307.

³ Roman, I, 24; Johnson, 20; Doubleday, 14; Porter to Adj. Gen., Nov. 11, "Off. Rec.," I, 71.

The work had been allowed to fall almost into ruin; the walls were badly cracked, and sand had drifted into hills along the sea fronts so as to overtop the wall.¹ During the month of August, 1860, repairs had been begun and actively continued ever since.² The place had been put in the best condition for defense that time and facilities would permit; but it was fully commanded by the guns of Fort Sumter at a range of only 1,800 yards, and several buildings and sand hills within a few hundred yards gave excellent cover for a land attack.³ Anderson had proposed to the War Department that the sand hills be leveled, and had asked instructions as to circumstances which would justify him in burning the houses, but had been ordered to take no action.⁴ He had also made representations as to the necessity of garrisoning Sumter, but political considerations had prevented this.

Anderson had received, through Maj. Don Carlos Buell, assistant adjutant general, who inspected the fort on December 11, instructions from the War Department which were, in part, as follows:

You are carefully to avoid every act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression; and for that reason you are not, without evident and imminent necessity, to take up any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude. But you are to hold possession of the forts in this harbor, and if attacked you are to defend yourself to the last extremity. The smallness of your force will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three forts, but an attack on or attempt to take possession of any one of them will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then put your command into either of them which you may deem most proper to increase its power of resistance. You are also authorized to take similar steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act.⁵

Maj. Anderson was thus left in a very difficult position. As he himself said: "This fort is a very weak one in its capacity of being defended; it is surrounded by houses that I can not burn or destroy until I am certain that I am to be attacked, and I shall not be certain of it till the South Carolinians are in possession."⁶ In the same manner he might have said of the Buell instructions that he could not go to Sumter until he was certain that the South Carolinians meant to occupy it; and he could not be certain until they were in possession, for Sumter was wide open, and could have been taken without warning.

But his perplexity must have amounted to bewilderment when he received the next dispatch on the subject.⁷ It appears that the President did not know of the Buell instructions until the 21st.

¹ Foster, report, Oct. 1, 1861, "Off. Rec.," I, 5; Doubleday, 15.

² Foster to Chief of Eng., Dec. 13, "Off. Rec.," I, 92.

³ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Dec. 6, *ibid.*, I, 88; same, Dec. 18, *ibid.*, I, 95.

⁴ Adj. Gen. to Anderson, Dec. 14, *ibid.*, I, 93.

⁵ Buell, memorandum, Dec. 11, *ibid.*, 89.

⁶ Crawford, 70.

⁷ Buchanan to Commissioners of South Carolina, Dec. 31, "Off. Rec.," I, 117; Curtis, II, 376; Nicolay and Hay, III, 40.

When he was informed he disapproved of the clause requiring the forts to be defended "to the last extremity" and directed that it be modified. The Secretary of War at once wrote to Anderson in the following remarkable terms:

You are to exercise a sound military discretion on this subject. It is neither expected nor desired that you should expose your own life or that of your men in a hopeless conflict in defense of these forts. If they are invested or attacked by a force so superior that resistance would, in your judgment, be a useless waste of life, it will be your duty to yield to necessity and make the best terms in your power. This will be the conduct of an honorable, brave, and humane officer, and you will be fully justified in such action. These orders are strictly confidential and not to be communicated even to the officers under your command without close necessity.¹

The situation in the harbor, strained for many months, had grown rapidly more serious since the November elections. State troops had been raised, and there had even been some question of enrolling in State regiments the laborers employed by Capt. Foster, the engineer officer in charge of work on the forts. Anderson had asked instructions as to this and had been ordered to permit it.² About the 1st of December the State authorities sent guns to Sullivan's Island; and on the 11th, while Maj. Buell's inspection was in progress, work was begun on batteries at the upper end of the island and at Mount Pleasant.³ On the 20th South Carolina seceded from the Union.

On the 22d Anderson suggested, even more strongly than he had before, that he should be authorized to move to Sumter.⁴ Foster, also, in his letters to the Chief of Engineers recommended that Sumter should be occupied or else destroyed by a mine electrically operated from Moultrie at the first sign of danger;⁵ but no action was taken, the Secretary of War expressing himself satisfied with existing arrangements.

Fort Sumter, the strong point of the harbor defenses, stood on a shoal in the middle of the harbor entrance, where it commanded all the ship channels. Work was begun on it in 1829, but progressed slowly and was for a time entirely discontinued on account of apprehended settlement of the foundations.⁶ It was a pentagonal closed work, the main salient facing northeast, and covered a total area

¹ Floyd to Anderson, Dec. 21, "Off. Rec.," I, 103.

At the Army schools, in tactical problems, an officer is required, first of all, to define accurately the object which his command is expected to accomplish, and to keep this constantly in view throughout his discussion. If this situation and these instructions were set before a class, I should feel great trepidation in undertaking to criticize their statements of this object.

² Anderson to Adj. Gen., Nov. 28, "Off. Rec.," I, 79; Adj. Gen. to Anderson, Dec. 14, *ibid.*, 92.

³ Doubleday, 43, 47.

⁴ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Dec. 22, "Off. Rec.," I, 105.

⁵ Foster to Chief of Eng., Dec. 19, *ibid.*, 98; Chief of Eng. to Foster, Dec. 27, *ibid.*, 108.

⁶ Johnson, 17; Chief of Eng. to writer, Nov. 17, 1913; Chief of Eng. to Floyd, Dec. 20, 1860, "Off. Rec.," I, 100.

of about two acres and a half.¹ Both faces and flanks were casemated, providing for two tiers of guns in casemate and one in barbette. The gorge² was armed only in barbette; lacking the reinforcement of the casemate arches and piers, it was protected only by the scarp wall, 5 feet thick, which was weakened by numerous windows and doors. The walls were of brick and concrete. The gates opened upon an esplanade running the whole length of the gorge. The magazines were in the gorge angles, furnaces for heating shot in the shoulder angles, barracks along both flanks, and officers' quarters, storerooms, and hospital on the gorge.

The only other fortification in the harbor was Castle Pinckney, a small brick work with one tier of casemates, built in 1810 on a small island about a mile from the city. It was occupied only by laborers employed in repairing it, with one officer and an ordnance sergeant.³

There was an old post at Fort Johnson, on James Island, but it was unarmed and almost uninhabitable.

Maj. Anderson seems to have made up his mind definitely to leave Moultrie about the time of the secession of the State. His letter of December 22, already mentioned, must have been a last attempt to secure approval of the War Department for the move and thus relieve himself of a heavy responsibility, for before that letter could reach Washington, in fact almost before it had left Charleston, he was taking active steps toward the execution of his plan.

He confided in no one, not even in his company commanders, for absolute secrecy was the first essential to success. Capt. Doubleday, his second in command, had no suspicion of the plan, although he had often urged upon Anderson the desirability of moving.⁴ Even in a letter to Mrs. Anderson, written on the day before he moved, the only remark in the remotest manner hinting at it was that he might very soon "do something which would gratify her."⁵ And after his letter of the 22d he did not again communicate with the War Department until he reported his arrival at Sumter.

His first care was to spread the belief, both within and without the fort, that he was determined to stand a siege in Moultrie.⁶ To this end, a week or 10 days before Christmas, he began to talk freely of the approaching attack and of the necessity of removing the women and children to Fort Johnson. A few days later he asked Capt. Foster to discontinue mounting guns in Sumter, saying that they would certainly be used against him. He also had some

¹ Roman, I, 23; Snyder and Seymour to Anderson, Mar. 24, 1861, "Off. Rec.," I, 213, 225.

² The ground plan of the fort has been likened to the gable end of a building. The ground line corresponds to the gorge, the walls to the flanks, and the roof to the faces.

³ Johnson, 21; Roman, I, 24; Anderson to Adj. Gen., Dec. 3, 1860, "Off. Rec.," I, 84.

⁴ Doubleday, 60.

⁵ Letter, quoted in Nicolay and Hay, III, 46.

⁶ Letter, Anderson to his wife, written from Sumter, Nicolay and Hay, III, 47.

of the essential parts of the carriages of these guns removed and brought to Moultrie; but when they arrived there he directed that they be left on the boats for the present, on the plea that there was not room for them in the storehouses. Next he ordered the quartermaster to procure transportation to Fort Johnson for the women and children, and issued an order for their removal on the ground of threatened attack. On board the schooners secured for this purpose he placed most of his provisions, ostensibly for Capt. Foster's laborers, and directed that all personal and company property not absolutely needed at once be sent along for safe-keeping.

The schooners left Moultrie on the afternoon of December 26 under charge of the quartermaster, whose confidential orders were to go to Fort Johnson, but not to land his passengers and stores, and to pretend to be making a thorough inspection for the purpose of selecting quarters. In this manner he was to delay until he should hear two guns fired, when he was to come at once to Sumter. The schooners being gone, Anderson directed Capt. Foster to get together all the boats available, explained what he meant to do with them, and told him to be ready between 5 and 6 o'clock.¹ This hour was selected because, while it was necessary to wait until dusk to make the passage, it was also necessary to complete it before 9 o'clock to avoid interference by the guard boats which watched him every night from about that time on.²

That morning, when the men went to their posts at the batteries, he had had them pack their knapsacks and had given orders that it should be done thereafter as a matter of routine.

Anderson, whose family was not with him, had no mess of his own; and that evening about sunset Capt. Doubleday, whose wife was now almost the only woman left in the fort, went out to invite him in to tea.³ He found him on the ramparts in serious conversation with a group of officers. As Doubleday approached, Anderson came to meet him and said, "I have determined to evacuate this post immediately for the purpose of occupying Fort Sumter; I can only allow you 20 minutes to form your company and be in readiness to start." Making a few hasty arrangements for the safety of his wife, Doubleday put his company into the boats; Foster, with a small detail, manned the guns facing Sumter, to fire upon any vessel that might attempt to interfere. A guard boat did approach, but the arms being in the bottoms of the boats with the men's uniform coats on top of them the company was mistaken for a party of laborers and was not molested.

¹ Foster to Committee on Conduct of War, Supp., II, 6.

² Oddly enough, one of these boats, the *General Clinch*, was named after Mrs. Anderson's father.

³ Doubleday, 61.

The laborers in the fort, mostly southern sympathizers, manifested great excitement when the troops landed; but they were quickly pushed back inside the fort, the gates were closed, and sentinels posted. The boats went back for the other company. The signal guns were fired and the quartermaster brought his passengers and supplies over from Fort Johnson. Such of the engineer workmen as did not wish to share the fortunes of the garrison were placed on the schooners and sent to Moultrie. Foster and his men, with a detail that returned from Sumter for the purpose, loaded the schooners again with hospital stores, ammunition, and whatever else of value could be found, and sent them back to Sumter; they were not disturbed at this work, the guard boats having gone to Charleston to give the alarm.¹ All the guns at Moultrie were spiked before the last man left, the flagstaff was cut down, and the carriages of the guns bearing upon Sumter were burned.

Anderson thus found himself in Sumter with all his officers and men, 55 engineer laborers, 46 women and children, nearly 4 months' rations (except, of course, fresh meat and vegetables, for which he was dependent upon local markets), and an ample supply of ammunition and hospital stores.² For moral effect, both upon the laborers in the fort and the spectators outside, he made a special ceremony of his flag raising at noon on the 27th, parading the garrison for religious services at the foot of the flagstaff.³

Within the next few days the Charlestonians took possession, unopposed, of Castle Pinckney, Fort Moultrie, and the arsenal in the city.⁴

The position of the little garrison in Sumter was still very insecure, for the fort was incomplete and open to assault.⁵ The barbette and the first tier of casemates were ready for armament, but few guns were yet mounted; the second tier was not ready for its guns. The gates, windows, and embrasures were either open or closed only with wood. The parade, the esplanade, and the wharf projecting from it were encumbered with building materials; 6 wooden buildings, used as shops, storehouses, etc., stood within the walls, and 66 heavy guns, with carriages and 5,600 shot and shell, were lying on the parade. Communication through and around all this was difficult. The barracks were unfinished, only some rough accommodations for the laborers having been provided; but the officers' quarters were in good condition, and the garrison was so small that most of it could be housed there.

¹ Doubleday, 69; Charleston Courier, Dec. 28, 1860.

² Anderson to Adj. Gen., Dec. 26, 1860, "Off. Rec.," I, 2; Foster, report, Oct. 1, 1861, *ibid.*, I, 4; Snyder and Seymour to Anderson, Mar. 24, 1861, *ibid.*, I, 214.

³ Doubleday, 71.

⁴ Doubleday, 73; Anderson to Adj. Gen., Dec. 27, "Off. Rec.," I, 3, 4; Humphreys to Maynadier, Dec. 30, *ibid.*, I, 6.

⁵ Snyder and Seymour to Anderson, Mar. 24, 1861, *ibid.*, I, 213; Doubleday, 77.

No attack was made, however.¹ The weather was very bad, so that a boat expedition would have been dangerous, if not impossible; besides, the Charlestonians hoped to gain their ends by diplomacy instead of by force, and so spent in negotiation, both at Sumter and at Washington, the few days that Anderson required to remedy the most serious of the defects in his defenses.² The negotiations, naturally, resulted in complete failure; Anderson refused to leave Sumter, and the President refused to order him out.

It was now necessary for the Federal Government to take some affirmative action. Having decided not to disapprove Maj. Anderson's action and not to abandon the harbor, the natural alternative was to reinforce the garrison and maintain a foothold there. Several plans for relief were considered, but it was finally decided to send troops and supplies by a merchant vessel, the *Star of the West*. Gen. Scott's intention was that Anderson should be informed of her coming and ordered to use his guns, if necessary, to assist her;³ but this notice was not sent direct and was merely incorporated in the letter of instructions carried by the officer commanding the troops on board.⁴ Every effort was made to conceal the purpose of the expedition, and the *Star of the West* cleared for Havana and New Orleans as if on her regular run;⁵ but the news leaked out and Gov. Pickens was informed soon after she had sailed.⁶ Anderson also knew of the plan to send her—by newspaper reports—but he had no instructions and had to act on his own responsibility.

The steamer entered Charleston Harbor by the main channel at daylight on January 9 and was fired upon from a battery on Morris Island, constructed and manned by the Citadel cadets.⁷ Two shots struck her, but did no great damage, and she continued on her course. Her commander now sighted a vessel coming down the harbor with the apparent intention of cutting off his retreat, and he was also approaching a point where he would come under the fire of Fort Moultrie. The guns of Sumter remained silent, and he felt that he could not go farther without their support; so the *Star of the West* put out to sea again and returned to New York.

The Sumter garrison had manned the guns at the first shot from Morris Island, but Anderson refrained from firing;⁸ the whole inci-

¹ Foster to Chief of Eng., Jan. 14, "Off. Rec.," I, 139; Doubleday, 81.

² Anderson to Adj. Gen., Dec. 27, "Off. Rec.," I, 3; Buchanan to Commrs. of South Carolina, Dec. 31, *ibid.*, I, 115.

³ Scott to Secretary of War, Dec. 28, *ibid.*, I, 112; Scott to President, Dec. 30, *ibid.*, I, 114; Scott to C. O. Fort Monroe, Dec. 31, *ibid.*, I, 119; Thomas to Scott, Jan. 4, *ibid.*, I, 130; Thomas to Anderson, Jan. 5, *ibid.*, I, 132.

⁴ Thomas to Anderson, Jan. 5, "Off. Rec.," I, 132; Secretary of War to Anderson, Jan. 16, *ibid.*, I, 140.

⁵ Thomas to Scott, Jan. 4, *ibid.*, I, 130; Nicolay and Hay, III, 98.

⁶ Wigfall to Pickens, Jan. 8, "Off. Rec.," I, 253; Doubleday, 101.

⁷ McGowan to Roberts, Jan. 12, Moore, "Reb. Rec.," I, Doc. 21; Woods to Adj. Gen., Jan. 13, "Off. Rec.," I, 9; Doubleday, 94.

⁸ Doubleday, 103; Chester in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," I, 61.

dent, of course, was over in a few minutes. When the steamer was gone, after a conference with his officers, he sent a protest to the governor;¹ but far from disavowing the action of the Morris Island commander, the governor justified it, and intimated that it would be repeated under similar circumstances.

Anderson now referred the whole matter to the War Department, sending an officer as bearer of his dispatches.² The Secretary, in reply, approved his action in not returning the fire, informed him that no further attempt would be made to relieve him, and refrained from giving any instructions.

Before this officer had reached Washington another was on the way.³ On the 11th a commission representing the governor called upon Maj. Anderson and demanded his surrender; this was refused, but it was agreed to send one representative from each side to present the situation more fully to the President. Lieut. Hall went to Washington on the 12th, accompanied by I. W. Hayne, attorney general of South Carolina; but he also returned without any instructions for his commanding officer.⁴

Sumter was now in a state of siege. Some fresh provisions were admitted from time to time, and the mails were permitted to pass, but this was all entirely on sufferance, for the Charlestonians could stop it at any time, and did when they saw fit.

The matter of supplies was growing serious. Almost immediately after Sumter was occupied it was found that, while there were enough provisions on hand to maintain the garrison for about four months, some articles were very short.⁵ Most of the fuel, of course, had been left behind at Moultrie, but this caused no anxiety, for there were several temporary buildings and some unserviceable gun carriages to furnish a supply.⁶ Through a mistake, very few candles had been brought; lamps were improvised by inclosing wicks in tin tubes, and floating them on corks in cups of oil taken from the lighthouse in the fort.

The garrison calculated upon by Maj. Anderson when he left Moultrie had been increased by the retention of the engineer laborers, but some supplies for them were on hand in the fort.⁷ On February 1, by consent of the State authorities, the women and children were put on board a steamer for New York, relieving the drain on

¹ Doubleday, 104; Foster to Committee on Conduct of War, Supp., II, 6; Anderson and Pickens, Jan. 9, "Off. Rec.," I, 134-135.

² Anderson to Secretary of War, Jan. 9 and 16, "Off. Rec.," I, 134, 140; Doubleday, 105, 112.

³ Foster to Chief of Eng., Jan. 12, "Off. Rec.," I, 137; Hall to Adj. Gen., Jan. 12, *ibid.*, I, 138; Doubleday, 109.

⁴ Adj. Gen. to Anderson, Feb. 1, *ibid.*, I, 161.

⁵ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Dec. 31, *ibid.*, I, 120.

⁶ Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 63.

⁷ Foster to Chief of Eng., Apr. 5, "Off. Rec.," I, 243.

the supplies materially.¹ By this time the sugar, soap, and candles were entirely out;² fresh provisions were a luxury obtainable only irregularly and with difficulty; but there was still a good supply of salt pork, hard bread, and flour, and some coffee.³ Maj. Anderson kept the department informed as to the condition of his supplies; so that if, as has been stated, Mr. Lincoln was surprised when he took office to find how short a time the fort could be expected to hold out, the fault should not be imputed to Anderson.⁴

To maintain the siege, the Charlestonians kept steadily at work, at first under the direction of the governor, but after March 6 under Gen. Beauregard, who assumed command as an officer of the Confederate States.⁵ The work had two purposes—to prevent relief of Fort Sumter by an expedition by sea and to reduce the fort itself.⁶

To the first end, an unsuccessful attempt was made to block the main channel by sinking hulks loaded with stone on the bar.⁷ At the same time a system of batteries bearing upon the channels was begun, which ultimately was developed into a very strong defense.

The batteries intended primarily to fire upon Sumter, as finally completed for service, formed more than a semicircle around the fort. They were divided into three commands, Morris Island, James Island, and Sullivan's Island. Beginning at the south, the first in order and the nearest to Sumter was the Cummings Point battery, which mounted both mortars and heavy guns.⁸ The latter bore upon the gorge, the weakest part of the fort, at a range of only 1,300 yards, but were at a disadvantage for breaching in that their line of fire was very oblique to the target.⁹ To this battery was added, at the last moment, a new Blakeley rifle, a gift from a Charlestonian residing in England.¹⁰ While this was only a 12-pounder, it was of high power and gave penetration in the brick walls equal to the 8-inch Columbiad. This was the only rifle used on either side.¹¹

Next in order, just west of the Point battery, was the Ironclad battery, built of heavy timbers and plated with railroad iron. To deflect shot, the face was inclined sharply to the rear, and it was

¹ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Feb. 1, *ibid.*, I, 161.

² Doubleday, 112.

³ Anderson, correspondence, January and February, "Off. Rec.," I, 144, 151, 154; Doubleday, 116, 123, 130, 138.

⁴ Nicolay and Hay, III, 376.

⁵ Beauregard, order, "Off. Rec.," I, 266.

⁶ Foster to Chief of Eng., Jan. 12, *ibid.*, I, 138.

⁷ Same, Jan. 14, "Off. Rec.," I, 139; Anderson to Secretary of War, Jan. 21, *ibid.*, I, 143; Doubleday, 107.

⁸ See Appendix 3, post, for the details of the armament of the batteries.

⁹ Beauregard to Walker, Mar. 6, "Off. Rec.," I, 26; De Saussure to Simons, Apr. 22, *ibid.*, I, 44.

¹⁰ Roman, I, 39; De Saussure to Simons, Apr. 22, "Off. Rec.," I, 45; Pickens to Walker, Apr. 9, *ibid.*, I, 293; Foster, diary, Apr. 12, *ibid.*, I, 21.

¹¹ For data concerning these and other guns used in the operations, see Appendix 1, post.

intended to grease the plating when in action.¹ Its guns bore upon the gorge of Sumter at about the same angle and range as those of the Point battery.

There was one more battery to the west of this, the Trapier battery, at the extreme end of Cummings Point.² This was armed with mortars, firing at a range of about 1,350 yards.

On James Island there were three batteries. First came two mortar batteries, designated as upper and lower; these were just south of Fort Johnson.³ At Fort Johnson itself, built against the old barracks, was a small battery mounting four guns, three of which bore upon the inner harbor and only one upon the fort. These three batteries were at a range of 2,300 yards.

Castle Pinckney was the next work in order, but its guns had been removed to arm other batteries, it being 4,500 yards from Sumter and unable to act against it.

Although not on Sullivan's Island, a mortar battery at Mount Pleasant was attached to that command.⁴ Being some 4,000 yards from Sumter, it was entirely safe from its fire and could deliver its own in perfect security.

At the extreme north end of Sullivan's Island was another ironclad battery.⁵ This had been designed as a mobile floating battery to fire upon the gorge at close range; but not proving a success for this purpose, it was moored at this point, behind a breakwater which gave it some additional protection, to enfilade the left flank of Sumter and control the postern gate at the left gorge angle. A single heavy gun was mounted on shore close to it for the same purpose, as this was a likely place for the landing of a relief expedition. The range was about 2,100 yards.

Two batteries were constructed between this group and Fort Moultrie, 1,900 yards from Sumter.⁶ One was a mortar battery, known as No. 1. The other was a gun battery, to enfilade and take in reverse the barbettes of Sumter. Its construction was concealed by a small wooden house standing between it and Sumter; just before the bombardment the house was blown up.

Fort Moultrie itself, during the siege, was greatly strengthened, and its armament, crippled by Anderson, was put in good condition

¹ Roman, I, 37; Foster to Chief of Eng., Feb. 5, "Off. Rec.," I, 165; Cuthbert to De Saussure, Apr. 17, *ibid.*, I, 55; Stevens to De Saussure, Apr. 13, *ibid.*, I, 48.

² De Saussure to Simons, Apr. 22, "Off. Rec.," I, 45.

³ Foster, diary, Apr. 12, *ibid.*, I, 18; Beauregard to Walker, Mar. 6, *ibid.*, I, 26; Doubleday, 182; Foster to Chief of Eng., Jan. 21, "Off. Rec.," I, 147.

⁴ Ripley, report, Apr. 16, *ibid.*, I, 39.

⁵ Roman, I, 37; Doubleday, 127, 132; Foster to Chief of Eng., Mar. 6, "Off. Rec.," I, 191; Foster, diary, Apr. 11, *ibid.*, I, 17; Beauregard to Dunovant, Apr. 10, *ibid.*, I, 300.

⁶ Ripley, report, Apr. 16, "Off. Rec.," I, 39; Foster, diary, Apr. 9, *ibid.*, I, 16; Gwynn to Gist, Mar. 8, *ibid.*, I, 271; Doubleday, 140; Roman, I, 39.

again.¹ Large traverses were built to protect the channel batteries from the enfilade fire of Sumter; the walls were raised and thickened with sand bags, earth and timber, and the embrasures were screened with cotton bales. The final armament was 30 guns, of which 11 bore upon Sumter. The range was 1,800 yards.

Of the remaining batteries on Sullivan's Island, only one could be used against the fort. This was mortar battery No. 2, range 3,300 yards.²

This gave a total armament for use against Sumter of 16 ten-inch mortars and 27 heavy guns. Besides these there were powerful batteries bearing upon the channels and harbor.³ On Morris Island, to close the main ship channel, were 20 heavy guns and 2 batteries of field pieces.⁴ Fort Johnson had 3 guns bearing upon the harbor, besides the one facing Sumter.⁵ Moultrie had 19 guns to fire upon the harbor and Maffitt Channel, and two batteries east of Moultrie had 7 more commanding the Maffitt Channel. This gave 49 heavy guns for the harbor and two deep water channels, besides those facing Sumter; and the intermediate shallow channels were also commanded by all but the extreme eastern and southern batteries.

To guard against attempts to relieve Sumter at night, powerful calcium lights were placed in bomb-proof shelters on Morris and Sullivan's islands.⁶ Arrangements were also made to light the harbor entrance by hulks loaded with wood, to be fired on the first alarm from the guard boats.

The armament for all these batteries came from Fort Moultrie, Castle Pinckney, Richmond, Savannah, and Pensacola.⁷ A garrison was harder to get; but in the course of two or three months enough troops were collected. All were perfectly green, poorly equipped, and poorly organized, and could have been of little use in the field; but as they were to serve in fortifications, against an enemy who, both by his weakness and by the nature of the situation, was precluded from any offensive action, they were satisfactory.⁸

The preparations in Fort Sumter consisted of clearing the parade, mounting the guns, and improvising flank defenses; for the fort was

¹ Foster to Chief of Eng., Jan. 21, "Off. Rec.," I, 146; same, Feb. 22, *ibid.*, I, 181; same, Mar. 1, *ibid.*, I, 188; Ripley, report Apr. 16, *ibid.*, I, 39, 40; Roman, I, 36; Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 67; Doubleday, 183.

² Ripley, report, Apr. 16, "Off. Rec.," I, 39.

³ Gwynn to Jamison, Mar. 20, *ibid.*, I, 277; Ferguson to Manigault, Mar. 25, *ibid.*, I, 280; Beauregard to Walker, Mar. 6, *ibid.*, I, 25; Beauregard to Gregg, Apr. 9, *ibid.*, I, 295.

⁴ Foster, diary, Apr. 12, *ibid.*, I, 18.

⁵ Ripley, report, Apr. 16, *ibid.*, I, 39; Beauregard to Walker, Mar. 6, *ibid.*, I, 26; Ferguson to Gwynn, Mar. 7, *ibid.*, I, 267.

⁶ Beauregard to Walker, Mar. 26, "Off. Rec.," I, 282; Beauregard to Dunovant, Apr. 10, *ibid.*, I, 300; Roman, I, 38.

⁷ Memorandum, Ordnance Office, Dec. 21, 1860, "Off. Rec.," I, 130; Foster to Chief of Eng., Feb. 9, *ibid.*, I, 170; Roman, I, 36; Doubleday, 120.

⁸ Confederate correspondence, Mar. 6 to Apr. 11, "Off. Rec.," I, 264-302.

in the incomplete condition already described, and even if it had been completed its plan provided for no means of sweeping the wharf and the water fronts, since it had been planned for combat with ships, and not to meet attack by storm. The work progressed slowly, for the garrison had to give its attention largely to guard duty.

The brick and stone lying on the parade were used to close embrasures in which it was not intended to mount guns, and to block the casemate arches so as to form splinter-proofs.¹ The last of the cement was used in January; it was proposed to burn shells for lime, but, the scarcity of fuel not permitting this, subsequent work was done with dry stone.² Where this would not do, as in the openings of the first tier on the gorge, melted lead was run into the interstices of the stone.³ The temporary buildings and the waste lumber gradually disappeared, being used for fuel.

In the construction of flanking defenses there was ample room for the exercise of ingenuity, for everything had to be improvised. The greatest danger of assault, of course, was on the gorge, where the esplanade and wharf gave a foothold, but it was possible that an attempt might be made elsewhere at night.⁴ To diminish this danger, the riprap, which came up to within 4 feet of the embrasure sills, was removed to the depth of 4 to 5 feet more in front of each embrasure.

Machicoulis galleries⁵ were constructed of heavy plank backed with iron, one in the centre of each face and flank and three on the gorge, projecting 3 or 4 feet from the parapet.⁶ To supplement the musketry fire from these, shells were prepared as grenades. The fuze holes were plugged with wood, and holes bored through to receive friction primers. To fire one of these a lanyard long enough to reach within about 4 feet of the base of the wall was secured on the parapet; the free end was hooked into the eye of the primer, and the shell dropped over.

Another more elaborate contrivance was invented by Capt. Seymour. He placed canisters of powder in barrels of broken stone and arranged lanyards as in the case of the shells. One of these was fired for experiment in February, and scattered the stones over a radius of 50 feet or more, causing great excitement in Charleston.

¹ Anderson to Secretary of War, Jan. 21, "Off. Rec.," I, 143; Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 53.

² Foster to Chief of Eng., Jan. 27, "Off. Rec.," I, 156.

³ Snyder and Seymour to Anderson, Mar. 24, *ibid.*, I, 216; Foster to Chief of Eng., Apr. 1, "Off. Rec.," I, 231.

⁴ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Feb. 19, *ibid.*, I, 176; Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 58.

⁵ Projecting galleries, permitting defenders on the top of a wall to fire upon attackers at its foot.

⁶ Snyder and Seymour to Anderson, Mar. 24, "Off. Rec.," I, 214; Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 59; Doubleday, 122.

The wharf and esplanade were mined, and two 8-inch seacoast howitzers were mounted outside the main gates, one pointing each way along the gorge to fire canister.¹ To make sure that these guns could be fired, even if the guard on the wharf should be driven in too quickly to do it, lanyards were led back inside the fort.

The main gates, in the middle of the gorge, were strengthened by a brick and cement wall, with a gap opposite the narrow door or manhole in the gates.² Facing this was placed an 8-inch seacoast howitzer, which was kept loaded with double canister.

The parapet in front of one of the barbette guns on the gorge was cut down, and the gun carriage modified so as to permit 18° depression.³ This enabled the gun to sweep the wharf with canister.

Traverses were constructed on the parade to protect the hospital and ordnance storeroom on the first floor of the building on the gorge against fire from Moultrie, and the main gates against the Cummings Point batteries. Splinter proofs were built on the barbette tier by leaning timbers from gun carriages against the parapet and spiking heavy irons upon them.⁴

When the Confederate enfilade battery, near Moultrie, was unmasked on April 8 by blowing up the house in front of it new works became necessary.⁵ This battery enfiladed both flanks and took the gorge in reverse, and also swept part of the outside of the left flank, which was the best place for a vessel to lie to discharge cargo. The left flank and gorge barbettes were not of great importance, for they did not directly face any hostile batteries, and few guns were mounted there. But the right flank barbette contained the heaviest battery of the fort, intended for use both against Moultrie and Cummings Point; and it was considered necessary to be prepared to receive a relief expedition, plans for which were always under discussion.

To protect the barbette guns, a large timber frame was constructed on the terreplein and hoisted during the night of the 9th and 10th to the top of the parapet at the right shoulder angle. This was filled with earth from the parade, and strengthened with sand bags on the sides and top, hospital sheets being sewed up to make the bags. To facilitate unloading supplies from a relief vessel, an embrasure was enlarged so as to admit barrels, and means provided for handling stores rapidly.

¹ Foster to Chief of Eng., Jan. 14, "Off. Rec.," I, 139; Snyder and Seymour to Anderson, Mar. 24, *ibid.*, I, 216; Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 58.

² Snyder and Seymour to Anderson, Mar. 24, "Off. Rec.," I, 215, 225; Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 54.

³ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Feb. 19, "Off. Rec.," I, 176.

⁴ Foster to Chief of Eng., Mar. 22, "Off. Rec.," I, 211; Foster, diary, Apr. 9, *ibid.*, I, 17; Plan, *ibid.*, I, 225.

⁵ Foster, diary, Apr. 9, *ibid.*, I, 16; Doubleday, 140.

The total number of guns mounted in the batteries proper was 54, 27 in barbette and 27 in casemate.¹ In addition, there being no mortars in the fort, 5 of the heaviest guns were placed on the parade as such. One was on a top carriage without chassis,² pointing toward Charleston. The others, for which there were no carriages, were set in a trench, and supported at an angle of 39° by timbers under breech and chase; they were directed upon Morris Island.

There was plenty of powder on hand, but there were no friction primers to spare; and when it came to making up cartridges it was found that not only was material for cartridge bags³ scarce, but there were only six needles in the fort to sew them with.⁴ Late in March, when an attack seemed imminent, these six needles were kept constantly employed, making bags out of flannel shirts, blankets, woolen socks, heavy paper, and even cotton sheets.⁵ When the bombardment began there were 700 cartridges ready, and the manufacture continued all through the action.

Another deficiency was in implements for laying and serving the guns.⁶ Rammers, sponge staffs, handspikes, etc., were easily provided, but sights and quadrants were more difficult; there were very few breech sights, and only two quadrants and one gunners' level.⁷ On clear days, when accurate work could be done, the few instruments on hand were taken to each gun in turn; the gun was carefully laid in direction upon each probable target or prominent landmark in its field of fire, and the position for each recorded by means of an index attached to the carriage and a mark on the traverse circle. Elevations for the different ranges were then taken from the range tables, the gun accurately elevated by the quadrant, and the elevations also recorded, either by an index on the carriage and a mark on the side of the breech, or by notches cut in a stick fitted as a breech sight.

¹ Snyder and Seymour to Anderson, Mar. 24, "Off. Rec.," I, 214, 225; Foster, diary, Apr. 12, *ibid.*, I, 18; Anderson to Adj. Gen., Feb. 5, *ibid.*, I, 163; same, Feb. 14, *ibid.*, I, 173.

² For construction of gun carriages, see Appendix 1.

³ See Appendix 1.

⁴ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Mar. 23, *ibid.*, I, 212; Foster, diary, Apr. 10-12, *ibid.*, 17, 18, 21; Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 54.

⁵ My authority for one item here is a sergeant in the garrison, who says they fired away all the commanding officer's socks. This sergeant was James Chester, who was soon after given a commission and served during and after the war as an officer of Artillery. I feel a personal interest in what he says, for, while I never knew him, he had just relinquished command of Battery A, Third Artillery, when I joined it as second lieutenant in 1898, and it was still known as Chester's Battery. I have used his account in "Battles and Leaders" with great pleasure, as giving the enlisted man's point of view; it has to be used with some caution, but tallies in the main with other reports.

⁶ Foster, report, Apr. 1, "Off. Rec.," I, 231; Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 62-63; Doubleday, 147.

⁷ The breech sight was a laying instrument corresponding to the rear sight of a rifle. The quadrant was for measuring the angle of elevation given the gun. The gunners' level was for determining the "line of metal"; that is, the profile cut from the upper surface of the piece by a vertical plane passing through the axis of the bore.

During all this period of preparation, the question of reinforcing, resupplying, or evacuating Fort Sumter had been under consideration. Various plans of relief had been proposed, discussed, and abandoned or held in abeyance.¹ At last the situation was growing desperate, and something had to be done. The President was determined not to withdraw the garrison; and the plan of relief that found most favor was the one proposed by Gustavus V. Fox, formerly an officer of the Navy, and later Assistant Secretary of the Department.

But before deciding upon any plan, the President desired accurate first-hand information of the situation.² Fox went down for this purpose, and had an interview with Anderson on March 21, gaining access to the fort by the assistance of an old Navy friend, Capt. Hartstene, then in the Confederate service at Charleston. Fox came away with the impression that it would be practicable to land on the left flank of the fort under cover of darkness. Anderson was less sanguine, pointing out not only that the landing would be under fire from Sullivan's Island, but that the water was so shoal that a vessel of any considerable draft would require a long staging to discharge cargo.³

At the same time two personal friends of the President, S. A. Hurlbut and W. H. Lamon, were sent to Charleston to ascertain the feeling of the people there.⁴ While Hurlbut remained with relatives and friends in the city, Lamon visited the fort; and his conversation led Anderson to believe that his garrison was soon to be withdrawn.⁵

It was now the end of March, and the supplies of the fort were about exhausted. Anderson told Fox, while he was there, that he could not hold out beyond the middle of April. On March 31 he reported that the last of the flour was gone, and that, to save supplies, he was about to send away the engineer laborers.⁶ Beauregard, under instructions from his government, refused to allow the laborers to leave, and stopped all communication with the shore, except that the mails were still allowed to pass.

On April 3 a schooner flying the United States flag entered the harbor, and was fired upon from Morris Island.⁷ Under the influence of his pacific instructions of December 11, renewed by War Department letters of February 23 and 28, Anderson did not open

¹ Correspondence, "Off. Rec.," I, 140, 149, 166, 177, etc.; Nicolay and Hay, III, 375 ff.

² Cameron to Scott, Mar. 19, "Off. Rec.," I, 208-209.

³ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Mar. 22, *ibid.*, I, 211.

⁴ Nicolay and Hay, III, 390.

⁵ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Apr. 1, "Off. Rec.," I, 230; same, Apr. 4, *ibid.*, I, 237.

⁶ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Mar. 31, *ibid.*, I, 228; same, Apr. 1, *ibid.*, I, 230; Walker to Beauregard, Apr. 2, *ibid.*, I, 285; Beauregard to Anderson, Apr. 7, *ibid.*, I, 248.

⁷ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Apr. 4, "Off. Rec.," I, 236.

fire.¹ After the schooner, which was uninjured, had withdrawn, he registered a protest with the governor,² and sent Lieut. Talbot to Washington to state the situation to the War Department.

On the same day that Talbot started, April 4, definite instructions were given for an attempt at relief.³ Information was sent to Anderson that the plan discussed by him with Fox would be carried out, and he was directed to hold out if possible until the 11th or 12th, when the expedition might be expected to arrive. On the 6th, Talbot, who had just reached Washington, was sent back with a formal notice to Gov. Pickens that Sumter was to be relieved, the President having agreed a week or so before that he would take no such steps without notice.⁴

Fox, with the chartered steamer *Baltic*, sailed from New York on April 9. Three tugs were to meet her off Charleston to take in the men and supplies that she carried; and Capt. Mercer, commanding the U. S. S. *Powhatan*, was assigned to command a naval force to rendezvous at the same place.⁵ The *Powhatan* was to carry the extra men and material necessary to effect the transfer, and Mercer's orders were that the object of the expedition was to be carried out, peaceably if possible, but forcibly if necessary.

The *Baltic* and two of the armed vessels arrived off Charleston on the morning of the 12th, and found that the bombardment of Sumter had already begun. The tugs failed to reach Charleston on account of bad weather; and the *Powhatan*, by a strange series of accidents and misunderstandings, was detached from the expedition without Fox's knowledge. Thus deprived of his heaviest vessel and his special equipment, Fox's efforts to reach the fort were futile, and the *Baltic* expedition served only to carry Anderson and his men back to New York.⁶

Anderson had received his notice of the expedition on the 7th, and had mentioned it in a letter to the department on the 8th.⁷ On that particular day, the President's notice of his intention to relieve Sumter having been delivered to the governor, the mails were for the first time stopped, and official dispatches seized.⁸ From Anderson's letter, thus obtained, the Confederate authorities learned that the expedition was already on the way.

¹ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Apr. 4, "Off. Rec.," I, 182, 187.

² Anderson to Pickens, Apr. 4, *ibid.*, I, 237.

³ Cameron to Fox, Apr. 4, *ibid.*, I, 235; Nicolay and Hay, IV, 27; Cameron to Anderson, Apr. 4, "Off. Rec.," I, 235; Fox to Scott, Feb. 8, *ibid.*, I, 203; Fox to Blair, Feb. 23, *ibid.*, I, 204.

⁴ Cameron to Talbot, Apr. 6, *ibid.*, I, 245; Nicolay and Hay, IV, 33.

⁵ Fox to Cameron, Apr. 19, "Off. Rec.," I, 11; Scott to Scott, Apr. 4, *ibid.*, I, 236; Scott to Woods, Apr. 6, *ibid.*, I, 245; Welles to Mercer, Apr. 5, *ibid.*, I, 240.

⁶ Nicolay and Hay, IV, 1 ff.; Boynton, I, 249 ff.; II, 16-20.

⁷ Anderson to Adj. Gen., Apr. 8, "Off. Rec.," I, 294.

⁸ Pickens and Beauregard, memorandum, Apr. 8, *ibid.*, I, 291; Walker, Pickens, Beauregard, correspondence, Apr. 9, *ibid.*, I, 291-292.

This precipitated matters. On the 11th Beauregard, by order of the Confederate War Department, demanded the surrender of Sumter.¹ Anderson refused; but as Beauregard's aides left the fort he remarked to them, "If you do not batter the fort to pieces about us, we shall be starved out in a few days." All this being communicated by telegraph to the Confederate War Department, Beauregard was instructed to ask Anderson to "state the time at which he will evacuate, and agree that in the meantime he will not use his guns against us unless ours should be employed against Sumter."

The aides returned to the fort, and presented this demand at 12.45 a. m. on the night of the 11th-12th. After further deliberation and consultation with his officers, Anderson made a written reply fixing noon of the 15th as the time when he would evacuate the fort, but refused to bind himself by any agreement that would prevent his cooperating with the relief expedition. Consequently Beauregard's messengers, in accordance with their instructions, gave formal notice in writing at 3.20 a. m. that fire would be opened in one hour.

They then proceeded to Fort Johnson and delivered to the commanding officer there orders to open fire at the specified time, it having been arranged that the first shot from there was to be the signal for all batteries to commence firing, according to a fixed schedule. The signal gun was fired at 4.30 and within 15 minutes all the batteries were in action.

On the 10th Maj. Anderson had moved all his men into bombproofs, their old quarters having been rendered untenable by the battery just unmasked near Moultrie.² They were not turned out, therefore, and no attention was paid to the fire. At daylight the command was formed as usual for reveille and sent to breakfast, which consisted solely of salt pork and water; the hard bread was now exhausted and so was the final resource in breadstuffs—some damaged rice, which, while spread out to dry, had been filled with fragments of glass from windows broken by the concussion of guns fired in practice and had to be picked over by hand.³

Maj. Anderson decided to use only his casemate guns, since the barbettes and parade were swept by the enemy's mortar batteries, and also by the gun batteries at the end of Sullivan's Island.⁴ His force was so small that he could not afford to take unnecessary chances of loss. This decision deprived the fort of the use of its

¹ Walker to Beauregard, Apr. 10, *ibid.*, I, 297; Beauregard and Anderson, correspondence, Apr. 11-12, *ibid.*, I, 13-14; aides' report, Apr. 11, *ibid.*, I, 59; same, Apr. 12, *ibid.*, I, 60; Lee in "Battles and Leaders," I, 75; Crawford in "Annals of the War," 326; Beauregard and Walker, Apr. 11, "Off. Rec.," I, 300-301.

² Anderson to Adj. Gen., Mar. 10, "Off. Rec.," I, 249; Doubleday, 141; Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 65.

³ Doubleday, 145; Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 66; Foster, diary, Apr. 10, "Off. Rec.," I, 17.

⁴ Foster, diary, Apr. 12, "Off. Rec.," I, 19.

heaviest armament, including all its shell guns.¹ Twenty-seven guns remained, all 42- and 32-pounders; of these nine were not immediately available, their embrasures having been temporarily closed. Of the 18 ready for service, 3 bore upon Cummings Point, 4 upon Moultrie, 6 upon the Sullivan's Island batteries, and 4 upon Fort Johnson. One 32-pounder on the gorge could not reach any of the enemy's batteries.

At about 7.30 the batteries were manned.² Each company could furnish crews for only about 6 guns; but the engineer workmen, of whom 43 remained, volunteered their assistance, and for a time 9 or 10 guns were in action, the companies relieving each other at intervals of three or four hours.³ By noon, however, the expenditure of ammunition was so much more rapid than the manufacture of new cartridges that the fire was restricted to 6 guns, 2 firing upon Cummings Point, 2 upon Moultrie, and 2 upon the Sullivan's Island batteries. A few shots only were fired at James Island.

One other gun was manned once, but entirely unofficially.⁴ Not being satisfied with the effect of 42-pounder shot upon the ironclad battery at Cummings Point, two sergeants decided to try the 10-inch Columbiad at the right gorge angle. Slipping up to the barbette tier unobserved, they succeeded in firing the gun twice; but two men could not do the work of seven, the proper crew for a gun of that caliber, and could not run the piece "in battery" and throw the wheels out of bearing.⁵ In desperation they stood clear and fired when "from battery." The gun, naturally, recoiled clear off its carriage, incidentally dismounting another in its fall.⁶

The barracks caught fire three times during the day, but the fire was extinguished. Three of the cisterns were destroyed by shot. One gun on the barbette tier was dismounted and one damaged. The Sullivan's Island batteries, taking the gorge in reverse, completely riddled the buildings there. The other gun batteries could not reach any important parts of the fort and failed to breach the walls. The 8-inch Columbiad balls gave penetration of 11 inches, and the Blakeley rifle about the same; by steady firing they succeeded in shattering the wall about one embrasure to a depth of about 20 inches. The mortar practice was accurate and effective, the shells falling steadily within the fort, and keeping the garrison inside the casemates.⁷

¹ See Appendix 1, Artillery Matériel; and Appendix 2, Armament of Fort Sumter.

² Doubleday, 153.

³ Foster, diary, Apr. 12, "Off. Rec.," I, 19.

⁴ Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 70; Foster, diary, Apr. 12, "Off. Rec.," I, 20.

⁵ See Appendix 1 for the operation of gun carriages.

⁶ Foster mentions this incident simply as a fact, in dry technical language. Chester describes it in detail as an excellent joke, and with so much gusto that I am strongly inclined to believe that he was one of the sergeants.

⁷ Foster, diary, Apr. 12, "Off. Rec.," I, 20, 21.

During the night the fire of the fort ceased entirely, while that of the Confederate batteries continued very slowly. Cartridge making went on up till about midnight, when a fairly good supply was on hand. At daylight the hostile fire began briskly, and the batteries of the fort were manned again.

The Confederate fire was more effective than the day before, while that from the fort was even less so. Firing only solid shot, and that not of the heaviest, the fort's guns made no impression upon either sand parapets or iron shields; the utmost they could do was to strike an embrasure now and then, damaging a gun or carriage or jamming a shutter.¹

Several fires were started by mortar shell and hot shot, and at 9 or 10 o'clock the whole building on the gorge was burning. This contained not only quarters, but also the hospital, ordnance store room, and magazines, the latter containing nearly 300 barrels of powder.² The whole garrison set to work to get the powder and loaded shell to places of safety; this was especially dangerous because of the hurried work that had been going on during the night, making and filling cartridge bags by insufficient light, so that the floor was strewn with loose powder.

As much ammunition as possible was gotten out and stored in the casemates, where it was covered with wet blankets. When the men could no longer stay in the magazines the doors were closed and banked with earth; a trench was dug across the entrance and filled with water to prevent fire from being led inside by loose powder sifted on the ground.³

It soon became evident that the ammunition was not safe even in the casemates, for flame and sparks were continually blowing in. There were nearly 100 barrels of powder, and the commanding officer ordered it all thrown into the water, except five barrels and what cartridges were already made up. The stock of ammunition being thus reduced, firing was almost suspended, only one shot in 10 minutes being fired.⁴

By 11 o'clock the fort was almost uninhabitable on account of smoke. The men crowded to the embrasures for air, or lay on the ground with handkerchiefs over their mouths. A slight change of wind helped somewhat, but nothing more could be done either to defend the fort or to extinguish the fire.

Toward 1 o'clock the flag was shot away. It was soon replaced, but its temporary absence led the Confederates to believe that the fort

¹ Foster, diary, Apr. 13, "Off. Rec.," I, 22.

² Doubleday, 156.

³ Chester in "Battles and Leaders," I, 72.

⁴ Aides' report, Apr. 15, "Off. Rec.," I, 62; Doubleday, 157.

had surrendered, and two boats came over to investigate.¹ In the first was Mr. Wigfall, late United States Senator from Texas, then acting as an aide to Gen. Beauregard, who came without orders. As a result of an interview between him and Maj. Anderson, a white flag was hoisted pending further negotiation, and Wigfall left the fort.² Soon after, the other boat arrived, bringing three aides of Gen. Beauregard bearing his personal authority to negotiate; and after some controversy, due to the two independent parties arriving on the same mission, Anderson agreed to surrender. The terms provided that the entire garrison might be removed, with personal and company arms and property, to such place as the commanding officer might designate, saluting the flag as it was lowered.

The command was still in good health and spirits and willing to continue resistance. There was nothing to eat but salt pork, but there was enough of that to last a few days more.³ Ammunition was more nearly exhausted, only three cartridges remaining, and only four barrels of powder to make more.⁴ It appeared useless to continue, however; the relief expedition had been in sight since the morning before without accomplishing anything, and there seemed to be no hope that it would.

Sunday morning, April 14, the fort was evacuated. In saluting the flag as it came down, there occurred the only serious casualty of the siege. The premature discharge of a gun instantly killed one man, who was ramming home the cartridge, and wounded five others.⁵ The salute being completed, the garrison marched out with colors flying, drums and fifes sounding "Yankee Doodle," and embarked on a small steamer which took them to the *Baltic* outside the bar. They reached New York on the 17th.

The number of rounds fired from Sumter is uncertain. It could not have exceeded about 1,000, for during most of the bombardment only six guns were manned, and they firing slowly; and we have seen that only 700 cartridges were on hand when the action began. The number fired from the Confederate batteries can be approximated more closely.⁶ Some of the statements as to their fire have been entirely ridiculous.⁷ For example, one account states that the two mortars of the Mount Pleasant battery fired 2,925 shots, which would mean a shot from the battery about every 40 seconds, night and day; the normal rate of fire of a 10-inch mortar at that time was about one shot in five minutes,

¹ Beauregard to Walker, Apr. 16, "Off. Rec.," I, 29.

² Aides' report, Apr. 13, *ibid.*, I, 61; same, Apr. 15, *ibid.*, I, 63.

³ Foster to Committee on Conduct of War, Supp., 9.

⁴ Anderson to Cameron, Apr. 18, "Off. Rec.," I, 12.

⁵ Doubleday, 171; Anderson to Adj. Gen., Apr. 19, "Off. Rec.," I, 12.

⁶ See Appendix 3, Ammunition expenditure.

⁷ Doubleday, 184.

and the official report shows an expenditure for the battery of 81 rounds.¹ Reports are not available from the James Island batteries, but enough are found from the others to make it possible to say with some confidence that between 3,000 and 3,500 shots were fired at the fort. Of these about 800 were 10-inch mortar shells, 30 were shot and shell from the Blakeley 12-pounder, and the rest shot and shell from the smoothbore guns. After the bombardment about 600 shot scars were counted on the scarp wall; many projectiles had fallen inside, but the number of these is a mere matter of conjecture.²

To a casual observer on the parade, Fort Sumter, full of smoke from its burned buildings, and with everything outside of the casemates shattered, presented the appearance of a complete ruin. But in reality its defensive strength was unimpaired. It was not the hostile fire that drove Anderson out; lack of supplies and ammunition and the apparent hopelessness of relief, compelled his surrender.

Appendix 1.—Artillery Matériel.

In 1860 the American artillery was armed entirely with muzzle-loading smoothbores. Their material was cast iron for the heavy calibers and bronze for some of the light field guns.

All artillery weapons were classified, with respect to their purpose and construction, as *guns* (properly so called), *howitzers*, and *mortars*. All three classes were represented at Charleston at the time under consideration.

The *gun*, in its restricted sense, was the largest and heaviest type. It was intended to fire solid shot, and so was required to use a heavy charge to give its projectile high velocity and battering power.

The *howitzer*, as its name (French *obusier*) implies, was a shell gun. It had been found dangerous to fire shell from the ordinary gun unless the charge was so much reduced as to give a very low velocity, with consequent short range and poor shell effect. This difficulty was minimized by forming a chamber in the bottom of the bore, smaller in diameter than the projectile; thus when the projectile was sent home it closed the mouth of the chamber, and was sure of getting the full effect of the charge. Besides, the projectile always rested at the same point in the bore, so that the loading was uniform, and irregular and abnormal pressures were avoided. The powder charges and velocities were still kept lower than in guns, and hence howitzers were made shorter and lighter than guns of the same caliber.

The distinction between the gun and howitzer, as shot and shell guns, no longer exists, since shells may now be fired with safety from all our guns; but the term *howitzer* is still retained in the sense of a short light gun, firing a light charge and hence giving its projectile a low velocity and a very much curved trajectory.

¹ Ripley, report, Apr. 16, "Off. Rec.," I, 43.

² Foster, diary, comment Oct. 1, 1861, *ibid.*, I, 25; Roman, I, 49.

The *mortar* was a very short gun, intended to fire at an elevation of about 45° and drop its shell almost vertically upon the target.

Guns were designated by the weight of solid shot which they carried, as 32-pounders, etc. Howitzers and mortars were usually designated by their caliber in inches, but occasionally by the weight of solid shot which would fit the bore.

The *Columbiad* meant at this time a special form of long, heavy howitzer. With improvements in design and manufacture of both piece and projectile, the danger of firing shell from an unchambered piece diminished, and some of the later Columbiads were not chambered, although still intended and used as shell guns. A new distinction was then occasionally made between howitzers and shell guns.

The exterior form of guns was receiving much study about this time; the Columbiad form was a result of such study. Capt. Dahlgren, of the Navy, had been one of the leaders in this work, and he had evolved another design which gave unusual strength and endurance for a given weight. Guns constructed according to this design were known by his name.

The Rodman and Parrott guns are often mentioned in military writings of this period; and, although none were used in these operations, a word concerning their peculiarities is appropriate here.

Capt. Rodman, of the Ordnance, was the inventor of a new system of casting guns. The old way was to cast them solid and bore them out; he cast them hollow, over a hollow iron core. The exterior of the gun was cooled very slowly, and the cooling of the interior hastened by a stream of water flowing through the core; solidification thus took place from the inside, giving a stronger gun.

The Parrott was a built-up gun, usually rifled. It was made by shrinking a wrought-iron jacket over the breech end of a cast-iron tube. A Parrott gun is readily recognized by its form, the jacket showing as a short thick cylinder.

A Blakeley rifle was used by the Confederates against Sumter. This was an English gun; like the Parrott, it was built up, but instead of a single heavy jacket it had several thin hoops, one over the other, of graduated lengths, so that the inner one extended nearly to the muzzle, and the outer one covered only the breech end. A good description of this gun, by Gen. Alexander, is given in the Southern Historical Society "Papers," XI, 109.

Seacoast gun carriages at this time were of wood. They consisted of a chassis or turntable provided with rails upon which ran a top carriage carrying the gun. These rails were inclined upward toward the rear, and friction devices were provided to reduce the recoil of the gun. The piece having been fired and having recoiled against the counter hurters, or stops, at the rear of the chassis, it was loaded in this position; small wheels under the top carriage were then thrown in gear, and the piece run "in battery." The barbette carriage was used to permit a gun to fire over a parapet; both chassis and top carriage were built high. The pivot or pintle of the chassis, permitting traverse of the piece, might be either in front, close to the parapet, or in the center. A casemate carriage was necessarily built lower on account of the contracted space for it; since

its gun always fired through an embrasure, its chassis was always of the front-pintle type.

The service of the piece was about the same for all the guns mentioned. The powder was sewn up in a cartridge bag, made preferably of wool, so that it would be entirely consumed in the gun. After each shot the gun was sponged out to extinguish any sparks that might have been left; as an additional precaution against premature discharge, especially when the piece was hot from firing, the vent was closed to exclude air during sponging and loading. The piece being loaded, the cartridge bag was pricked by a wire run through the vent; a friction primer was inserted in the vent and fired by a lanyard.

The maximum elevation obtainable on a casemate carriage was usually about 8° ; on a barbette carriage, 11° . With these elevations and with normal powder charges, the smoothbore guns here described gave ranges of from 2,500 to 3,000 yards. The 10-inch seacoast mortar, with full charge and 45° elevation, gave about 4,000 yards.

APPENDIX 2.—Available armament of Fort Sumter, Apr. 12, 1861.

Location.	10-inch Colum- biad.	8-inch Colum- biad.	8-inch seacoast howitzer.	42- pounder.	32- pounder.	24- pounder.
Barbette tier:						
Right gorge angle.....			1			
Right flank.....	1	4		4		
Right face.....			None.			
Left face.....			3	1	1	
Left flank.....	1	2		1		
Left gorge angle.....						1
Gorge.....					2	5
Second tier casemate. ²						
First tier casemate:						
Right gorge angle.....				1		
Right flank, ready for service.....					2	
Right flank, embrasure closed ³					2	
Right shoulder angle.....				1		
Right face, ready for service.....				1	2	
Right face, embrasure closed ³				1		
Salient.....					1	
Left face, ready for service.....					4	
Left face, embrasure closed ³					5	
Left shoulder angle.....					1	
Left flank, ready for service.....					2	
Left flank, embrasure closed ³					1	
Left gorge angle.....					1	
Gorge.....					2	
Parade, mounted as mortars.....	1	4				
Main gate, covering entrance.....			1			
Esplanade, sweeping front of gorge.....			2			
Total.....	3	10	7	10	26	6=62

¹ The 24-pounder at the extreme left of the gorge, barbette tier, was so arranged by cutting away the parapet that it could be given 18° depression, to sweep the wharf with canister.

² Incomplete; no guns mounted.

³ Closed with temporary brick or stone work, easily removable.

(Official Records, I, 17, 18, 19, 214, 215, 216, 224, 225.)

APPENDIX 3.—*Guns and mortars bearing upon Sumter.*

Range.	Command and battery.	12-pounder rifle.	8-inch Columbiad.	9-inch Dahlgren.	42-pounder.	32-pounder.	24-pounder.	10-inch mortars.
	MORRIS ISLAND.							
Yds.	Cummings Point.....	1			2			3
1,300	Stevens ironclad.....		3					
1,300	Trapier.....							3
1,350								
	JAMES ISLAND.							
2,300	Mortar, lower.....							2
2,300	Mortar, upper.....							2
2,300	Fort Johnson.....						1	
	SULLIVAN'S ISLAND.							
4,000	Mount Pleasant.....							2
2,100	Floating.....				2	2		
2,100	Dahlgren.....			1				
1,900	Mortar No. 1.....							2
1,850	Enfilade.....					2	2	
1,800	Fort Moultrie:							
	Sumter.....		3			2	4	
	Oblique.....						2	
3,300	Mortar No. 2.....							2
	Total.....	1	6	1	4	6	9	16=43

AMMUNITION EXPENDITURE.

Battery.	12-pounder rifle.	8-inch Columbiad.	9-inch Dahlgren.	42-pounder.	32-pounder.	24-pounder.	10-inch mortars.
Cummings Point (Cuthbert report, Apr. 17; Rec. 1:56).....	30			336			197
Stevens ironclad (Cuthbert, supra).....		243					
Trapier (King, report, Rec. 1:57).....							170
Mount Pleasant (Ripley report, Apr. 22, Rec. 1:43; Martin report, Apr. 17, Rec. 1:50).....							81
Floating (Ripley report, supra).....				247	223		
Dahlgren (Ripley, supra).....			61				
Mortar No. 1 (Ripley, supra).....							185
Enfilade (Ripley, supra; Hal- longquist report, Apr. 17, Rec. 1:51; Valentine report, Rec. 1:53).....					300	311	
Moultrie (Ripley, supra).....		254			346	105	
Mortar No. 2 (Ripley, supra).....							88
James Island (no reports; esti- mated).....						50	80
Total.....	30	497	61	583	869	466	801=3,307

APPENDIX 4.—*Citations.*

"Annals of the War." (Philadelphia Times Publishing Co., 1879.)

"Battles and Leaders of the Civil War."

Birkhimer, "Historical Sketch of the Artillery of the United States Army."

Boynton, "History of the Navy during the Rebellion."

Charleston Courier.

Crawford, "Story of Sumter."

Cullom, "Biographical Register of Officers and Graduates, United States Military Academy."

Curtis, "Life of Buchanan."

Dawson, "Story of Fort Sumter," Historical Magazine, 1872.

Doubleday, "Forts Sumter and Moultrie."

Johnson, "Defense of Charleston Harbor."

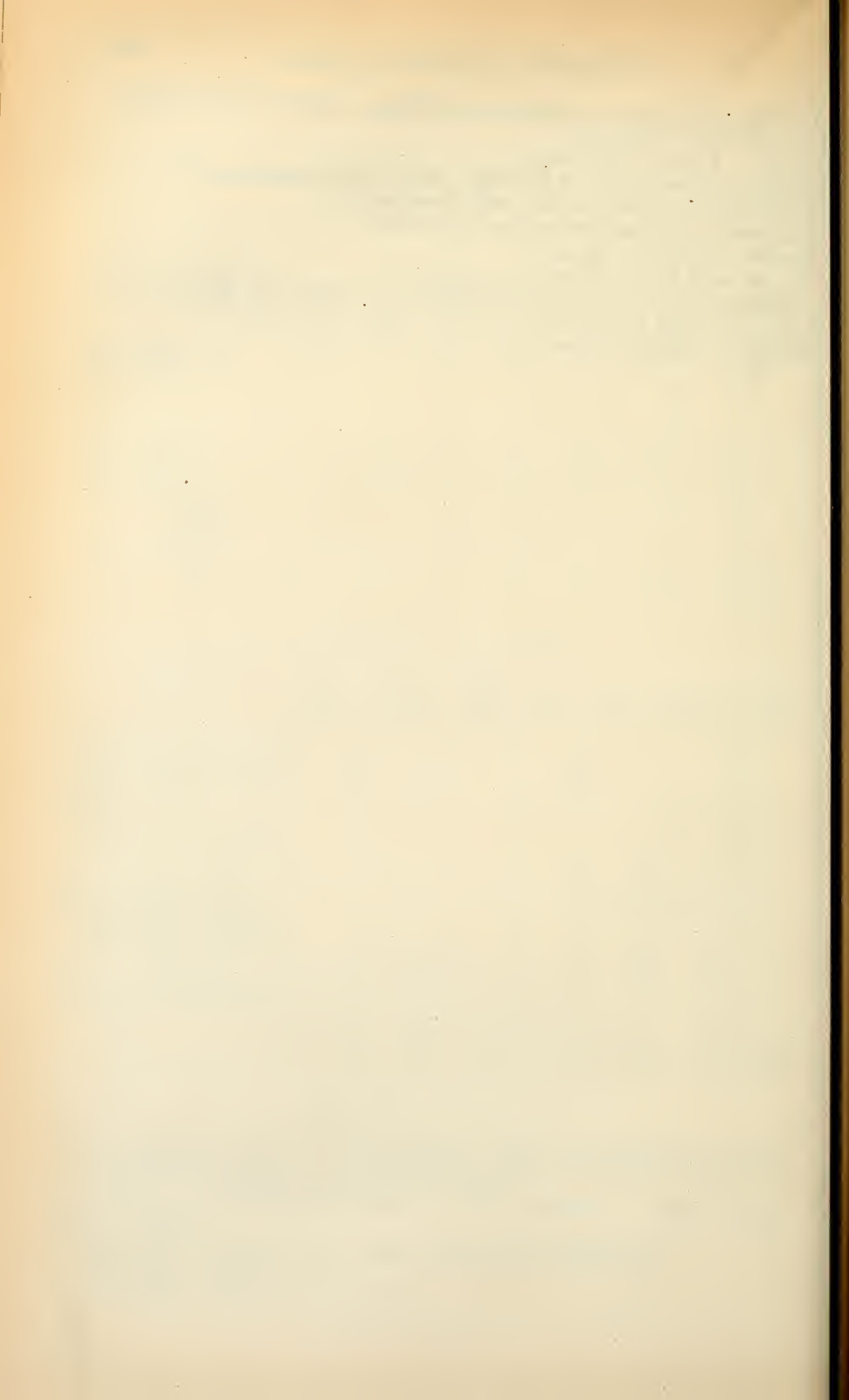
Moore, "Rebellion Record."

Nicolay and Hay, "Abraham Lincoln."

"Official Records, War of the Rebellion" (cited Off. Rec.)

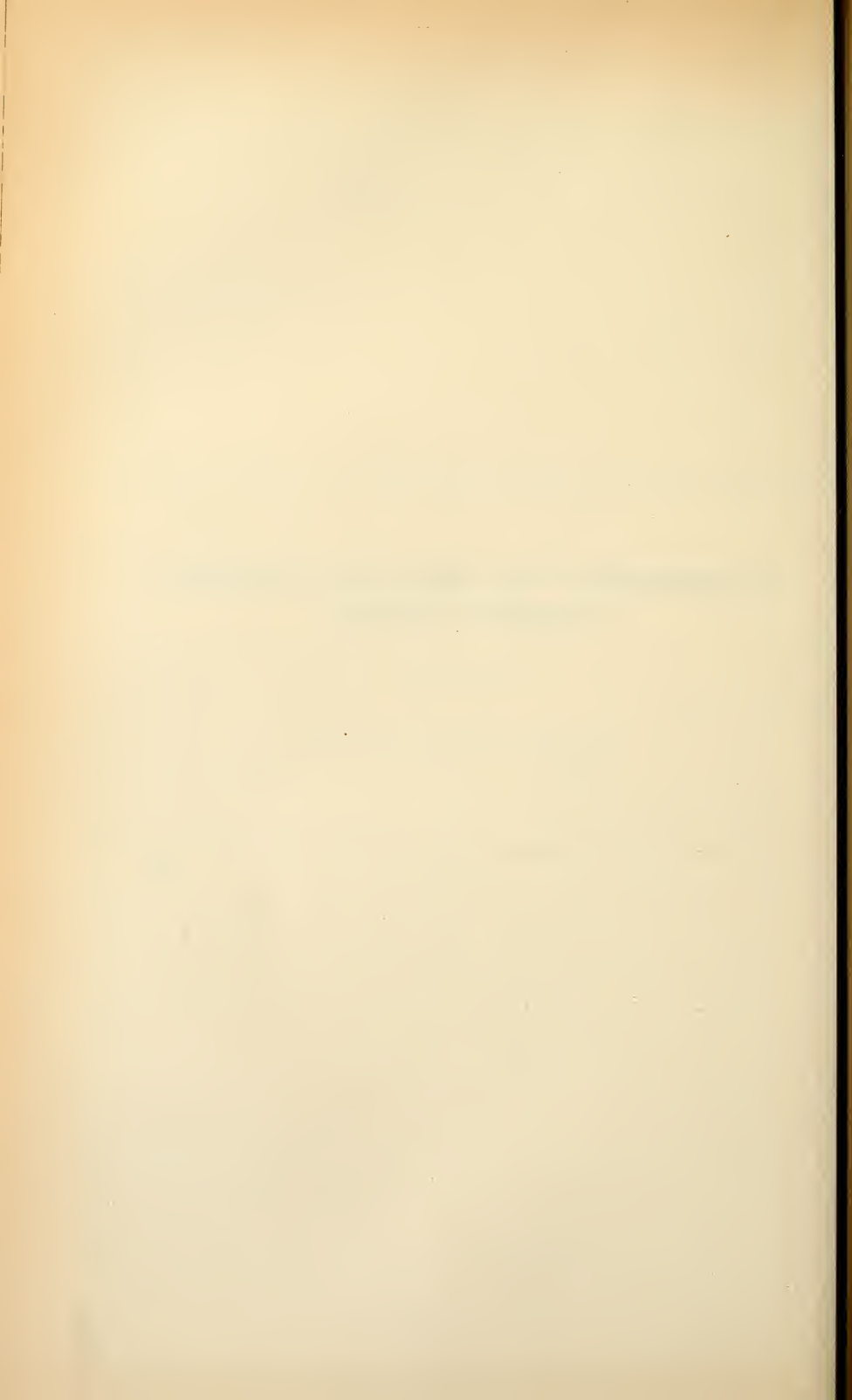
"Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War."

Roman, "Military Operations of Gen. Beauregard."



XII. PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

CHARLESTON, DECEMBER 29, 1913.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The tenth annual conference of historical societies was held in the chapel of the citadel at Charleston on the afternoon of December 29, 1913. It was presided over by Dr. Thomas M. Owen, of the department of archives and history of Alabama, and the attendance during the afternoon reached a total of about 60, including many delegates from historical societies. The secretary of the conference, Dr. Solon J. Buck, presented the following report, which was accepted and ordered to be filed:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

In accordance with the established custom of the conference, a questionnaire was sent out last November to approximately 500 historical societies and agencies of various sorts in the United States and Canada. Replies have been received to date from 90 of these organizations. Although less than one-fifth of those to whom blanks were sent, this is about as large a number as have reported in previous years. In view of the fact, however, that some of the more important societies, and many of the smaller ones, have not replied, it does not seem advisable to attempt any summary of the information contained in the reports at this time. Digests from the reports will be compiled and published in the appendix to the proceedings of this conference.

Instead, then, of attempting to present generalizations as to the activities of historical organizations during the past year, I am going to call attention to some of the more significant developments along various lines.

In running through the reports, the one thing above all others which made an impression upon me was the great increase, recent or prospective, of building equipment devoted to historical purposes. Thus the secretary of the Arkansas Historical Commission reports that the new State capitol, which will be finished during the coming year, will contain permanent quarters for the commission "which can scarcely be improved upon from the standpoint of convenience, containing splendidly equipped rooms for the museums, art gallery, and library." The Historical Society of Southern California, located at Los Angeles, is now housed in one wing of the Museum

Building of History, Science, and Art, a fireproof structure which was opened to the public last month. The State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado expects to occupy a new building, which will be completed some time next summer. In Illinois a commission established by the legislature has made plans for the construction of an educational building which will house adequately the State Historical Library and the State Historical Society. This building will probably be dedicated in connection with the celebration of the centennial of the State in 1918. A memorial building costing \$200,000 has just been completed in Kansas and is now occupied by the Kansas State Historical Society. The Historical Society of Fitchburg, Mass., reports that its new building is now completed. The Missouri Historical Society, of St. Louis, took possession last spring of its quarters in the Jefferson Memorial Building, a fireproof structure costing nearly \$500,000, while the contract will soon be let for a \$200,000 building at Columbia for the joint use of the Missouri State Historical Society and the library of the State University. In Manchester, N. H., a new city library is being erected in which the Manchester Historic Association will have its headquarters. The Gloucester County Historical Society of New Jersey reports that it has purchased during the last year a house in which to preserve its relics. The Historical Commission of North Carolina expects to move into new quarters the first of next year in a "new fireproof building recently erected by the State at a cost of \$250,000." The Rhode Island Historical Society reports the reconstruction and fireproofing of one wing of its building at a cost of \$8,000. The State Historical Society of South Dakota now has quarters in the new State capitol recently erected in Pierre. The magnificent State Historical Society building in Wisconsin has been enlarged by the construction of an additional wing at a cost of \$160,000. There are doubtless other additions to the building equipment of historical agencies which have not as yet been reported to your secretary.

In the matter of the organization of historical activities, there have been a number of changes which are of considerable significance. The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Association has turned over its library and museum to the State, and the legislature has established the Michigan Historical Commission to administer the library and take charge of the general historical activities of the State. A trained secretary has been appointed and we can look forward to an excellent series of "Michigan Historical Collections."

In two States there have developed during recent years organizations in connection with the State universities which are devoting themselves to a survey of State history. The Illinois Survey was established informally about four years ago at the University of Illinois. Under the direction of members of the department of his-

tory interested in western history, and supported by funds from the graduate school, it is attempting to gather materials, prepare bibliographical helps, and make the university a center for the scientific exploitation of the history of the State. The Indiana Historical Survey, with a more formal organization, was established at the University of Indiana two years ago, and is doing similar work for the history of that State. In addition it has taken over the active management and publication of the Indiana Magazine of History, which is now appearing monthly under the editorship of the secretary of the survey. In both of these cases the approaching centennial of the State has been a stimulus to the establishment and development of the work.

Another organization which is perhaps better known to the historical craft is the Academy of Pacific Coast History, organized a number of years ago with headquarters at the University of California. This institution is issuing an excellent series of publications, and reports that it has "a representative permanently engaged in listing documents relating to the Pacific coast in the Archivo de Indias, Sevilla, and in directing the copying of documents." Mention might also be made of the Pennsylvania Historical Club, an organization "composed of members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania who are personally interested in the writing of Pennsylvania history and have actually made some contribution to the literature" of the subject. In Pennsylvania there is also a Federation of Historical Societies, which is doing an excellent work in stimulating and coordinating the activities of the local organizations. The only other significant change in organization noted is that of the Kansas City Historical Society, which has broadened its field and has changed its name to the Missouri Valley Historical Society.

Of new enterprises undertaken by historical organizations, the projected publication of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, under the auspices of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, is one of the most important.

Your secretary feels some doubt as to whether it is within his province to make suggestions as to lines of activity which might be pursued by this conference, but he takes the liberty to present one or two ideas which have occurred to him or have been suggested by others interested in the activities of historical agencies. A large number of the societies composing this conference maintain historical museums of some sort. Too often these are mere jumbles of curiosities without logical arrangement or scientific purpose. It has been suggested that this conference or those members of it who are interested might further the true purposes of historical museums

by getting in touch with the recently established and very active American Association of Museums.

In the bibliographical and research work which I have attempted to do during the last few years, and especially in revising the mailing list of this conference, I have been more and more convinced that there is a real need for a comprehensive and up-to-date statement of the organization and activities of all historical agencies in the country. The digests presented in the annual reports of the conference have always been very incomplete, and there is no convenient means of finding out just what is the status of historical work in any State or local community, or just what has been published by organizations during recent years. The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1905 contained a report of a committee composed of the late Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, Prof. B. F. Shambaugh, and Prof. F. L. Riley on "Methods of organization and work on the part of State and local historical societies." This was an excellent report at the time when it was prepared, but it is now very much out of date. The same report of the American Historical Association contained a bibliography of American historical societies, prepared by Mr. A. P. C. Griffin, which is one of the most useful of the publications of the association. Your secretary believes that the time has come when steps should be taken for the preparation of a volume setting forth the organization and activities of all historical societies, State historical commissions, departments of archives and history, State historians, archival offices, historical libraries, and State libraries so far as they have functions pertaining to history. The volume should contain also a digest of legislation in all the States relating to archives and historical activities, and finally a bibliography of the publications issued by all these agencies during the decade which will soon have elapsed since the preparation of the bibliography in the 1905 report.

The following resolutions, presented by Prof. C. W. Alvord, were unanimously adopted:

Resolved by the Conference of Historical Societies of the American Historical Association, That we respectfully request the council of the American Historical Association to take the necessary steps for the preparation of a comprehensive survey of the organization and activities of historical agencies in the United States and Canada.

Resolved, further, That in our opinion this survey should contain a digest of the legislation in the different States relating to archives and historical activities, a brief account of the organization of all historical societies, State historical commissions, departments of archives and history, State historians, archival offices, historical libraries, and State libraries, so far as they have functions pertaining to history; and a bibliography of the publications issued by these agencies since the preparation of the Bibliography of American Historical Societies, contained in Volume II of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1905.

The report of the committee on cooperation of historical societies and departments was read by the chairman of the committee, Dr. Dunbar Rowland.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION OF HISTORICAL DEPARTMENTS
AND SOCIETIES.

To the Conference of Historical Societies of the American Historical Association:

The committee of seven on cooperation of historical departments and societies submits the following report of progress:

It gives the committee great pleasure to report that the very important work in which it has been engaged since 1907 is nearing a most satisfactory conclusion. It may be stated without boasting that the calendar of papers in the French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley, which is the result of the pioneer cooperative historical movement in the United States is a work of the first magnitude. It is entirely safe to state that the publication of the calendar will open up for the first time the essential materials for the early history of the great Mississippi Valley.

When the last report of the committee was submitted to the Boston meeting of the association the funds at our disposal were very limited, but pledges of further subscriptions from original contributors, made at that meeting, enabled us to proceed with the work without interruption. Additional subscriptions have been made since that time, and it is now our opinion that ample funds have been paid in for the completion of the undertaking.

The report of Mr. W. G. Leland, the representative of the committee in Paris, on the work of 1913, the account of the treasurer of the fund, and Mr. Leland's account are annexed to this report.

Very respectfully submitted.

DUNBAR ROWLAND, *Chairman.*

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

J. F. JAMESON.

THOMAS M. OWEN.

B. F. SHAMBAUGH.

REPORT OF WORK IN 1913 ON THE CATALOGUE OF DOCUMENTS IN
FRENCH ARCHIVES RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

As a result of the securing of additional funds the work in Paris has made good progress during the past year. Two assistants have been constantly employed, dividing their time between the work on the catalogue and the work for the Carnegie Institution. In October a third assistant was engaged. I returned to Paris in May

and have thus been able to give the work constant personal attention. A year ago I reported that about 5,000 volumes or boxes of material had been examined and about 15,000 documents catalogued. During the year about 1,000 additional volumes have been dealt with, and about 6,000 documents have been added to the catalogue. I estimate that the completed catalogue will contain in the vicinity of 25,000 entries.

The work of the past year has been principally in the Colonial Archives, the Archives of the Marine, the National Archives, properly speaking, the Foreign Office, and the minor libraries, viz, Mazarine, Ste. Geneviève, Arsenal, Chamber of Deputies, and the Library of the Sixteenth Arrondissement.

The most important materials dealt with have been as follows:

In the National Archives, in series V⁷, have been found a great number of lists of passengers for Louisiana, of inventories of cargoes of ships, of bills for supplies furnished the colony, and of concessions of land.

In the series K (Monuments historiques) we have found a considerable number of important documents relating to early explorations; of especial note is the refinding of the account of conversations with La Salle in Paris, by an unknown writer. This document was copied by Margry and by Sparks, but was then lost sight of, and Margry was unable to locate it when he printed his copy in his collection.

In the foreign office we have listed all the material relating to Texas—about 1,500 documents. This is mostly contained in the series labeled Texas and Mexico and is of the period 1820–1847. The documents are important as supplementing the recently published “Texan Diplomatic Correspondence.”

In the library of the Arsenal, especially in the collection of Archives of the Bastille, have been found several hundred documents relating to the shipment of prisoners to Louisiana, and to the conduct of Kerlérec and other officials of the colony.

The catalogue has now reached a point when it is possible to form some estimate of its value. It does not seem an exaggeration to say that it will make possible, for the first time, the thorough study of the French régime in the heart of North America.

Among the different classes of material of which we shall have as nearly complete lists as possible may be mentioned, by way of illustration, the following:

Accounts of explorations and travels in the region covered.

Royal acts, including commissions and instructions (from the King or from the minister), addressed to officials in the colonies or to naval officers on ships bound for Louisiana.

Dispatches and reports from officials in Louisiana and at Detroit and other posts.

Correspondence between officials in the colonies.

The acts of the superior council in Louisiana. (It should be noted here that the original registers of the council seem to have been lost in the wreck of the ship on which, presumably, they were being brought to France. Fortunately the governors and intendants frequently sent extracts from these registers in their dispatches, and it seems likely that we shall be able to reconstruct a considerable portion of this most important source.)

Notarial records, concessions of land, censuses, lists of passengers, etc.

Lists of soldiers.

The records of the Company of the Indies when it was the proprietor of Louisiana.

Financial records, especially the annual budgets.

Miscellaneous documents, in great number, relating to Indians, trade, agriculture, commerce, etc.

Diplomatic correspondence relating to the Seven Years' War, to the boundaries of Louisiana in 1763, the various cessions of the colony, the westward advance of the United States, and the affairs of Texas, etc.

Maps, drawings, pictures, paper money, coins, etc.

The research should be completed during the summer or autumn of 1914. The work of editing and preparation for the press of such a formidable mass of material can hardly be accomplished before the end of 1915 unless additional funds can be secured to employ an assistant for that purpose. I am quite ready to do all the work of editing myself and should expect in any case to do a large share of it, but the publication of the catalogue would be materially hastened if some provision could be made for editorial assistance.

Respectfully submitted.

W. G. LELAND.

PARIS, *December 5, 1913.*

Account of J. F. Jameson as treasurer of the fund for calendaring documents in the French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley.

RECEIPTS.

Alabama Department of Archives and History:

1911----- \$200. 00

1913----- 100. 00

Chicago Historical Society, 1911----- 100. 00

Illinois State Historical Library:

1911----- 200. 00

1913----- 200. 00

Indiana State Historical Society, 1909----- 200. 00

State Historical Society of Iowa, 1911----- 200. 00

Kansas State Historical Society, 1911-----	\$100. 00
Michigan State Historical Commission, 1913-----	200. 00
Mississippi Department of Archives and History:	
1909-----	250. 00
1913-----	100. 00
Missouri Historical Society:	
1910-----	200. 00
1913-----	100. 00
State Historical Society of Missouri, 1910-----	150. 00
Wisconsin State Historical Society:	
1909-----	200. 00
1913-----	200. 00
Clarence M. Burton-----	50. 00
	<hr/>
	2, 750. 00
Interest -----	13. 07
	<hr/>
Total-----	2, 763. 07

DISBURSEMENTS.

Paid directly to various persons in Paris in earlier months, and previously reported upon-----	\$221. 12
Turned over to W. G. Leland (see his account, attached hereto)-----	2, 291. 95
Balance on hand Dec. 15, 1913-----	250. 00
	<hr/>
Total-----	2, 763. 07

DECEMBER 20, 1913.

W. G. Leland in account with J. F. Jameson, treasurer, Apr. 1, 1910, to Dec. 3, 1913.

RECEIPTS.

	Cash.	Francs.
1910. April 25-----	\$200. 00	1, 031. 30
November 8-----	200. 00	1, 036. 35
1911. January 14-----	225. 00	1, 168. 35
January 31-----	150. 00	780. 00
February 28-----	80. 00	414. 38
March 27-----	80. 00	414. 35
April -----	80. 00	415. 85
May -----	80. 00	414. 55
June -----	80. 00	416. 50
July -----	80. 00	414. 40
August -----	80. 00	414. 35
September -----	80. 00	414. 15
October -----	80. 00	413. 50
1912. January -----	75. 00	388. 20
April -----	21. 95	114. 00
[End of first fund; total received, \$1,581.95.]		
1913 [2d fund]:		
February -----	100. 00	515. 80
March -----	50. 00	258. 95
April -----	50. 00	258. 95
May -----	50. 00	258. 95

1913 [2d fund]—Continued.

	Cash.	Francs.
June -----	\$100.00	518.00
July -----	50.00	258.50
August -----	50.00	258.50
September -----	50.00	257.10
October 11 -----	50.00	259.10
November 10 -----	50.00	260.40
November 10 -----	50.00	259.15
December 3 -----	50.00	260.65
Total to Dec. 3, 1913 -----	2, 291.95	11, 874.48

[Amount sent on second fund, \$700.]

DISBURSEMENTS.

Services of assistants, research, and cataloguing:	Francs.	
J. Bossard, May 1-Dec. 31, 1910 -----	1, 180.00	
A. Doysié, Oct. 1, 1910-Nov. 30, 1913 -----	4, 482.55	
L. Vila, Dec. 1, 1910-Nov. 30, 1913 -----	3, 120.00	
J. Wielhorski, Jan. 1, 1911-May 31, 1911 -----	710.00	
A. Monthoux, Jan. 1-Sept. 30, 1911 -----	435.00	
M. Mairesse, Oct., 1911-May, 1912; Sept., 1913 -----	833.50	
		10, 761.05
Paid O. Wirth for MS. Catalogue of Colonial Archives, series C ¹³ -----	250.00	
Photographs of maps for reference -----	33.75	
Customary fees to attendants in archives -----	59.00	
Postage and supplies -----	80.30	
Car fares of assistants -----	15.85	
		438.90
Balance, cash on hand [\$130.35 ca.] -----		674.48
Total -----		11, 874.48

After some discussion, in the course of which it was brought out that no arrangement had been made as yet for the publication of the calendar, the report was accepted.

The first part of the program, which was then taken up, consisted of a symposium on Historical Work in the Lower South. Prof. Yates Snowden, of the University of South Carolina, dealt with Historical Societies; and the Historical Commissions and Departments were described by Dr. Dunbar Rowland, of the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi. The discussion which followed was participated in by Mr. R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission; Prof. M. L. Bonham, jr., of Louisiana State University; Mr. A. R. Lawton, president of the Georgia Historical Society; Mr. George S. Godard, State librarian of Connecticut; and Mr. F. A. Sampson, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Each of the speakers dealt in the main with the organization, activities, and prospects of the historical agencies of his own State.

The discussion was closed by the chairman, Dr. Owen, who stated that he regarded the present status of historical activities in the Lower South as reasonably satisfactory, with the exception of two or three States, particularly in the matter of State support. While the work in the past had been devoted to the care and custody of archives, State and local, including restoration, cataloguing, and exploitation, as well as the collection of general historical materials, he felt that the task of State-supported agencies was not yet complete, and that the full measure of their duty would not be met until they had undertaken and successfully carried forward plans for better record-keeping. Until State departments of archives and history and State history commissions, or other agencies receiving State support, enlarged their duties and powers, by securing legislative authorization, whereby they could compel better attention to the keeping of current records, the use of standard papers, inks, ink pads, typewriter ribbons, and carbon paper, and also the power to require custodians of records to insure their safety by the use of safes and fireproof vaults, they would fail both in their duty and in their opportunity. Speaking for himself as director of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Dr. Owen declared his purpose to secure the passage of a law by the legislature of his State, similar to the Massachusetts law, the pioneer of all such statutes on the subject, and that following its enactment he expected to bring about a thorough standardization and uniformity in record keeping throughout Alabama, in State, county, town, and institutional offices.

The second part of the program, devoted to the publishing activities of historical agencies, was opened by a paper by Prof. Clarence W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, the full text of which is here given.

PLANNING THE PUBLICATION WORK OF HISTORICAL AGENCIES.

By CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD.

Ever since this conference of historical societies was instituted by the American Historical Association papers have been presented before it on various phases of publication activities, so that the literature on the subject is already large and of considerable importance. Where so many learned men have spoken so wisely it is difficult, if not impossible, to discover a new angle from which to view the question to be discussed; but it is, nevertheless, essential to delimit the topic so that it may be clearly defined for those who are to follow. Former speakers at this conference have been interested generally in stating what was the actual status of the work of historical societies and have based their suggestions for improvement upon existing conditions. Without doubt this procedure is logically and psychologically correct, for progress is made slowly by moving from present conditions toward a future betterment.

To-day, however, let us attempt to visualize the end toward which the movement is directed. In other words, let the discussion be limited to the ideal publications. The advantage of this viewpoint lies in the change of emphasis from the *is* to the *should be*. The present achievement when compared with the ideal is frequently a disappointment and tends to arouse a real pessimism in the minds of some as to the possibility of reaching the higher plane. On the other hand, a strong emphasis on *what should be*, if it is accompanied by an emphatic condemnation of *what is*, may pull us out of our self-satisfaction and awaken energy in the slothful and shame in the ignorant. This sounds like the beginning of a sermon, and, had I the power of the revivalist, I might be tempted to employ my time in delivering one on my text; but my own limitations and the character of this body preclude a course that at times I feel would be justified, in order to arouse the slumbering conscience of many of the historical agencies of this country.

Pessimism is almost inevitable to one who examines the publications of our historical bodies; for about 50 per cent of their output is almost worthless and a very large proportion of the remaining 50 per cent should be greatly improved. These figures are not based on statistics and only represent an impression obtained from a rather

intimate knowledge of certain classes of publication. If those who have been chosen to discuss this paper prefer a lower or higher percentage, I shall not dispute with them, for the point I wish to emphasize is indisputable, namely, that a relatively large percentage of our present publications are not worth the effort put forward to produce them.

This paper will discuss the ideal and not the present-day status; but I am not blind to the actual conditions existing in our societies. There will always be ambitious but untrained members desirous of seeing their uncritical productions in print; and undoubtedly this is a condition which we shall not overcome. There must, therefore, always be some quarterly or annual publication the sole purpose of which is to furnish this gratification; but such publications do not enter into our consideration to-day. They may be left to take care of themselves; but no society or historical department should be satisfied with them alone. The personal recollections of the burning of the First Congregational Church, of a corn-husking bee of olden times, or the account of some equally exciting topic almost lost in the usual accompaniment of a flowery sketch of the history of the United States, may be tolerated at the annual meeting and be published in the annual transactions; but the society that rests after the momentous labor of giving birth to such mental children is moribund; and when the *Nunc Dimittis* is sung over it, there will be no cause for tears.

Having in this cavalier fashion thrown into the dump heap some 50 per cent of the printed matter of our historical organizations, as not worth our consideration to-day, we may turn to the real publishing activities of the historical societies and institutions; and these are limited to the publication of the sources of information within the field of each and the scientific interpretation of the same. For this purpose the publishing work should be so organized that successive volumes of high-grade work conforming to the canons of historical criticism may be put forth through a number of years; in fact a plan may be devised to-day that will meet the exigencies of all future time. There is no excuse for the appearance of a fortuitous volume from the press of any institution. The appearance of each volume should be the result of a plan carefully matured, a plan that will provide for publishing, in the course of time, all sources of information that are discoverable.

This rule, when stated, seems almost self-evident; yet some of the very best historical societies are not following it, and therefore it will be worth while to consider it more in detail. We shall take up, first, the publication of the sources. The plan for this should be comprehensive in scope and capable of indefinite expansion. In order to have that elasticity in all directions that is needed for a

growing body of collections, there seems to be no better method than the breaking up of the whole period of history that constitutes the field of investigation into definitely limited epochs and phases of development, to each of which a series of the historical collections should be devoted. For the colonial or territorial periods the sources are generally scanty, present few problems of arrangement, and may all be published in series, corresponding to the usual chronological epochs. After statehood is entered upon, the documentary material increases rapidly in bulk, and it will be found necessary to devise some scheme, as logical as possible, of breaking it up into topical series parallel as to time. Into a political series may be gathered all those letters and documents that illustrate the struggle of parties and allied topics. Closely connected with this would be another devoted to the statistics of politics and population, illustrated by maps based on the carefully compiled figures. For papers emanating from the offices of the chief executive and the judiciary there may be reserved special series. Many other series of prime importance will suggest themselves, such as the educational, ecclesiastical, and the most important economic series. Bibliography is the handmaiden of our science and should be provided for by a separate series which will grow rapidly as the work progresses.

As each series is supposed to be sufficiently expansive to include every discoverable document within its limits, so the subject matter of each volume in the series should be so conceived that the historical student will not be obliged to supplement it with difficult searchings in archives or other printed works. This exception should be noted, that, at times, it may seem better to calendar rather than to reprint documents already easily accessible in well-known publications. In order to attain the ideal, the editor must not rest content until the last bit of information that should be included is discovered, even if the search has to be world-wide in scope. Thoroughness must be the first characteristic of each volume, and this thoroughness must be supplemented by the most scholarly editorial apparatus in notes and indexes.

The advantages of such a comprehensive plan are obvious. The first one that appeals to me is that the volumes to be published will grow continuously and almost without effort, as new material comes to the office, for every document that is found will fall naturally into one of the proposed series, and in the course of time there will be the manuscripts of several volumes always ready for the press.

Another advantage is that the method banishes the fortuitous volume, which is so frequently printed because the material happens to be at hand, and for no other reason. How frequently such volumes, that have no relation to the other work of the organization, appear, need not be enlarged on. Most frequently they are published with-

out any adequate survey of the field to find supplementary material; in fact the general rule is that the contents of such volumes are made up from the documents found in one depository. The Illinois State Historical Library narrowly escaped what might have been a catastrophe, because of the desire to publish the first thing that was publishable. My first work for that institution was a trip to the southern part of the State to search for something to be printed. At that time I found the Cahokia Records, which I began immediately to prepare for the press. Now the village of Cahokia was not the real center of events in Illinois during the revolutionary era; and the few very significant documents found in those records would have presented almost insuperable difficulties in their interpretation had they not been very materially supplemented. Yet I nearly rushed into print with this ready-to-hand material. Fortunately, however, a second trip into the same region resulted in the discovery of the Kaskaskia Records and the Menard Collection, from which it was possible to write such a history of the period that the rather humdrum Cahokia Records were placed in their proper setting and assumed their proper significance.

More tantalizing than the fortuitous volumes are those that contain a miscellaneous selection of documents representing all periods and phases of history. Such publications are almost inexcusable, but have been so general that the student is obliged to look through innumerable volumes on the chance that he may light on something bearing on his subject. There is scarcely an historical institution in the country that has not been guilty of thus adding to the labor of historians. A comprehensive plan of publication makes such an illogical arrangement of material unnecessary, for there will always be sufficient documents of like kind to fill the pages of any contemplated volume.

The next advantage, and it is the principal one, is closely allied to this. Provided the policy here outlined is universally adopted, there will, in time, be gathered into well-known and well-organized collections all groups of documents bearing on our history that are now found scattered through multitudinous publications, sometimes in the most unexpected places. The evil of scattering documents in this way is very real. At times, when in a particularly lazy mood, I feel that it would be better not to have documents printed at all than to have a few important ones, selected from a big collection, appear in a periodical, even when the periodical is so well known as the *American Historical Review*. Two evils may result from this practice: First, the documents may escape the notice of the investigator; and secondly, the investigator may rest satisfied with the half-told story of the printed pages and not search in the archives for all the explanation. This last fault is altogether too frequently committed

by our historians, who have not learned that fundamental principle of our science which lays on them the duty of finding every scrap of information.

We now come to the other phase of the publishing work. Besides the publication of sources there is the duty of their interpretation, and this seems to me a legitimate function of the historical agencies, although there is much to be said against the societies' and departments' undertaking such work on a large scale. Certainly the best method of providing for the publication of such investigations is a subject of debate. From what has already been said it is understood that these studies, here discussed, are not to be identified with those so-called popular papers to which reference was made in the introductory part of this discussion.

That an historical essay may be published as an introduction to the printed sources is hardly open to dispute. After an editor has prepared documents for the press he is in a position to interpret them, and should be afforded the opportunity to tell what information they contain. Should a local society or a State department of history do more than this? Should the attempt be made to fill the pages of a periodical, quarterly, or annual with learned contributions? The answer does not appear to me quite so evident as in the case of the introduction, in spite of the fact that a few such periodicals have been maintained with some success. The difficulties in the way of such an undertaking seem to be stupendous. The number of well-trained contributors must be few, on account of the confined limits of the field of investigation, and historical composition is much more difficult than editorial work, so that few local organizations are in a position to undertake the task of filling periodically many pages with scientific productions. There will arise inevitably, therefore, the necessity of accepting for publication work of a poorer quality. Although local conditions may warrant a bolder course, it seems to me that it would be better policy to follow the example of the universities and maintain a series of bulletins which may be published at irregular intervals, whenever a suitable monograph is presented.

Such work as has been outlined presupposes a well-trained man in charge of the publishing activities; and in discussing the topic, the personality behind the publication can not be left out of account. Here in America we do not have a highly educated leisure class, a sufficient number of whose members follow history as a fad and by constant practice are able to compete with the professional. It is essential, therefore, that every society or institution which would perform its work worthily should engage the services of a well-trained man. Those societies which still believe that every gray beard is an historian—and in my section of the country such is the popular

belief—may never hope to gain any recognition from the historical fraternity nor to perform a work that is worthy to be classed as history.

But one man can not do all the work of publication that is essential for historical institutions. Assistance must be had and two methods of organizing his assistants lie open to him. He may surround himself with an editorial staff of subordinates, as has been done in several of our societies, most efficiently perhaps by the late Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, but retain for himself the responsibility for every volume; or else he may look upon his position as that of a general editor, placing upon others the responsibility for the contents of some of the volumes. These special editors may belong to the office force or they may be independent investigators attracted to the work by the resources for research offered by the institution. In such cases the general editor will give full credit to his helpers as well as seeing that ample funds for collecting manuscripts and performing their editorial duties are placed at their disposal. This latter method has been employed successfully both in Iowa and in Illinois. In this connection it may be pointed out that those institutions are most fortunate that are closely connected with a graduate school, some of whose students unite their efforts with those of the editorial staff in the search for new material and in solving the many vexed problems of interpretation. In such cases the editorial rooms and the historical seminar become almost identical, with resulting good to both.

There remains a last thought that I wish to leave with you for discussion. It is my belief that the highest standards of scholarship may and ought to be maintained in the scientific publications of our institutions. This statement sounds like an axiom. Yet the majority of historical agencies practice just the opposite, and there are many who are ready to justify such practice. They argue that, since our institutions are supported generally by State appropriations or popular subscriptions, the publications should be popular. Thus far their argument sounds innocent and acceptable. It is only when pressed for their interpretation of popularity, that a reason for disagreement arises; for they seem to find an irreconcilable antithesis between scientific and popular productions. In their thought the product of the scientific mind has been, is, and always will be dry-as-dustness; while the untrained writer of history alone can catch the fancy of the fickle populace. Such an antithesis as this does not, of course, exist, in spite of a widely spread belief in its reality. Dry-as-dustness is not a necessary, although it is a frequent, characteristic of scientifically written histories, nor is popularity necessarily dependent on unscientific treatment. The readers of the publications of our historical institutions desire truth established by scientific research, and this they should receive, first of all; but there is no canon of historical

science that forbids the use of intelligible and readable language; and we historians will never permit the writers of poor English to lay the blame for their ill success with the pen upon our science. Is there need of discussing the opposite? Is it not absurd to claim that popularity is dependent on an unscientific treatment? To me such a claim sounds like an excuse for slipshod methods of work. The most popular American historian was at the same time the most scientific in his method. He never sacrificed truth for the sake of popularity. Few of us will ever acquire a style the equal of Francis Parkman's, but we can all take as a model both the clarity and the fluency of his English and also the perfection of his historical workmanship.

The discussion of Mr. Alvord's paper was opened by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society. While the systematic plan set forth in the paper might be applicable to such States as stand at the beginning of documentary publication, it would not work well, he said, in the older States, where much has already been published, much comes to light from time to time, much can never be completed. In these States publications can not always be made systematic, and there is a distinct field for miscellaneous volumes and those of fortuitous construction.

Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, in continuing the discussion, said he was gratified to find that Mr. Alvord had set a high ideal and agreed generally with the ideas propounded by the paper. "If our ideals are high," he said, "then our results will be commensurately better than if our standards were more commonplace." He said good work depended upon three things—ideals, money, and the man; therefore every historical society should have at its head a man who would be a guiding star to direct its publication activities properly. Supporters of State and local societies will continue to exploit themselves with mediocre papers and addresses, and circumstances will require these to be printed; but they should be segregated in transactions, proceedings, collected papers, or the magazine published by the society. He said the thing that expressed best the serviceableness of a historical society was publication by it of documentary materials edited in correct form. He opposed the never-ending series of "collections," in black or green or other monotone garb, all looking alike, with no regard for the entities, as shown in the collections of such institutions as the Maine, Massachusetts, and New York historical societies. He urged that the title of "collections" should be subordinated; that the society acted merely as a publishing agency, and that the thing that counted and made classification possible in libraries was the issuance of individual volumes or sets as separate works, just as is done by a regular publisher. He said that such volumes or

sets as the "Winthrop Papers," "Pepperell Papers," Sewall's "Diary," and Cotton Mather's "Diary," issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society; the "Baxter Papers," Willis's "History of Portland," and Kohl's "Discovery of Maine," issued by the Maine Historical Society; the "Lee Papers," "Deane Papers," "Colden Letter Books," and "Abstracts of New York Wills," issued by the New York Historical Society, should be published by them with respect for their entity as separate volumes or sets and in a distinctive binding in each case. The name of the society could appear as publisher in the imprint of the title-page and the serial number of the volume's place in "collections" could appear on the verso of the title-page, if desired at all. Libraries could then distribute these works on the shelves in the proper classification. It is the subject matter that deserves first place; the society is merely the medium for conveying the subject matter through the press to the student or user. He said that the plan that now obtains among virtually all historical societies, of publishing in juxtaposition all kinds of unrelated volumes under the common designation of "collections," is a sterilized method derived from the ancient and honorable historical societies which sprang into existence more than a century ago, and that the sins of the fathers of our historical societies had been visited upon the third and fourth generations—which was enough. It is high time now, he said, to break away from stereotyped traditions.

The conference then adjourned.

APPENDIX.

REPORTS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1913.¹

ARIZONA.

Arizona Pioneers Historical Society (Tucson).—President, E. N. Fish; secretary, John E. McGee. Refuses to make reports, except when called for by the State.

ARKANSAS.

Arkansas History Commission (Little Rock).—Secretary, Dallas F. Herndon. Funds: \$10,000 appropriated by last legislature. Will have rooms in the new capitol building to be finished in 1914. Published four bulletins listing materials acquired during the year. Collections: Nearly all the writings of Arkansans; official reports of the State. Acquired: Three notable collections of papers of public men covering the first 50 years of Territorial and State history; a considerable collection of aboriginal remains. The members of the commission are appointed by the governor, except the chief justice and the presidents of the State university and the State normal school, who are members ex officio. The secretary, elected by the commission, is the executive officer.

CALIFORNIA.

Academy of Pacific Coast History (Berkeley).—Secretary, H. Morse Stephens; curator, Frederick J. Teggart. Funds: Income of \$10,000. Publications: Volume III: 1. The Anza Expedition of 1775-1776; Diary of Pedro Font, edited by Frederick J. Teggart; 2. The Colorado River Campaign, 1781-1782; Diary of Pedro Fages, edited by Herbert Ingram Priestley; 3. Diary of Nelson Kingsley, 1849-1851, edited by Frederick J. Teggart. Collections: Books, 60,000; MSS., 150,000. Has a representative permanently engaged in listing documents relating to the Pacific coast in the Archivo de Indias, Seville, and in directing the copying of documents. The collection is being catalogued for publication.

Historical Society of Southern California (Los Angeles).—President, Dr. George F. Bovard; secretary, J. M. Guinn. Membership, 75; increase, 5. Income composed of entrance fees and dues. Has one wing of the Museum Building of History, Science, and Art, a fireproof building opened November 7, 1913. Publications: Annuals of 1912 and 1913, Volume IX, parts 1, 2. Collections: Books, 6,000; increase, 140; MSS., 200; increase, 25. Recent

¹ In accordance with the usual custom, requests were sent to about 500 historical societies in the United States and Canada to furnish information designed to show the present status, activities, and progress of each during the year, under the general heads of membership, funds, equipment, collections, new enterprises, organization, and relations with State, county, or town. The returns made by the 91 societies responding to the request are here summarized, together with information about a few societies which came to the secretary's hands in other ways.

acquisitions: MS. history of the hunters and trappers of California, by Col. J. J. Warner; photograph of a letter of Father Junipero Serra written in 1774. Museum objects: 2,000; increase, 500. The society celebrated its thirtieth anniversary November 1.

COLORADO.

State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado (Denver).—President, Edward B. Morgan; secretary, Charles R. Dudley. Membership, 100; increase, 3. The State is constructing a fine building for the society, to be completed in the summer of 1914.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Columbia Historical Society (Washington).—President, James Dudley Morgan; secretary, Mrs. Mary Stevens Beall. Membership, 222; increase, 10. Income from dues and the sale of publications. Has published Records, Volume XVI.

ILLINOIS.

Carlton Club (Chicago).—Secretary, Thomas W. Swan. Is publishing *Ponteach, or The Savages of America*, a tragedy by Robert Rogers.

Chicago Historical Society (Chicago).—President, Clarence A. Burley; secretary, Seymour Morris; librarian, Caroline M. McIlvaine. Membership: 242 paying members; 113 corresponding members; increase, 23. Has published Annual Report. *Masters of the Wilderness*, by Charles B. Reed; *Fort Dearborn Papers*, Volume 1, is in press. Recent acquisitions: Mason Brayman Papers relating to the Civil War and the Illinois Central Railroad; Volk's life mask of the face and hands of Lincoln, bust of Lincoln, and statuette of Douglas. Has lectures for children on Saturdays and important anniversaries.

Woodford County Illinois Historical Society (Eureka).—President, L. J. Freese; secretary, Miss Amanda L. Jennings. Membership, 62; increase, 22. Funds: \$100 appropriated by the county board. Collections: Books, 100; increase, 26; MSS., 20; increase, 4; museum objects, 20; increase, 4. The society is marking the graves of soldiers of the Revolution and the War of 1812, sites of extinct towns, and the site of the Lincoln and Douglas speeches at Metamora in 1858.

Swedish Historical Society of America (Evanston).—President, David Nyvall; secretary and librarian, C. G. Wallenius. Has published Yearbook. The society is raising a building fund by popular subscription.

Illinois State Historical Library (Springfield).—Chairman of trustees, Evarts B. Greene; librarian, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber; editor of Collections, Clarence W. Alvord. Published *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1778-1781*, edited by J. A. James (Collections, Volume VIII). Collections: Books, 35,000; MSS., 2,500.

Illinois State Historical Society (Springfield).—President, Otto L. Schmidt; secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber. Membership, 1,400. Funds: Membership dues and \$2,500 annually from the State; increase, \$500. Publications: Transactions; and Journal, a quarterly magazine. The society is by law a department of the Illinois State Historical Library.

Whiteside County Historical Society (Sterling).—President, L. C. Thorne; secretary, W. W. Davis. Membership, 50. Collections: Books, 500; museum objects, 600.

Illinois Survey (Urbana).—Director, C. W. Alvord. Supported by funds from the graduate school of the University of Illinois. Has three rooms in Lincoln Hall. Its collections are part of the university library. Notable acquisitions: Transcripts of Eddy, Flagg, and Fell MSS.; Lewis MSS. relating mainly to land operations in Ohio; J. B. Turner MSS. The survey is gathering material and working toward the preparation of a centennial history of the State. It cooperates with the Illinois State Historical Library and the Illinois Centennial Commission.

INDIANA.

Indiana Historical Survey (Bloomington).—President, James Albert Woodburn; secretary, Logan Esarey. Supported by Indiana University, of which it is a part. Publications: *State Banking in Indiana, 1814 to 1873*; *Internal Improvements in Indiana, 1816 to 1852*; and *Indiana Magazine of History*, a quarterly. Collections: Books, 2,000; increase, 1,000; acquired libraries of ex-Gov. William Hendricks and Dr. Theophilus Wylie, and the Joseph Gilbert Collection. All collections belong to the library of the university. The survey is preparing a *History of the Press of Indiana from 1804 to date*; and a *Documentary History of Elections in Indiana from 1800 to 1860*.

Monroe County Historical Society (Bloomington).—President, Dr. Logan Esarey; secretary, Dr. Ernest V. Shockley. Membership 27; increase, 4. Small income from membership fees.

Indiana Historical Society (Indianapolis).—Secretary, J. P. Dunn. Published *The Sultana Disaster* and has several works in preparation.

Cass County Historical Society (Logansport).—President, J. Z. Powell; secretary, Charles H. Stuart. Membership, 150. Collections, 140 books.

IOWA.

Historical Society of Linn County (Cedar Rapids).—President, B. L. Wick; secretary, Luther A. Brewer. Membership, 75. Funds, \$200. Collections: Books, 500; increase, 50.

Jefferson County Historical Association (Glendale).—President, Dr. L. L. James; secretary, Hiram Heaton. Membership, 25; increase, 2. Funds, \$20. Collections: Books, 40; increase, 6; MSS., 50; museum objects, several hundred, with a large increase. Has brought Old Settlers Park Association into existence and extended the park of 11 acres to include a log house built in 1838. Is marking historical sites. The society is closely connected with the State Historical Society of Iowa.

State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City).—President, Euclid Sanders; superintendent, B. F. Shambaugh; secretary, F. E. Horack. Membership, 600; increase, 100. Annual income from the State, \$20,000; increase, \$4,000. Publications: *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (quarterly); *Iowa Applied History*, Volume I; *Biography of James Harlan*; and *Legislation of the Thirty-fifth General Assembly of Iowa*. Collections: Books, 41,000; increase, 1,000.

KANSAS.

Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka).—President, J. N. Harrison; secretary, George W. Martin. Membership, 426. Funds: \$10,900 per year, appropriated by the legislature. New building just completed. Publications: *Eighteenth Biennial Report, 1910-1912*; *Report of Secretary, Thirty-eighth Annual Meeting, October 21, 1913*. Collections: Books, 84,782; increase, 2,643; pamphlets, 143,712; increase, 534.

MASSACHUSETTS.

- Military Historical Society of Massachusetts* (Boston).—President, Col. Thomas F. Livermore; secretary, William Ropes Trask. Membership, 200. Published papers relating to the Mexican and Civil Wars. Collections: Books, 4,000. Napoleonic collection recently acquired.
- Old South Association* (Boston).—President, Charles W. Eliot; secretary, George A. Goddard. Membership small, no increase; a close corporation. Old South Meeting House has been recently restored. Published Old South Leaflet of United States Constitution, with amendments to date.
- Cambridge Historical Society* (Cambridge).—President, Richard Henry Dana; secretary, Albert Harrison Hall. Membership limited to 200. Publishes annual volume of Proceedings; VII (1912) and VIII (1913) are in press.
- Fitchburg Historical Society* (Fitchburg).—President, Ezra S. Stearns; secretary, Ebenezer Bailey. Membership, 189; increase, 96. No permanent funds. New building completed. Collections: Books, 3,162; increase, 462; MSS., 791; increase, 9; museum objects, 265; increase, 87.
- Haverhill Historical Society* (Haverhill).—President, E. G. Frothingham; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Mabel D. Mason. Membership, 300. Has an old colonial mansion with large fireproof room for collections. First frame house in Haverhill restored to ancient condition. Collections: Books, 125; increase, 5; MSS., 25; museum objects, 1,500; increase, 100.
- Lynn Historical Society* (Lynn).—President, C. H. Woodbury; secretary, William E. Dorman. Membership, 765. Collections: Books, 2,500.
- Marblehead Historical Society* (Marblehead).—President, William D. T. Trefry; secretary, Richard Tutt. Membership, 440. Published: Ye Colonial Days Celebration and The Lee Mansion (pamphlets). Collections: Books, 90; MSS., large number; museum objects, 3,300. The society is compiling the names of all Marblehead men who served in the Revolution.
- Mendon Historical Society* (Mendon).—President, Henry A. Whitney; secretary, Mrs. Mabel A. Holbrook. Membership, 200; increase, 10. Funds, \$300. Has published The Thompson Family (pamphlet). The society is marking historic sites in the Revolution and the graves of Revolutionary soldiers.
- Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society* (Pittsfield).—President, Joseph Pierson; secretary, Harlan H. Ballard. Membership, 100. Published Historical Collections, Volume III, No. 4. The society is an adjunct of the Berkshire Athenæum and Museum, and maintains no separate collection.
- Roxbury Historical Society* (Roxbury).—President, Oliver D. Greene; secretary, Walter R. Meins. Membership, 289; decrease, 5. Invested funds, \$3,339.73. Collections: Books, 182; increase, 11. The society is marking historic sites.
- The Essex Institute* (Salem).—President, Gen. Francis Henry Appleton; secretary, George Francis Dow. Membership, 587; decrease, 27. Funds: Endowment, \$202,589.14; land and buildings, \$126,717.19. Published collections, Volume XLVIII; Vital Records of Dunstable, Tyngsborough; Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Volume II. Collections: Books, increase 2,823 volumes and 8,314 pamphlets; MSS., acquired 59 log books and sea journals; museum objects, acquired 21, many notable. The society is building a five-story fireproof building for MSS., rare books, etc.
- Sharon Historical Society* (Sharon).—President, Almon J. Dyer; secretary, John G. Phillips. Membership, 100.

Medway Historical Society (West Medway).—President, Herbert N. Dixon; secretary, Orion T. Mason. Membership, 100; increase, 30. The Old Parish House has been donated. Published Medway Pageant, 1713-1913. The society is planning to mark the burial grounds of the first settlers of Holliston, Sherburn, and Medway, aided by the Holliston and Sherburn historical societies.

American Antiquarian Society (Worcester).—President, Waldo Lincoln; librarian, Clarence S. Brigham. Membership, 175 active; 32 foreign. Funds: Invested, \$308,000; gifts, \$6,500 for the year. Published Proceedings for October, 1912 (centennial issue) and April, 1913. Collections: Books, increase 2,719 volumes, 1,941 pamphlets; many long files of American newspapers, especially southern, acquired. Museum objects; collection of American views on Staffordshire pottery acquired. Check list and bibliography of American newspapers to the year 1820 to be published.

MICHIGAN.

Historical Society of Grand Rapids (Grand Rapids).—President, Roger W. Butterfield; secretary, Samuel H. Ranck.

Michigan Historical Commission (Lansing).—President, Clarence M. Burton; secretary, George Newman Fuller. Membership fixed at seven, inclusive of the governor ex officio. Funds, \$5,000 per annum from the State. Museum and office in the capitol. Published Bulletins 1 and 2. The commission is a regular department of the State and was organized May 28, 1913, by authorization of an act of the legislature.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society (Lansing).—President, Clarence M. Burton; secretary, George Newman Fuller. Membership, 600; increase, 13. All property turned over to the commission which will publish the Proceedings of the society.

MINNESOTA.

Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul).—President, William H. Lightner; secretary, Warren Upham. Membership, 422. Funds, \$20,000 annually from the State. Published Collections Volume XVI, part 1, The Weathering of Aboriginal Stone Artifacts, by N. H. Winchell; Volume XV is in press. Collections: Books, 108,975; increase, 3,611; Minnesota newspapers, 9,641 volumes; MSS., 6,500; acquired six letter books of ex-Gov. Ramsey (1849-1863). Museum objects, 27,000. \$500,000 has been appropriated for a building for the society, the State Supreme Court, and the State Law Library, which will be completed in three years.

MISSISSIPPI.

Mississippi Historical Society (University).—President, Alfred H. Stone; secretary, Franklin L. Riley. Membership, 200. Income consists of \$1,200 from the State and \$650 from fees and the sale of publications. Published Volumes XIII and XIV of Publications. Collections: 3,500 books; increase, 500.

MISSOURI.

State Historical Society of Missouri (Columbia).—President, William Southern, jr.; secretary, F. A. Sampson. Funds, \$12,300 for present biennial period given by legislature. Publishes Missouri Historical Review (quarterly). Helped mark Boone's Lick Road through Missouri. The contract for a \$200,000 building for the society and the library of the university will be let in January, 1914.

Kansas City Historical Society changed to *Missouri Valley Historical Society* (Kansas City).—President, John Barber White; secretary, Nettie Thompson Grove. Membership, 287; increase, 88. Funds: Endowment, \$696; \$25,000 received toward a \$100,000 endowment and building fund. Publications: Missouri, a speech by Herbert S. Hadley; Best Means for Developing the Local Historical Society, an address by E. R. Crutcher, sr. Collections: Books, increase, 100; museum objects, 4,500; increase 1,500.

Pike County Historical Society (Louisiana, Mo.).—President, R. B. D. Simonson; secretary, Clayton Keith. Membership, 110; increase, 10. Published sketches of pioneer families. Collections: 50 MSS.; increase, 10; Lincoln relics.

Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis).—President, William K. Bixby; secretary, Charles P. Pettus. Membership, 615; increase, 92. Funds: Endowment, \$100,000; membership fees, \$5 per annum. Moved into new fireproof building in 1913, Jefferson Memorial; cost, \$476,565.05. Published Missouri Historical Collections, Volume IV, No. 2, Bulletin 1 of the department of archaeology. Collections: Books, 31,000; increase, 767; MSS., about 27,500; increase, 1,600; museum objects, many thousands. The society plans to publish a reprint of Gen. Thomas James's *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans*. It holds all property as trustee of the people of Missouri, but does not receive State aid.

NEBRASKA.

Mississippi Valley Historical Association (Lincoln).—President, James A. James; secretary, Clarence S. Paine. Membership, 1,091; increase, 105. Published Volume VI of Proceedings. Plans to publish *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (quarterly).

Nebraska State Historical Society (Lincoln).—President, John Lee Webster; secretary, Clarence S. Paine. Membership, 1,150; increase, 165. Five hundred newspaper editors also belong by virtue of their sending files to the society's library. Funds: \$17,299 appropriated for the next two years by the State legislature. Published Volume VIII of Collections. Collections: Books, 51,700, including bound newspapers; increase, 1,700; MSS., 156; increase, 30; has acquired diary of trip to Pike's Peak, 1859, and diary of trip across the plains, 1850. Museum objects, 67,000; increase, 1,000. The society is helping the Oregon Trail Association in marking the trail.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Manchester Historical Association (Manchester).—President, William P. Farmer; secretary, Fred W. Lamb. Membership, 190; slight decrease. Will have headquarters in new city library building now being erected. Collections: Books, 700.

NEW JERSEY.

Monmouth County Historical Association (Red Bank).—President, John S. Applegate; secretary, Edward S. Atwood. Membership, 275. Funds, \$3,000. Published Yearbook for 1914. Collections: Books, 200; MSS., 25; museum objects, 100.

Salem County Historical Society (Salem).—President, Edward S. Sharpe; secretary, George W. Price. Membership, 78; increase, 6. Collections: Books, 665; increase, 15; MSS., 310; increase, 10. Acquired early original documents concerning land in the county. Museum objects, increase, 10. Assisted in restoring Mill Hollow Graveyard near Salem.

Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society (Vineland).—President, Rev. William M. Gilbert; secretary, Frank D. Andrews. Membership, 42; increase, 2. Invested funds, \$15,000. Publishes annual reports. Collections: Books, 8,900; museum objects, unnumbered, some increase.

Gloucester County Historical Society (Woodbury).—President, John G. Whittall; secretary, Dr. T. E. Parker. Membership, 270; increase, 16. Papers published: Indians in and about the first reservation of New Jersey, by Mrs. R. B. Warwick; Lost Towns and Hamlets, by Wallace McGeorge. Purchased a house in which to preserve relics. Is marking historic sites.

NEW YORK.

Buffalo Historical Society (Buffalo).—President, Henry W. Hill; secretary, Frank H. Severance. Membership, 700; increase, 35. Funds: \$100 per annum from the State; received a \$5,000 bequest from Miss Sarah M. Madison, of Buffalo. Published Volume XVI of publications, The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo. Collections: Books, 21,534; increase, 843; MSS. and museum objects unnumbered. Celebrated fiftieth anniversary by unveiling tablets to Millard Fillmore and Grover Cleveland, former members.

New York State Historical Association (Glens Falls).—President, Grenville M. Ingalsbe; secretary, Frederick B. Richards. Membership, 800. Volume XII of Proceedings is in press.

De Witt Historical Society of Tompkins County (Ithaca).—President, William Elliot Griffith (acting). The society has been inactive for the last five years.

Johnstown Historical Society (Johnstown).—President, Harwood Dudley; secretary, Alonzo M. Young. Membership, 73; increase, 18. Collections: Books, 300; increase, 30; museum objects, 3,000; considerable increase. The society has charge of Sir William Johnson Mansion and Block House, which are maintained by the State.

American Jewish Historical Society (New York).—President, Cyrus Adler; secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg. Membership, 367; increase, 12. Funds: Publication, \$5,000; general, \$3,500. Published No. XXI of Publications, containing the first volume of the Lyons collection. Index to publications I to XX will soon appear.

Holland Society of New York (New York).—President, William Leverick Brower; secretary, Edward Van Winkle. Membership limited to 1,000. Published Yearbook for 1913 containing Bergen, N. J., church records. Collections: Books, 6,000. Acquired MSS. records of the Reformed Church of Buskirk, Churchtown records, Schwangunk Church records.

Pennsylvania Society (New York).—President, Harry P. Davison; secretary and director, Barr Ferree. Membership, 1,500.

Onondaga Historical Association (Syracuse).—President, A. Judd Northrup; secretary, Franklin H. Chase. Membership, 225. Funds: Elizabeth G. Kelley fund, \$50,000; Mrs. John Lyman, \$5,000; and dues. Published Onondaga's Soldiers of the Revolution, by W. M. Beauchamp. Collections: Books, 2,600; increase, 100. Acquired MSS. genealogical records of Onondaga and Syracuse.

Oneida Historical Society (Utica).—President, Edward S. Coley; secretary, William M. Starrs. Membership, 200. Invested funds, \$16,000. Publishes Yearbooks. Collections: Books, 7,450; increase, 40; pamphlets, 10,230; increase, 86; MSS., 857; increase, 4; museum objects, 700; increase, 11.

NORTH CAROLINA.

The North Carolina Historical Commission (Raleigh).—President, Col. J. Bryan Grimes; secretary, R. D. W. Connor. Membership, 5, appointed by the governor. Income: \$6,000 from State annually; increase, \$1,000; \$4,000 biennially for printing. Will occupy, January 1, 1914, part of a new fireproof building built by the State at a cost of \$250,000. Published Bulletins No. 12, Proceedings, 1912; Pocket Manual for the general assembly of 1913. Acquired papers of W. H. S. Burgwyn, Robert Jeffreys, William A. Graham, and Archibald D. Murphy; copies of letters of North Carolinians in the Van Buren and Crittenden Papers in the Library of Congress; files of Fayetteville (N. C.) Observer, 1825-1865.

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina (Raleigh).—President, Archibald Henderson; secretary, R. D. W. Connor. Membership, 375. Placed markers and tablets on battle fields of the Civil War.

OHIO.

Old Northwest Genealogical Society (Columbus).—President, W. D. McKinney; secretary, H. Warren Phelps.

Pioneer and Historical Association of Sandusky County, Ohio (Fremont).—President, Isadore H. Burgoon; secretary, Basil Meek. Membership, 200. Receives not to exceed \$100 a year from the county. Published Yearbook.

Clark County Historical Society (Springfield).—President, Dr. B. F. Prince; secretary, Miss E. J. Smart. Membership, 150. Collections: Books, 660; increase, 169; MSS., 585; increase, 5; museum objects, 7,000; increase, 300.

OREGON.

Oregon Historical Society (Portland).—President, Frederick V. Holman; secretary, F. G. Young; curator, George H. Hines. Membership, 696; decrease, 17. Funds: Membership fees, \$766.56; State appropriation, \$9,000; bequest, \$6,000. Publishes Quarterly. Collections: Books, 26,000; increase, 1,300; MSS., 36,000; increase, 900; museum objects, 7,000; increase, 1,000; also many newspaper files, clippings, and biographical sketches of pioneers.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Lancaster County Historical Society (Lancaster).—President, George Steinman; secretary, Charles B. Hollinger. Membership, 285; increase, 35. Income from membership dues and county appropriation. Completed Volume XVII of Proceedings. A bibliography of the county, 1745-1912, will be published by the State Federation of Historical Societies. Collections: Books, 2,487; increase, 109.

Lebanon County Historical Society (Lebanon).—President, Charles V. Henry; secretary, S. P. Heilman. Membership, 225; increase, 35. Income from fees and dues and \$200 annually from the county. Publications: A Story of Beginnings and First Things in Lebanon County, by S. P. Heilman; Henry William Steigel, by A. S. Brindle; A Lebanonian amongst a Strange People, by H. M. M. Richards; The Founding of Fredericksburg, by B. Morris Strouss. Collections: About 5,000 books, MSS., and museum objects. The society is arranging for a building of its own.

Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies (Lebanon).—President, George Moscrip; secretary, S. P. Heilman. Membership, 32 societies. Funds, \$2 annual dues from each society and unexpended balance of \$2,000 appropriated by the legislature in 1907. Holds annual meeting in Harrisburg. Published Acts and Proceedings of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1913.

Moravian Historical Society (Nazareth).—President, W. N. Schwarze; secretary, F. H. Martin. Membership, 349; increase, 5. Invested funds, \$5,932.71. Published A Historical Sketch of Graceham, Md., completing Volume IX of Transactions.

Historical Society of Montgomery County (Norristown).—President, Joseph Fornance; secretary, Mrs. A. Conrad Jones. Membership, 391; increase, 21. Income from fees and dues and \$200 annually from the county. Publications: Early History of Evangelical Lutheran Church at Ardmore, Pa., by Luther C. Parsons; Sketch of Dr. Robert Collyer, by Edward L. Hocker; Colonial Manufacturing Plant at Center Square, by Clara A. Beck; Gwynedd Meeting, by M. H. F. Merillat; Church Record of the Evangelical Reformed Church of Pottsgrove, 1801–1862. Collections: Books, 2,100; increase, 163; magazines, pamphlets, etc., 855; increase, 197; museum objects, 1,080; increase, 270. The society is marking the site of Camp Pottsgrove and restoring the tomb of Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock. It raised \$2,700 for an historical pageant of the centennial of the borough.

American Baptist Historical Society (Philadelphia).—President, B. McMackin; secretary, John W. Lyell. Invested funds, \$4,500. Collections: Books, 3,000; increase, 45; pamphlets, 30,000; increase, 550; museum objects, 100 pictures, also souvenirs of Adoniram Judson. The collection has been moved to the Crozier Theological Seminary at Chester.

Church Historical Society (Philadelphia).—President, Henry Budel; secretary, William Ives Rutter, jr. Membership: 145; increase, 29. Collections: Books, 7,500; increase, 6,000. Chartered by the State.

Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).—President, Col. J. Granville Leach; secretaries: Edward S. Sayers (recording); James Emlen (corresponding). Membership, 296. Funds, \$4,844. Published Volume V, No. 2 of Publications. Collections: Books, 281; increase, 12.

Pennsylvania History Club (Philadelphia).—President, Herman V. Ames; secretary, Albert E. McKinley. Membership: 58; decrease, 1. Composed of members of the Pennsylvania Historical Society who have contributed to Pennsylvania history.

The Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia).—President, Henry Van Dyke; secretary, Joseph Brown Turner. Membership: 265; increase, 26. Funds, \$11,700. Publishes Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society (quarterly). Collections: Books, 20,000; increase, 130; MSS., acquired minutes of various synods and presbyteries.

Historical Society of Berks County (Reading).—President, Louis Richards; secretary, William Fegley. Membership, 242; increase, 16. Invested funds, \$1,250; building worth \$5,000; receives \$200 annually from the county. Collections: Books, 2,800; increase, 300; acquired 16 bound volumes of early newspapers of Berks County; MSS., 435; increase, 45; museum objects, 290; increase, 25.

Historical Society of Bradford County (Towanda).—President, George Moscrip; secretary, J. Andrew Wilt. Membership, 100. Income, fees and \$200 annually from the county. Published Annual No. 7.

Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society (Wilkes-Barre).—President, Irving A. Stearns; secretary, Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden. Membership, 393; increase, 14. Funds: Invested, \$55,740; income, \$3,900; receives \$200 annually from the county. Published Volume XII of Proceedings and Collections and a pamphlet history of society. Collections: Books, 20,000; increase, 1,000; MSS. not counted; museum objects, 46,000. Acquired two Indian pots and added 1,000 articles to the Christopher Wren collection (ethnological).

RHODE ISLAND.

Rhode Island Historical Society (Providence).—President, Wilfred H. Munro; secretary, Amasa M. Eaton; librarian, Howard M. Chapin. Membership, 449; increase, 30. Funds: Receives \$1,900 annually from the State; raised \$7,725 for fireproofing the west wing of the building. Publications: Proceedings, 1911–1913; News Sheet (quarterly); The Seal, The Arms, and The Flag of Rhode Island, by Howard M. Chapin. Collections: Books, increase, 762; acquired only known copy of Calendrier Français, Newport, 1781. MSS., increase, 38; acquired photostat copies of MSS. maps in the Library of Congress; extra illustrated edition of Greene's Newport inlaid with valuable MSS.; Talbot papers (Revolutionary naval MSS.); two autograph letters of Benjamin West. Museum objects, increase, 35. Three historic sites marked.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

South Carolina Historical Society (Charleston).—President, Joseph W. Barnwell; secretary, Mabel L. Webber. Membership, 224. Funds, \$1,200 annually from dues and sales. Publishes the South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

State Historical Society of South Dakota (Pierre).—President, Burton A. Cummins; secretary, Doane Robinson. Membership, 111; increase, 2. Funds, \$6,590 from the State for 1913. Published: Thirteenth Annual Review of the Progress of South Dakota; Sixth Annual Report of the Vital Statistics of South Dakota. The Journals of the Verendryes, 1731–1743 (translated) are in preparation. Collections, 42,575 books. The society administers the department of history of the State of South Dakota, which embraces historical activities, the library, the State census, vital statistics, legislative reference work, and the free-library commission. It is housed in the new State capitol building.

TEXAS.

Texas Library and Historical Commission (Austin).—President, Eugene C. Barker; secretary, Ernest W. Winkler. Legislature appropriation, \$2,200. Publications: The Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861; Second Biennial Report, of which Part II is a calendar of the Mirabeau B. Lamar papers. Acquired transcripts from the archives of Mexico and is cooperating with the University of Texas and the University of California in further transcriptions. The commission is the governing board of the State library.

VIRGINIA.

Virginia Historical Society (Richmond).—President, William Gordon McCabe; corresponding secretary, W. G. Stanard. Membership, 768. Funds: Endowment, \$13,000; annual income, \$4,000. Publishes Virginia Magazine of History and Biography.

WISCONSIN.

Sauk County Historical Society (Baraboo).—President, H. E. Cole; secretary, H. K. Page. Membership, 65; increase, 5. Receives \$50 a year from the county. Published Baraboo and other place names in Sauk County, by H. E. Cole. Collections: Books, 100; increase, 25; MSS., 25; increase, 5; museum objects, 5,000; increase, over 1,500; acquired Christian Schmidt collection. The society is planning to mark the site of the first church in the Baraboo Valley.

Walworth County Historical Society (Elkhorn).—President, Albert C. Beckwith; secretary, John H. Snyder; corresponding secretary, Edward Kinne. Membership, 38; increase, 2. The society is an auxiliary of the State Historical Society. It has no funds or expense.

Wisconsin State Historical Society (Madison).—President, Emil Baensch; superintendent, M. M. Quaife. Membership, 821; increase, 30. Funds: Standing appropriations, \$36,000; private, \$73,638.18; R. G. Thwaites bequest, \$10,000. New bookstack wing being constructed; cost, \$162,000. Publications: Bulletins of Information, Nos. 64-70; Handbooks, Nos. 7-9; Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files, second edition; Wisconsin Historical Collections, Volume XX. The Wisconsin History Commission, which is practically an adjunct of the society, published Civil War Messages and Documents; Hinkley's Narrative of Service with the Third Wisconsin Infantry; J. Lloyd Jones's Diary of an Artillery Private (in press). Collections: Books: 364,649; increase, 12,668; MSS., 2,000 volumes. Acquired Letter-Books of the New York and Mississippi Land Company of Pontotoc, Miss., and Cyrus Woodman papers; museum objects, 10,102; increase, 1,000; acquired Ainu collection.

Wisconsin Archaeological Society (Madison).—President, Ellis B. Usher; secretary, Charles Edward Brown. Membership, 400. Supported by the State. Publishes Wisconsin Archaeologist (quarterly). Secured Mrs. Emma House's archaeological collection for the State Historical Museum at Madison and the G. A. West collection of aboriginal pipes for the Milwaukee Museum. The society is conducting archaeological surveys, chiefly in northern Wisconsin, and marking mounds and historical sites.

Manitowoc County Historical Society (Manitowoc).—President, Emil Baensch; secretary, R. G. Plumb. Membership, 25. No funds. Cooperated with the Wisconsin Perry Centennial Commission. Auxiliary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

Waukesha County Historical Society (Oconomowoc).—President, James A. McKenzie; secretary, Julia A. Lapham. Membership: 128; increase, 30. The society is securing the preservation and care of old cemeteries, and marking the graves of soldiers. Auxiliary of the State society.

DOMINION OF CANADA.

ONTARIO.

Huron Institute (Collingwood).—President, M. Garriller; secretary, David Williams. Membership, 65. Receives \$100 annually from the province. Collections, 4,000 museum objects.

Niagara Historical Society (Niagara-on-the-Lake).—President, Miss J. Carnochan; secretary, John G. Kersley. Membership, 240; increase, 20. Funds: \$398; grants of \$250 from the province and \$25 from the county; membership fees, \$115; sale of pamphlets, \$43; contributions, \$32. Publications: No. 25, containing Laura Ingersoll Secord, The Monument at Lundy's Lane, History of Queenstown, and Diary of a Prisoner in Fort Garry, 1869-70; Reprints of No. 12, Battle of Fort George, and No. 15, Sir Isaac Brock and Count de Puisaye; Annual Report. Collections: Books, 880; increase, 42; MSS., 330; increase, 15; acquired minutes of the board of police and the fire company. Museum objects, 5,431; increase, 158.

The Champlain Society (Toronto).—President, Sir Edmund Walker; secretary, George M. Wrong. Membership: 500; increase, 56. A publishing society only; members receive two volumes for each subscription of \$10. Many volumes in preparation.

Women's Canadian Historical Society (Ottawa).—President, Mrs. Thomas Ahearn; secretary, Mrs. Braddish Billings. Membership, 190; increase, 21. Funds, grant from Ontario government and membership fees. Published Annual Report for 1912-13; Transactions, Vol. 5; The Battlegrounds of Canada. Collections, not many books; increase, 6.

XIII. FOURTEENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION,
WITH APPENDIXES.

DECEMBER 31, 1913.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,
Chairman,
1855 Morris Avenue, New York City.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS,
Yale University.

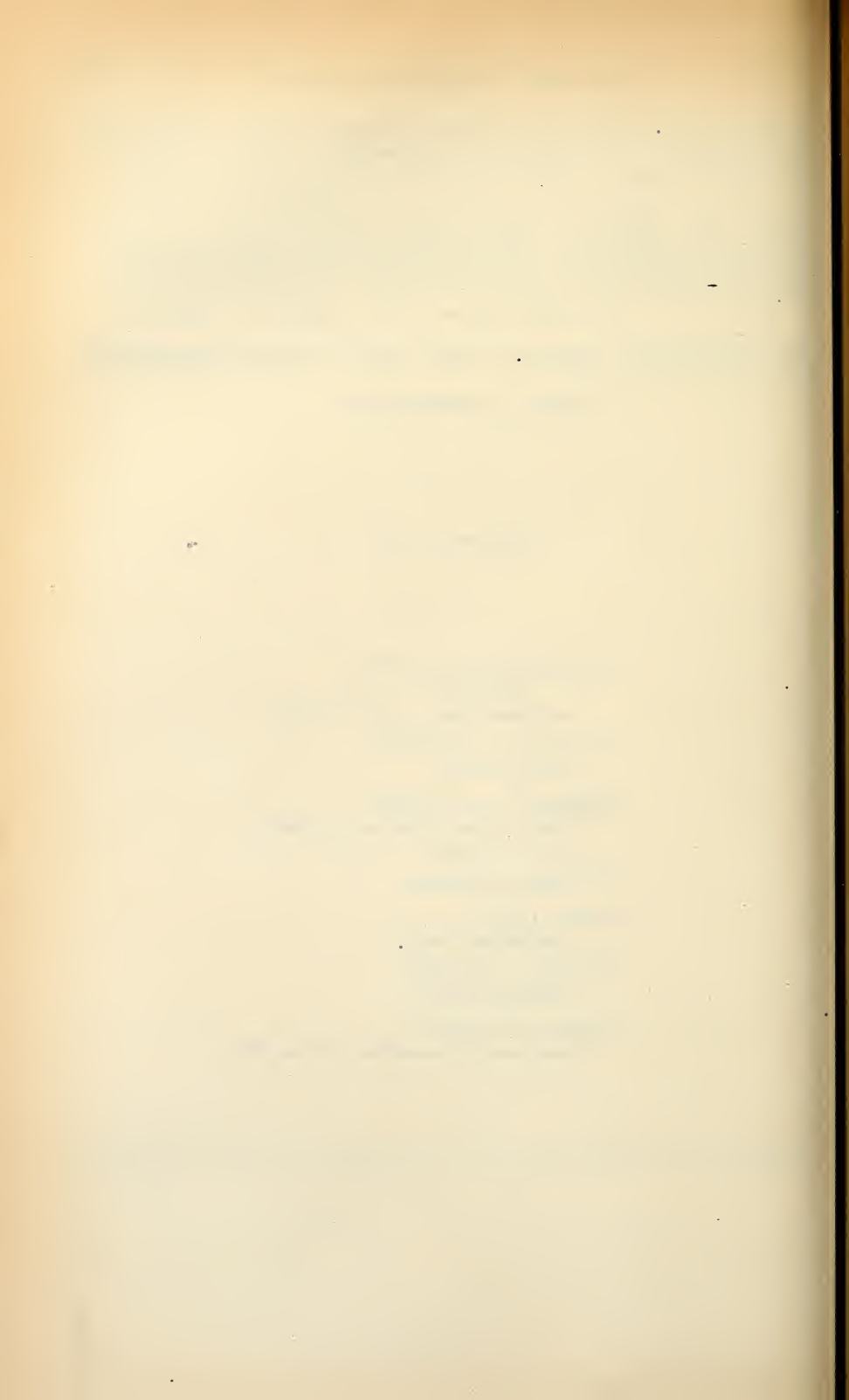
ROBERT D. W. CONNOR,
North Carolina Historical Commission.

GAILLARD HUNT,
Library of Congress.

JONAS VILES,
University of Missouri.

EUGENE C. BARKER,
University of Texas.

HENRY E. WOODS,
State Record Commissioner, Boston, Mass.



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REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

DECEMBER 31, 1913.

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:

The public archives commission of the American Historical Association has the honor to submit its report of work accomplished during the year 1913, together with an outline of work in operation or proposed.

Some eight States remain from which reports on their State records should be secured to round out the series of pioneer reports prepared under the auspices of our commission. A report on the State archives of California was in course of preparation by Prof. H. W. Edwards, of Berkeley, and was well under way when he died, in April. Soon after learning of the untimely death of Prof. Edwards, negotiations were entered into with Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, looking to the procuring of the materials left by Prof. Edwards and the securing of a competent person to complete and edit that report. The commission has not yet secured such a person, notwithstanding its continued endeavors. Prof. Edwards had described the records of different State officers, deposited in several vaults and rooms under the custody of the secretary of state. But an examination of his reliqua by the chairman of the commission has revealed that the California report is not nearly ready for publication. Prof. Bolton also regards it as necessary to have the notes and yet undigested memoranda of Prof. Edwards checked up, and the investigation extended, before a report can be offered for publication. Owing to these circumstances, a report on the California archives will have to be held over for another year.

Several attempts have been made to obtain a report on the Maryland archives. Some years ago there existed a Maryland Public Archives Commission, which made a survey of all of the archives of that State, excepting Prince Georges and Anne Arundel Counties and the city of Baltimore, which last named were covered only partially. An appendix of 278 pages was printed, but the report was never finished, owing to difficulties that arose in that commission, and the commission itself was allowed to die. It is to be hoped that our commission may yet be able to furnish a report on the Colonial and State records of Maryland, and efforts are not wanting in that direction, nor is hope therein abandoned.

Correspondence was renewed with Prof. James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, for a report on the archives of Wyoming. Prof. Willard has given considerable attention to the completion of this report, which is now presented as Appendix B.

Most important desiderata are reports on the archives of South Carolina and Vermont. The commission has invited Mr. A. S. Salley, jr., secretary of the South Carolina Historical Commission, to prepare a report on the archives of his State, and Dr. A. H. Shearer, of the Newberry Library, to undertake a report on the archives of Vermont.

The list of Reports and Representations of the Plantation Councils, 1660-1674; the Lords of Trade, 1675-1696; and the Board of Trade, 1696-1782, in the Public Record Office, prepared under the supervision of Prof. Charles M. Andrews, a member of the commission, has been edited by him and appears herewith as Appendix C. It completes the series of lists of English records relating to America which Prof. Andrews offered to furnish for the reports of the commission. He has performed a service for which the whole body of American historians is indebted to him.

The commission regrets that it is obliged to report another serious fire in the city of Washington, which threatened the destruction of the entire plant of the United States Geological Survey, on May 18, 1913, in its rented quarters in the Hooe Building on F Street. The congested condition of storerooms and document rooms, as well as the escape of gas, made the fire a most stubborn and difficult one to handle and resulted in the collapse of some 20 firemen, among them the chief of the Washington Fire Department. There was but little flame, but the smoke poured in dense volumes from the Survey building, suffocating the firemen, who fought desperately to keep the fire within the confines of the basement. Had the fire gotten past the staircase, which the firemen were holding, and into the elevator shafts, the entire building would probably have been consumed, as well as other buildings, in the opinion of the fire chief, as stated at the time. The destruction resulted in a loss of about \$100,000, not counting a considerable amount of additional damage to publications. The losses were mostly in topographic maps, geologic folios, and reports, which can be replaced. The unpublished data and other material in other parts of the building, with an estimated value of between \$4,500,000 and \$5,000,000, were, fortunately, unharmed. The efficiency of the fire department and some fire-proof doors leading from the basement to the upper hall, were responsible for the prevention of a more disastrous conflagration. The fire started in the front part of the middle basement, apparently directly under the office occupied by the American Express Company, and was discovered at 3.45 p. m., on Sunday, May 18, by two watchmen in

different parts of the building at approximately the same time. This is the fifth fire in the main Survey building that has occurred in the past nine years. We have here another argument for the erection of a National Archive building at Washington.

It is pleasant to turn from destruction to conservation. During the year 1913 the legislatures of 39 States held regular sessions, and Arizona's legislature met in special sessions. No legislatures convened this year in Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, New Mexico, Vermont, or Virginia. In quite a number of the States the legislatures in session enacted laws in the interest of history and the care, custody, concentration, preservation, and publication of their public records. A marked progress is noticeable in this legislation, a harbinger, we trust, of that great consummation in regard to a just respect for the muniments of the American people, about which all interested students are solicitous. A digest of such legislation during the year 1913, as far as discovered from an examination of their respective session laws, is as follows:

CONNECTICUT.

An act authorizing the comptroller to purchase printed copies of town records. Approved April 24, 1913. Appropriation not to exceed \$1,000 per annum, as a subsidy for "100 bound copies of the printed records of any town which shall meet with the approval of the State librarian as to form, accuracy, and workmanship." The volumes to "be deposited with the State librarian for purposes of exchange and distribution."

An act concerning town, city, and borough reports. Approved May 20, 1913. "Files of the official publications of the towns, cities, and boroughs of the State shall be kept in the State library, for reference. The clerk of each such town, city, or borough shall send to the State library two copies of such publication as soon as the same is published, and copies of such previous issues of said publications as can be spared by the towns if the same are needed by the State library to complete it files."

An act concerning the Joseph G. Mitchelson Collection. Approved June 2, 1913. Appropriating annually not more than \$250 for "adding each year a proof specimen, or if not so coined, an uncirculated specimen of each variety of coin minted in the several mints of the United States."

An act, approved June 3, 1913, increasing the salary of the State librarian, who is also keeper of the State's records, to \$3,600 per annum.

An act making sundry appropriations for the two years ending September 30, 1915. Approved June 4, 1913. Includes "for preserving and indexing records," \$5,500; "for records vault and metal furniture," \$2,000.

An act concerning ink for public records. Approved June 5, 1913.

No person having the care or custody of any book of record or registry in any of the departments or offices of this State, or of any county, city, town, borough, or probate district, shall use or permit to be used upon such book any ink other than such as is approved by the examiner of public records. [Also] Before the examiner of public records shall approve of any ink he shall cause a number of distinct and separate brands to be examined as to quality by a State chemist, and give his approval of not less than four different brands or manufactures, and the inks so approved shall be standard inks for use in this State. Such approval may be revoked at any time by the examiner of public records when he shall find the ink furnished to be inferior to that approved.

The use of "ink not approved by the examiner of public records" subjects the custodian of records to a fine of "not more than \$100."

Mr. George S. Godard, the State librarian of Connecticut, reported on November 26, 1913, that 30 probate districts of his State had deposited their original files, not in current use, with the State library; that those of 21 districts were then arranged and immediately accessible, comprising 25,139 estates and 139,109 different documents. This is a part of the plan for concentration at the center of government.

DELAWARE.

At the biennial session of the Legislature of Delaware in 1905 "An act for the better preservation of certain public records" was passed, and approved on March 16 (Laws of Delaware, Vol. XXIII, ch. 77). This act created a "division of public records." The legislature of 1911 (Vol. XXVI, ch. 82, approved Mar. 14) made considerable revisions to the former act, changed the name of the body to "Public Archive Commission," and defined its powers and duties. The recent legislature of 1913 (Vol. XXVII, ch. 100, approved Mar. 17) has made more revisions. This commission now consists "of six members, two of whom shall come from each of the three counties in the State of Delaware; who shall be appointed by the governor of the State." The commission has "charge of all books, records, documents, and papers of historic or public interest in all State, county, and municipal offices bearing date prior to 1850 and not in current use," and can "make and enforce all reasonable rules and regulations concerning the care of the same. The commission may cause to be classified and catalogued for reference all books, records, documents, and papers aforesaid and shall from time to time cause to be published such of said records as said commission shall deem of sufficient importance to warrant said publication." Its income, now doubled, amounts to \$1,000 per annum.

The Delaware Legislature of 1913 has also set apart "a portion of the fireproof basement of the library wing of the statehouse of Delaware * * * as a State hall of records," and put it under

the care of the State archive commission for its use and for the deposit of "all records, books, and papers of public and historic interest" which come under the jurisdiction of the commission. Provision is made for fireproof construction, steel cabinets, or other furniture, for which \$1,000 has been appropriated. (Laws of Delaware, Vol. XXVII, ch. 10, approved Mar. 18.)

A senate joint resolution (Laws of Delaware, Vol. XXVII, ch. 302, approved Mar. 22) has directed the State archive commission "to purchase a sufficient number of filing cases" in which to preserve "a great number of old and valuable papers in the basement of the statehouse under the secretary of state's office," because these papers were found to be "inadequately protected from loss by fire and decay." For this purpose an appropriation of \$500 was made.

ILLINOIS.

Although no legislation relative to archives was passed by the Illinois Legislature of 1913 the status in that State may be learned from an article by Prof. Evarts B. Greene, in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, July, 1913 (VI, 206-213), entitled "The plans of the Illinois State Historical Library, with special reference to the care of public archives."

INDIANA.

The General Assembly of Indiana of 1913 has established a department of Indiana history and archives as a section of the State library, and Prof. Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., has been made director of the department. The act carried an annual appropriation of \$2,500 for two years. (Laws of Indiana, ch. 116, approved Mar. 6, 1913.) The act provides as follows:

Section 2. * * * The department of Indiana history and archives shall have the following objects and purposes:

1. The care and custody of official archives which come into the possession of the state library; the collection of materials bearing upon the history of the state and of the territory included therein; the diffusion of knowledge in reference to the history of the state; the encouragement of historical work and research.

2. The examination and classification of documents and records not of present day use to their respective departments.

3. Co-operation with any of the educational institutions of the state in any manner approved by the state librarian, with the consent of the library board.

Section 3. Any state, county, or other official is hereby authorized and empowered at his discretion, to turn over to the state library for permanent preservation by the department of Indiana history and archives, any official books, records, documents, original papers, newspaper files, and printed books and material, not in current use in his office.

IOWA.

An act providing for the "restoration of lost or destroyed records." (Laws of Iowa, 1913, ch. 291, p. 202.) This act is additional to chapter 4 of title 21 of the code relating to quieting title to real estate.

MASSACHUSETTS.

An act relative to the preservation of certain public records. (Acts and Resolves, 1913, ch. 355, p. 299.) This is the act which gives county commissioners, city councils, and selectmen power to have copies made "of records of counties, cities, or towns, of town proprietaries, of proprietors of plantations, townships, or common lands, relative to land situated in their county, city, or town or of easements relating thereto," and "whether such records are within or without the Commonwealth." The 1913 revisions provide that "such records within the Commonwealth may be delivered by their custodians to any county, city, or town for such copying." Previously they could not be removed from the places where they were originally kept.

An act to enlarge the powers and duties of the commissioner of public records. (Acts and Resolves, ch. 485, p. 400; approved April 11, 1913.) This act as revised gives the commissioner of records jurisdiction over the heads of State departments, to see that they obey the law regarding their records, being an extension of the act formerly applicable only to "counties, cities, towns, churches, parishes, or religious societies,"

An act to facilitate the filing of official letters. (Acts and Resolves, ch. 702, p. 661; approved May 26; to be effective Oct. 1, 1913.) It provides that letters "from the several departments of the Commonwealth and from officials of counties, cities, and towns therein shall be written or printed, so far as may be practicable, on paper having a width of 8½ inches and a length of 11 inches."

MICHIGAN.

In this State a most important forward step has been taken by the creation of the Michigan Historical Commission. (Public acts of Michigan, No. 271, p. 525; approved May 8, 1913.) The full text of this legislation is as follows:

An act to create the Michigan Historical Commission; to provide for the appointment of members of such commission; to fix their terms of office, prescribe their powers and duties, make an appropriation to carry out the provisions of this act, and repeal all acts and parts of acts inconsistent herewith. The people of the State of Michigan enact:

SECTION I. There is hereby created a commission to be known as the "Michigan Historical Commission." Said commission shall consist of six members, with the addition of the governor, ex officio; said six members shall

be appointed by the governor. No member of said commission shall receive any compensation for his services, except actual and necessary expenses while attending the meetings of said commission.

SECTION 2. The governor shall appoint the members of said commission for the following terms: One for one year, one for two years, one for three years, one for four years, one for five years, and one for six years, and thereafter one member annually for a term of six years until their successors shall have been appointed and qualified.

SECTION 3. As soon as practicable after this act shall take effect, the said commission shall meet in the State capitol in Lansing, and shall organize by electing one of its members as president, and one as vice president, and shall appoint a secretary, and shall arrange a time and place of holding regular meetings of the commission, and for such special meetings as may be necessary. It shall take, as soon as practicable, necessary steps to receive and accept in the name of the State of Michigan, such of the property of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society as the latter may convey to the State of Michigan, and shall take possession of the rooms in the capitol building now occupied by the said society, and may accept all gifts and bequests for the furtherance of its authorized purposes.

SECTION 4. It shall be the duty of said commission to collect, arrange and preserve historical material, including books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, copies of domestic and foreign records and archives, paintings, statuary, and other objects and material illustrative of and relating to the history of Michigan and the old Northwest Territory; to procure and preserve narratives of the early pioneers, their exploits, perils, privations and achievements; to collect material of every description relative to the history, genius, progress or decay of our Indian tribes; to collect, prepare and display in the museum of said commission objects indicative of the life, customs, dress and resources of the early residents of Michigan, and to publish material relative to and illustrative of the history of the State, including such material as may be furnished for that purpose by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. The commission shall cooperate with and assist the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and local societies of similar nature and purpose.

SECTION 5. The said commission shall have power, and it is hereby made the duty of all public officials to assist in the performance of this power, to collect from the public offices in the State, including State, county, city, village and township offices, such records, files, documents, books and papers as are not less than thirty years old, and are not in current use, and are, in the opinion of the commission, valuable only for historical purposes; and it is hereby made the legal custodian of such records, files, documents, books and papers when collected and transferred to its possession. The commission shall provide for their preservation, classification, arranging and indexing, so that they may be made available for the use of the public. Copies of all such papers, documents, files and records, when made and certified to by the secretary or archivist of said commission, shall be admitted in evidence in all courts, with the same effect as if certified to by the original custodian thereof.

SECTION 6. It shall be the duty of said commission to prepare for publication such material referred to in section four of this act as may be suitable for that purpose. The volumes of said publication shall be issued in editions of not more than twenty-five hundred copies and contain not exceeding seven hundred fifty pages each. They shall be printed and bound in substantial uniformity with the volumes issued by other historical societies and the several State departments. Said printing, together with such bulletins and reprints of articles as may be issued by the commission, shall be done by the State printer, and

the binding by the State binder, both printing and binding to be under the direction and supervision of said commission. The cost of such printing and binding, together with other necessary printing and binding, postage and supplies, shall be allowed by the board of State auditors and paid from the general fund of the State treasury, when vouchers are approved by the secretary and president or vice president of said commission.

SECTION 7. The secretary of the commission shall be the custodian of the publications of the commission, and of the museum, and shall distribute and exchange said publications with domestic and foreign states and governments under such rules and regulations as shall be established by the commission. One copy of each volume published shall be furnished to each school library and educational institution, public library and grange library in the State of Michigan, when authoritatively and officially requested so to do by the officers thereof: Provided, That no library containing less than five hundred volumes shall be entitled to receive such publications; he shall also furnish to each member of the legislature during his term of office one copy of each volume or bulletin published during such term, the expense of all such distribution to be paid out of the general fund in the State treasury upon proper vouchers rendered therefor. The remainder of said copies of said volumes and publications shall be sold by said secretary at a price of not less than one dollar for each volume, and at such price for each bulletin as may be fixed by the commission. The money arising from such sales and from certified copies of documents shall be placed in the State treasury to the credit of the general fund.

SECTION 8. The secretary of said commission shall be the editor of all publications issued by the commission, acting under the direction of the commission, and shall receive a salary not exceeding eighteen hundred dollars per annum. The commission shall have power to appoint a curator of the museum at a salary of not exceeding one thousand dollars per annum, who shall have such additional duties as may be prescribed by the commission. The commission shall also have power to appoint an archivist and assistant editors of said publications, and such clerical assistants as may be required, but the expenses for such archivist, editors and assistants, including necessary traveling expenses of secretary or other employes, shall not at any time exceed five thousand dollars per annum. The salary of the secretary, archivist, editors, curator and clerical assistants shall be paid monthly from any moneys in the general fund not otherwise appropriated, upon a warrant of the auditor general on the State treasury approved by the president or vice president of said commission.

SECTION 9. The said commission shall make annual reports on the first day of January of each year to the governor of the State, setting forth the character and extent of the work done under its supervision during the preceding year, and the amounts of money expended by it for the various purposes authorized by this act.

SECTION 10. The auditor general shall add to and incorporate in the State tax the sum of five thousand dollars annually, and such amount is hereby appropriated from the general fund of the State to carry out the provisions of this act. Such sum shall be included in the State taxes apportioned by the auditor general on all taxable property of the State, to be levied, assessed and collected as other State taxes, and when so assessed and collected, to be paid into the general fund to reimburse the same for the money hereby appropriated.

SECTION 11. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

This act is ordered to take immediate effect.

The members of the Michigan Historical Commission were at once appointed by the governor in pursuance of this act and the commission was organized on May 28. The Hon. Clarence M. Burton was elected president, and the commission appointed Dr. George Newman Fuller as its secretary and active administrator, who has propounded an unusually fine program of operations in Bulletin No. 1 of this commission, published in September, 1913. The Michigan Historical Commission is in all respects a State department of archives and history with a comprehensive vision of serviceableness.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

An act to provide for copying and indexing the ancient records of towns, parishes, and other divisions of the State. (Laws of New Hampshire, ch. 137, p. 646; approved May 13, 1913.)

The secretary of state is authorized and directed to require town clerks or other town officials having the custody of town or parish records, plans, documents or public papers, prior to the year 1825, to deposit the same in his office in the State house at Concord, for the purpose of being copied and indexed. Such records shall be known as Ancient Records of Towns, Parishes and other Divisions of the State of New Hampshire. The expense of transportation thereof to and from the secretary's office, and the expense of copying and indexing the same shall be borne by the State, and paid upon the warrant of the governor, from any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated. After the same have been copied, they shall be returned to the officials of the towns from which they were received.

Any person having an unrecorded document, pertaining to the affairs of public importance of any town, parish or division of the State, prior to the year 1825, may submit the same to the secretary of state, with his affidavit of the source from which it was received, and if it be found to come within such classification, the secretary of state may cause the same to be recorded and indexed with the Ancient Records of Towns, Parishes and other Divisions of the State of New Hampshire, pertaining to such subdivisions of the State, and shall record said affidavit therewith, and file the original affidavit in his office.

Copies of such records, duly attested and certified by the secretary of state over the State's seal, shall be as competent evidence in any court within this State, as the original record would be if produced by the legal custodian thereof.

NEW JERSEY.

An act relating to the use of loose-leaf record books in the offices of the surrogates, county clerks, and registers of deeds and mortgages of the counties of this State. (Laws of New Jersey, ch. 134, p. 214; approved Mar. 25, 1913.)

For the purpose of recording, re-recording, recopying or transcribing any and all papers, documents and instruments in writing in the offices of the surrogates, county clerks and registers of deeds and mortgages of any county of this State, loose-leaf record books may be used; provided, that immediately upon the completion of any such book for record purposes, the leaves thereof shall be securely and permanently bound and fastened together.

The principal legislation in New Jersey during 1913 in regard to records and calculated to be of far-reaching influence for the care and custody of public archives throughout that State, was an act establishing a State department of public records and archives. (Laws of New Jersey, ch. 180, p. 325; approved Apr. 1, 1913.) The full text of this act is as follows:

An act to establish a State Department of Public Records and Archives.

Be it enacted by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

1. A State Department of Public Records and Archives is hereby established, which shall be under the control of a board of three commissioners to be appointed by the Governor, whose terms of office shall be for two, four and six years, respectively, from the dates of their commissions; *provided, however*, that on the expiration of the terms of office of the appointees for two and four years, thereafter their successors shall be appointed by the Governor for the full term of six years. If a vacancy occurs before the expiration of the term of any of the commissioners, an appointment shall be made for the remainder of the unexpired term.

2. The commissioners shall receive no compensation for their services other than their necessary traveling expenses in attending meetings of the commission or business of the department. They shall have the general management and control of the department and make rules and regulations for the administration thereof. They shall have the power of appointing a director of such department, and determine and fix his salary upon the approval of the Governor. Such director shall also be secretary of the board.

3. The said department, through its director, shall examine into the condition of the records, books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, archives, maps and papers kept, filed or recorded, or hereafter to be kept, filed or recorded, in the several public offices of the counties, cities, townships, boroughs and other municipal corporations of the State, and all other public records, books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, archives, maps and papers heretofore or hereafter required by law to be kept by any public body, board, institution or society created under any law of the State in said counties, cities, townships, boroughs or other municipal corporations.

4. The said department shall have general and exclusive supervision, care, custody and control of all public records, books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, archives, maps and papers of any public office, body, board, institution or society now extinct, or hereafter becoming extinct, the supervision, care, custody and control of which are not already or shall not hereafter be otherwise provided for by law.

5. Such department shall take such action as may be necessary to put the records hereinabove specified, except as aforesaid, in the custody and condition contemplated by the various laws relating thereto, and shall provide for their restoration and preservation, and cause copies thereof to be made whenever, by reason of age, use, exposure or any casualty, such copies shall in their judgment be necessary. Whenever such a copy is made, and after it has been compared with the original, it shall be certified by the official person, board or officer having the legal custody and control of said original, and shall thereafter be considered and accepted as evidence, and, for all other purposes, the same as the original could be; *provided*, that the original shall be thereafter cared for and preserved, the same as if no such copy had been made, for such examination as may be directed by an order of court in any action or proceeding in which the accuracy of the copy is questioned.

6. The said department shall provide a systematic plan for acquiring, preserving and classifying such official archives and other material bearing upon the government and the history of the people of New Jersey that may come into its possession.

7. The officers of any State department, or of any county, city, township, borough or other municipal corporation of the State, or of any institution or society created under any law of the State, may transfer to the department records, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, archives, maps, papers and other documents which are not in general use, and it shall be the duty of the department to receive the same when so transferred and to provide for their custody and preservation. It shall also be unlawful for an officer of such municipal corporation, institution or society to destroy any such records, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, archives, maps, papers or other documents.

8. The director shall make a report annually to the commissioners of the said department, which report shall be transmitted by them to the Governor of this State, covering the operations of this department, with such recommendations as shall be deemed necessary.

9. This act shall take effect immediately.

Pursuant to this act the governor appointed as commissioners, Hon. Edwin Robert Walker, chancellor of the state, Mr. William Nelson, and Mr. Francis B. Lee, who organized, in October, by electing Chancellor Walker as chairman. The commissioners appointed Col. Lewis Perrine, of Trenton, as secretary of the board and director of its work. Col. Perrine entered upon his duties on November 1.¹

NEW YORK.

In New York the education law relative to the divisions of history and public records was amended considerably. (Laws of New York, ch. 424; approved April 30, 1913.) Sections 1190-1198 of this act are as follows:

1190. Divisions created. The division of public records and the division of history in the education department, and the offices of supervisor of public records and state historian, as created and continued by chapter three hundred and eighty of the laws of nineteen hundred and eleven, are hereby continued as so constituted, with the powers and duties herein prescribed. Such divisions and officers and the employees thereof shall be subject to the same provisions of law and rules as the other divisions and employees of the education department.

1191. Functions of the division of history. It shall be the function of the division of history, subject to the regulations of the regents, to collect, collate, compile, edit and prepare for publication all official records, memoranda, statistics and data relative to the history of the colony and state of New York.

It shall also be the function of the division of history in collaboration with the division of public records, when authorized by the commissioner of education so to do, to collate, compile, edit and prepare for publication as above, the official records, archives or papers of any of the civil subdivisions of the state.

And it shall further be the function of the division of history to collate, compile, edit and prepare for publication as above such archives, records, letters

¹ This State Department of Public Records and Archives was abolished by the New Jersey Legislature of 1914, approved by Gov. Fielder on April 15. The vote on the repeal bill in the assembly was 35 yeas, 5 noes, and 20 members not voting.

and manuscripts, belonging to the state or any of its officers or departments, or to any historical or patriotic society or association chartered by the regents or by statute law, or any other archives, records, papers and manuscripts, as in the judgment of the state historian but by authority of the commissioner of education, it shall be deemed for the best interests of the state to publish, for the preservation of the state's history.

1192. Powers of regents in respect to public records and historical documents, et cetera. The education department, pursuant to the education law, shall, on and after October first, nineteen hundred and eleven, have general and exclusive supervision, care, custody and control of all public records, books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, archives, maps and papers of any public office, body, board, institution or society now extinct, or hereafter becoming extinct, the supervision, care, custody and control of which are not already or shall not hereafter be otherwise provided for by law.

Such department shall take such action as may be necessary to put the records hereinabove specified, except as aforesaid, in the custody and condition contemplated by the various laws relating thereto and shall provide for their restoration and preservation, and cause copies thereof to be made whenever by reason of age, use, exposure or any casualty, such copies shall in their judgment be necessary. Whenever such copy is made, and after it has been compared with the original, it shall be certified by the official person, board or officer having the legal custody and control of said original, and shall thereafter be considered and accepted as evidence and, for all other purposes, the same as the original could be; provided that the original shall be thereafter cared for and preserved, the same as if no such copy had been made, for such examination as may be directed by an order of court in any action or proceeding in which the accuracy of the copy is questioned.

The officers of any county, city, town or village or other political division of the state or of any institution or society created under any law of the state may transfer to the regents records, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, archives, maps, papers and other documents which are not in general use, and it shall be the duty of the regents to receive the same and to provide for their custody and preservation.

1193. General duties of supervisor of public records. The supervisor of public records shall examine into the condition of the records, books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, archives, maps and papers kept, filed or recorded, or hereafter to be kept, filed or recorded in the several public offices of the counties, cities, towns, villages or other political divisions of the state, and all other public records, books, pamphlets, documents, manuscripts, archives, maps and papers heretofore or hereafter required by law to be kept by any public body, board, institution or society, created under any law of the state in said counties, cities, towns, villages or other political divisions of the state, except where the same conflicts with the present duties and office of the commissioner of records in the county of Kings and the commissioner of records in the county of New York.

1194. What are public records. In construing the provisions of this chapter and other statutes, the words "public records" shall, unless a contrary intention clearly appears, mean any written or printed book or paper, or map, which is the property of the state, or of any county, city, town or village or part thereof, and in or on which any entry has been made or is required to be made by law, or which any officer or employee of the state or of a county, city, town or village has received or is required to receive for filing.

All public records inscribed by public officials, other than maps, shall be entered or recorded in durable ink on linen paper durably made and well finished.

1195. Functions of the division of public records. It shall be the duty of the division of public records to take all necessary measures for the proper inscription, the retrieval, the care and the preservation of all public records in the various political divisions of the state, except as described in section eleven hundred and ninety-three.

The division of public records shall advise with and recommend to public officers hereinbefore described, as to the methods of inscribing, as to the materials used in, and as to the safety and preservation of all public records. The recommendations of the division of public records may be enforced by an order issued by a justice of the supreme court upon application of the commissioner of education, either with or without notice to the proper public officer, as such justice may require.

1196. Safeguarding of public records. Every person who has the custody of any public record books of a county, city, town or village shall, at its expense, cause them to be properly and substantially bound. He shall have any such books which may have been left incomplete, made up and completed from the files and usual memoranda, so far as practicable.

Officers or boards in charge of the affairs of counties, cities, towns and villages shall provide and maintain fireproof rooms, vaults, safes or other fire-resisting receptacles made of noncombustible materials, of ample size for the safe-keeping of the public records in their care, and shall furnish such rooms only with fittings of noncombustible material, the cost to be a charge against such county, city, town or village. All such records shall be kept in the buildings in which they are ordinarily used, and so arranged that they can be conveniently examined and referred to. When not in use, they shall be kept in the vaults, safes or other fire-resisting receptacles provided for them.

1197. Destruction of public records. No officer of the state or of any county, city, town or village or other political division of the state, or of any institution or society created under any law of the state, shall destroy, sell or otherwise dispose of any public record, original or copied, or of any archives, in his care or custody or under his control, and which are no longer in current use, without first having advised the commissioner of education of their nature and obtained his consent.

1198. Penalty. A public officer who refuses or neglects to perform any duty required of him by this chapter or to comply with a recommendation of the commissioner of education under the authority of this act, shall for each month of such neglect or refusal, be punished by a fine of not less than twenty dollars.

OHIO.

An act to empower county commissioners to pay for securing and publishing historical data. (Laws of Ohio, house bill No. 338, p. 755; approved May 6, 1913.) This act provides that any body of county commissioners may aid "an historical or pioneer association, incorporated not for profit," in "collecting, compiling, and publishing in pamphlet or book form papers, memoranda, and data of historical value, together with the regular proceedings of such incorporation, not exceeding \$100 in any one year."

OKLAHOMA.

An act authorizing and directing the register of deeds of any county in this State who has received and transferred to his office, or who hereafter receives and transfers to his office, the records, files, books, and instruments kept prior to November 16, 1907, in any office maintained by the United States for filing and recording deeds, mortgages, liens, and other instruments, to make and keep indexes of all such instruments as are now required by law to be kept in case of other deeds, mortgages, liens, and other instruments, and providing for the compensation for making such indexes, and providing for funds to pay said compensation, and validating contracts heretofore made by and between the county commissioners and the register of deeds of any county, and repealing all laws and parts of laws in conflict with the provisions of this act and declaring an emergency. (Laws of Oklahoma, ch. 85, p. 137; approved Mar. 22, 1913.) The title gives the substance of the entire act.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The legislature established a Pennsylvania Historical Commission (Laws of Pennsylvania, No. 777; approved July 25, 1913), limiting the appropriation to \$10,000 "because of insufficient revenue." This act created a commission of five persons who are to have supervision over the marking and preserving of the antiquities and historical landmarks of the State. The bill was introduced by Senator William C. Sproul, of Delaware County, and the governor has appointed him as chairman of the commission. The other members are Hon. W. U. Hensel, of Lancaster; Hon. Hampton L. Carson, of Philadelphia; Rev. George P. Donehoo, of Coudersport; and Mr. W. H. Stevenson, of Pittsburgh. The full text of the act is as follows:

An act providing for the establishment of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission; defining its powers and duties; and making an appropriation for its work.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted, etc.,* That within sixty days after the passage of this act the Governor shall appoint five citizens of this Commonwealth who shall constitute the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, which commission shall be a body corporate under its title aforesaid, and shall be charged with the duty of marking and preserving the antiquities and historical landmarks of Pennsylvania.

SECTION 2. Two of the members of said commission shall be appointed for two years, and three members for four years, and each thereafter shall be appointed for a term of four years. They shall receive no compensation for their services, but shall be allowed their actual expenses while engaged upon the business of the commission.

SECTION 3. The commission shall organize immediately after its appointment, by the election of one of its members as chairman, another as secretary, and another as treasurer; and it may adopt such rules of organization and procedure as it may deem necessary, and determine the terms and duties of its

officers and employees. The commission may, when necessity demands it, appoint a clerk, who shall be a stenographer, at a salary not to exceed one thousand dollars per annum, and a curator at a salary not to exceed twelve hundred dollars per annum.

SECTION 4. The Pennsylvania Historical Commission may, upon its own initiative or upon the petition of municipalities or historical societies, mark by proper monuments, tablets, or markers, places or buildings, within this Commonwealth, where historical events have transpired, and may arrange for the care and maintenance of such markers or monuments. It may also undertake, within the means at its command, the preservation or restoration of ancient or historic public buildings, military works, or monuments connected with the history of Pennsylvania; and to this end it may contract with cities, boroughs, and townships, for and on behalf of the Commonwealth, or with historical societies or other associations, with proper bond or security, for the maintenance of such buildings, works, and monuments as a consideration for assistance in their erection, restoration, preservation, or marking by said commission.

SECTION 5. The Pennsylvania Historical Commission may receive, for and on behalf of the Commonwealth, gifts or bequests of relics or other articles of historical interest, which shall be deposited by it in the State Museum; and the said commission may accept for the Commonwealth gifts and bequests of money or securities for the endowment of its work, in accordance with the instructions of the donors; and it shall, in conjunction with the Governor, Auditor General, and State Treasurer, who shall together with the members of the said commission constitute a body of trustees for the care of such funds, invest the same in the bonds of this Commonwealth or of any political division thereof, the interest and income from which may be used by said commission for its purposes under this act, or applied to such uses in line therewith as may be specified by the respective donors of any of said funds.

SECTION 6. A suitable room in the Capitol or in the State Library Building shall be provided for the said commission by the Board of Public Grounds and Buildings, in which the office of the commission shall be kept.

SECTION 7. The sum of forty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated to the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, for the two fiscal years beginning June first, one thousand nine hundred thirteen; and this and all subsequent appropriations shall be paid by the State Treasurer, upon the warrant of the Auditor General, upon the presentation by the commission of proper vouchers signed by its chairman and attested by its secretary.

This legislature also passed an act for the better preservation of the records contained in the offices of the recorder of deeds in counties having a population of more than one and a half million, and providing for the replacement and certification of worn or dilapidated records, and the payment of the cost thereof out of the county funds. The records to be copied are those that are "dilapidated, fading, injured, or jeopardized from any other cause." (Laws of Pennsylvania, no. 52, p. 74.)

Two other bills were introduced in the legislature and both were killed in committee without due consideration. The one was for amending the act establishing the division of public records so there might be appointed a supervisor of public records as one of the assistants of the division, with the duty to examine into the condition of

the records, etc., filed or recorded in the several public offices of the counties, cities, and boroughs of the State, and to secure their safety and preservation by the enforcement of all laws relating to the public records. The other bill was for establishing a standard quality for the ink, typewriter ribbons, stamping pads, and paper to be made use of in all offices of record in the State.

Mention should be made here of the unofficial work done by the committee on preserving manuscript records of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, of which Prof. Herman V. Ames is chairman. Until the year 1913, this committee secured reports from 39 counties in response to a letter and questionnaire, leaving 28 counties from which no data had been obtained. The committee's report states:

The inquiry, while incomplete, has fulfilled its chief mission. It was primarily undertaken in order that sufficient data might be collected in regard to the conditions governing the keeping of the public records to learn whether there was any need of legislation relative to the care of county records—and if the conditions indicated such need, these reports might be of some service in formulating such measures.

These investigations led to the introduction of the two bills referred to above, which as stated were killed in committee.

WYOMING.

An act providing for the transfer of abstracts of records from old county to new county. (Laws of Wyoming, ch. 77, p. 74.) This act authorizes the county clerk or clerks of the county or counties out of which any new county may be formed to deliver upon demand of the proper officials of new counties "all books of record containing abstracts of lands in townships wholly within such new county," etc.

The chairman of the public archives commission has by correspondence and in interviews given aid and advice, as far as possible, to persons engaged in the administration of historical and archival departments in the States. It is a function of this commission to be serviceable and it is hoped that its cooperation will be invoked without hesitation.

Memorials were received by the commission from Prof. Herbert L. Osgood, of Columbia University, and Prof. Charles M. Andrews, of Yale University, in regard to the status of the publication of early records of South Carolina and Massachusetts. These memorials having been considered by the executive council of the American Historical Association and placed in charge of a special committee of council, no further remarks are necessary here.¹

¹ See p. 60.

The particular endeavor of the public archives commission at this time is the preparation of a "Primer of Archival Economy for the use of American Archivists" as a contribution toward a scientific system of archives in this country. The preparation of this pioneer undertaking is necessarily slow work. A beginning has been made and two chapters were presented at the conference of archivists, at Columbia, S. C., one by Prof. Charles M. Andrews, on "Archives," treating of general principles; and another by the chairman of this commission, on "Fixtures, fittings and furniture" for record offices. Preparations have already been made for a further presentation of chapters for discussion at the next conference of archivists to be held at Chicago, in December, 1914.

The program and proceedings of the fifth annual conference of archivists, as held at Columbia, are incorporated in appendix A of this report.

Respectfully submitted.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

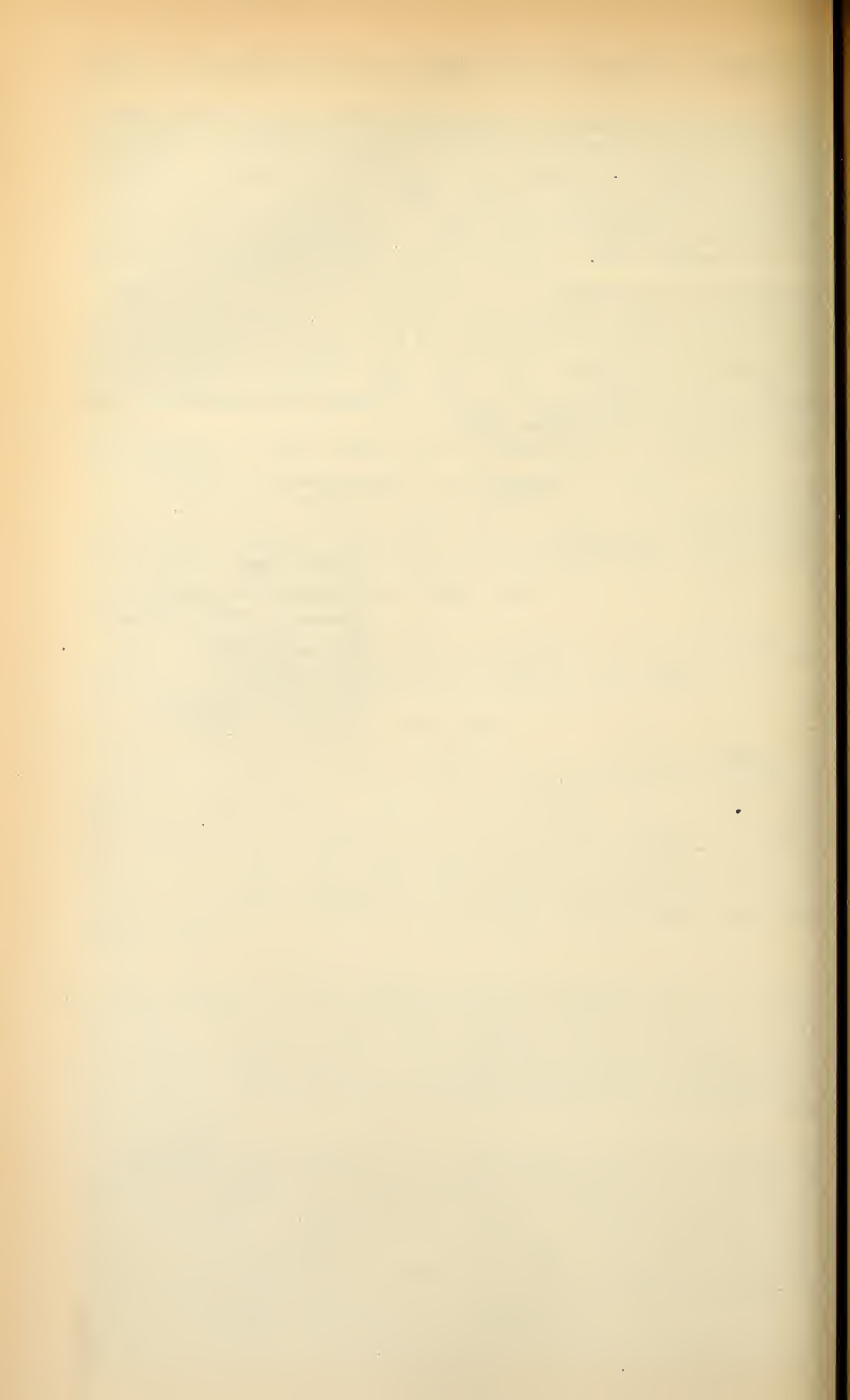
ROBERT D. W. CONNOR.

GAILLARD HUNT.

JONAS VILES.

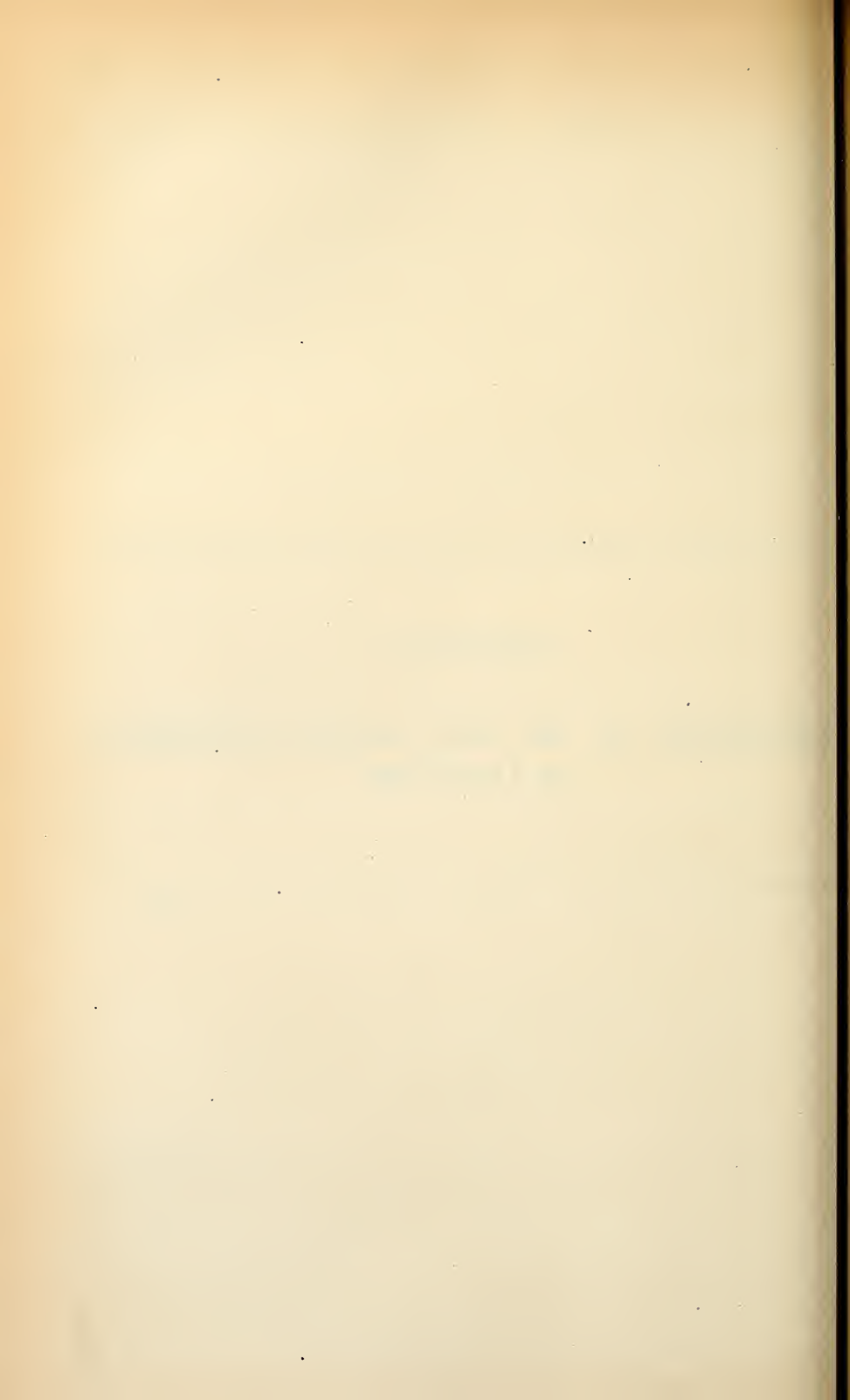
EUGENE C. BARKER.

HENRY E. WOODS.



APPENDIX A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF ARCHIVISTS.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

The Fifth Annual Conference of Archivists was held in the Jefferson Hotel, at Columbia, South Carolina, on Wednesday afternoon, December 31, 1913. Owing to exigencies due to local arrangements the work of the conference, for which a three-hour program had been mapped out, had to be compressed within about one hour. The printed program, as announced, is printed herewith as a part of the record, and the work actually accomplished is presented somewhat fully from a stenographic report. It may be said that most of the program was carried out, but with a rapidity that prevented deliberation and as much discussion as would have been desirable.

PROGRAM.

Chairman, Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York City.

Annual report of the Public Archives Commission.

Archives (being Chapter I of a proposed "Primer of Archival Economy for the Use of American Archivists").

Charles M. Andrews, Yale University, and member of the commission.

Discussion.

Fixtures, fittings, and furniture (being Chapter V of a proposed "Primer").

Victor Hugo Paltsits, chairman of the commission.

Discussion.

Present status in regard to a national archive.

J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.

Local Archives. Should they be centralized at the state capitol? Advantages and disadvantages of such a centralization.

Solon J. Buck, University of Illinois.

Discussion led by R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission; Dunbar Rowland, director of the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi; A. S. Salley, jr., secretary of the South Carolina Historical Commission; Thomas M. Owen, director of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama.

The conference of archivists was called to order at about 2.50 p. m., Wednesday, December 31, 1913, in room 321 of the Jefferson Hotel, Columbia, S. C., by Victor Hugo Paltsits, of New York City, chairman of the Public Archives Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. The chief work of the commission is the preparation of a "Primer of Archival Economy for the Use of American Archivists." We have to-day the presentation of two tentative chapters, one on "Archives" and another on "Fixtures, furniture, and

fittings." I should like the persons present to know exactly what the outline of this primer is; in brief, it is as follows:

Introduction.

CHAPTER I. Archives.

- II. The housing of archives.
- III. Heating, ventilation, lighting, cleaning.
- IV. Fires, protection, insurance.
- V. Fixtures, fittings, furniture.
- VI. Rules and regulations in administration.
- VII. Accessions.
- VIII. Cataloguing.
- IX. Classification.
- X. Binding, repairing, restoration.
- XI. Standards of stationery, record paper, inks, and typewriter record ribbons.
- XII. Archival museums and exhibitions.
- XIII. Reproduction by photography, photostat, etc.
- XIV. Legislation for archives.
- XV. Dictionary of archival nomenclature.

Index.

At the end of each chapter, when possible, references to the literature that bears upon that chapter's subject matter, preference being given to English, French, or German books or articles, and in the order named. The chapters are to run from three or four hundred words, up to four or five thousand words.

The two chapters referred to were then read, the first, by Prof. Andrews, and the fifth, by Mr. Paltsits. Their text follows:

Dr. CHARLES M. ANDREWS. This very brief statement, prepared at Mr. Paltsits's request, to constitute the opening and preliminary chapter of the proposed Primer for Archivists, aims at nothing more than a statement in very brief and compact form of the archival situation. It was not written for the purpose of discussion and does not attempt to present anything that is a subject of controversy, so far as it appeared to the writer.

ARCHIVES.

(Being the first chapter of a proposed primer.)

By CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Strictly speaking, archives are public documents—parchments, papers, journals, ledgers, and entry books—that have accumulated in the course of the ordinary and extraordinary business of a government and contain a record of its legal and administrative activity. They differ from historical manuscripts in that they are not a mass of papers and parchments fortuitously gathered and arranged with regard only for their topical and chronological importance.

Although many documents in public libraries and private hands are in reality public records, because they were originally drawn up or written for public purposes in connection with the work of some public official, board, or department, they are not archives, because they have got separated from the departmental collection to which they belong and are no longer in official custody. Archives proper are governmental documents only, preserved in official hands and arranged in the order and according to the conditions of their origin. All archives are historical manuscripts, but not all historical manuscripts are archives.

The systematic preservation of governmental documents in official custody is a comparatively recent matter. In all countries official papers have suffered from a double neglect. In the first place, they have frequently been treated as the private papers of the official in charge and in consequence have been scattered or lost; and in the second place, even when they have been retained in departmental hands, they have suffered from carelessness often so gross as to result in total destruction or irreparable damage. One of the most important obligations resting upon the governments of the present day is the preservation of their records in adequate fireproof structures, so built as to furnish convenient and sufficient opportunities for consultation by those who need to use them either for official, legal, or historical purposes.

In the arranging of archives within their place of deposit one principle should govern all the rest, and that is the principle of origin, variously known as *principe des origines*, *principe de provenance*, and *respect des fonds*. In a majority of cases an official document is but one of a series intimately bound up with the work of some particular office or department. This connection should be preserved with the utmost care, wherever it exists in sufficiently tangible form. Generally the place of the document in the routine of the office must be known in order that its true character may be understood. The importance of the connection will inevitably vary with individual documents. In some cases it is a comparatively negligible matter, and the value of the document for historical purposes depends only in slight degree upon its official origin; in others, however, and these by far the greater number, a document can only be rightly interpreted when a thorough comprehension has been acquired of the circumstances under which it was drawn up and of the part which it has played in the official routine. To remove it from its place in the original series, and so to destroy its external associations, is as serious an offense in the arrangement of archives as is the disregard of the surroundings of a fragment or relic in osteology or archæology. Furthermore, the scattering of the records of a governmental office or department renders it difficult, if not impossible, to recon-

struct that department's history, and to determine its relations to other departments in the same government. The official records of a country are the material out of which the constitutional history of a country must be written; and to disintegrate the one is to impair the power of the historian to reconstruct the other.

The employment of archival material in the writing of history is as old as the writing of history itself, but only within the last half century has the importance of this material received adequate attention. The reasons for such a situation lie first in the long-continued inaccessibility of large masses of governmental records; and, secondly, in the want of interest on the part of historians in the nature, growth, and transformation of the governmental organs to whose activities these documents owe their origin. This statement is more particularly true of archives dating from the seventeenth century and concerns less pertinently judicial records and diplomata of the earlier periods. For the later period the archives of the great countries of the world, whether composed of records or papers, remain to-day but scantily known and in many instances practically unknown for historical purposes. As a record of the continuous development and expansion of the functions of government they have been used scarcely at all, and in consequence many important phases of history remain largely unexplored and unwritten.

The more it is realized that the true history of a State and a people lies not in episodes and surface events, but in the substantial features of its constitutional and social organization, the more will archives be valued and preserved. No people can be deemed masters of their own history until their public records, gathered, cared for, and rendered accessible to the investigator, have been systematically studied and the importance of their contents determined. A mere patriotic interest in history which expends its efforts in biographical and genealogical details, in the marking of historic sites, in the erecting of statues to national heroes, and in the publishing of works designed to appeal only to the reader whose pleasure lies in narrative couched in literary form, can not be said to represent a high standard of historical understanding. It has been well said that "the care which a nation devotes to the preservation of the monuments of its past may serve as a true measure of the degree of civilization to which it has attained." Among such monuments, and holding first place in value and importance, are public archives, national and local. For a nation to ignore them or so to neglect them as to place them in jeopardy is a disregard of obligations so serious as to warrant the charge of indifference due to inferior intelligence and in this respect a ranking among the backward nations of the earth. Such a position no first-class State can long endure. If for no higher reason than the maintenance of its dignity and self-respect, such a State should reverse

its policy, and, recognizing the sacredness of its archives, place their preservation, care, and publication among the leading objects of its activity.

FIXTURES, FITTINGS, AND FURNITURE.

(Being the fifth chapter of a proposed primer.)

By VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

The architectural principles that should govern in the housing of archives have been discussed in a previous chapter (II¹), relative to archival buildings and sites, record rooms, etc. Assuming that these conditions have been met, we come now to the consideration of equipment with fixtures, fittings, and furniture. Dr. M. Schoengen, the eminent archivist of Zwolle, has said,² that the *conditio sine qua non* for the conservation of archives is their protection in fireproof, ventilated, and dry rooms, and that only after the fulfillment of these fundamental principles is the archivist or custodian of records prepared to battle successfully against the destructive forces within or without the archive.

In the equipment of archival depots or record rooms the principle of adaptation to usefulness and convenience should be followed. Simplicity is not incompatible with dignity. Superfluous ornamentation should be avoided. The best equipment is none too good—a cheap equipment is not economical. Files should not be built from floor to ceiling in heated workrooms. The high temperature and vitiated atmosphere near the ceiling are bad for paper and bindings, whilst climbing long ladders wastes time, endangers life, and is generally a nuisance. The same objection may be registered against galleries, which have the added disadvantage of wearing out legs and nerves.

It may be laid down as a principle that wood should not enter into the scheme for equipping record rooms. No structural methods can prevent the burning of fixtures, fittings, and furniture if of wood. A fire of wooden office furniture will damage and may destroy a so-called fireproof building, as has happened many times. If there are to be fewer fires, the materials which make and feed them must be eliminated. Therefore every argument in favor of a fireproof building is also an argument for nonburning fixtures, fittings, and furniture; because where there is no fuel there can be no fire. Moreover, a fireproof equipment will stop the spread of a fire from quarters beyond. The principle of immunity from fire is the best principle. It is recognized by many of the large fire insurance companies which equip their offices with metal construction. They know that immunity

¹ This is anticipated by the plan of the primer; but that chapter has not yet been written.

² "Actes du Congrès International des Archivistes," etc., 1910, 556.

from fire is better than a fire insurance. Such equipment is an essential complement to a fireproof building, since it makes the fireproofing complete. A fireproof exterior does not of itself guarantee a fireproof interior. A record room is not a furnace to be stacked with inflammable material. Paper or parchment, of course, must be there and everything should be done to protect the records.

Steel equipment is now made to replace woodwork on doors, trimmings, partitions, and anywhere else where wood has been used. It is not an ordinary crude sheet iron, but open-hearth or cold rolled Bessemer steel, without scale and free from buckle. It is made up to have the finish of fine cabinet work of any tone, or is hand grained in imitation of such woods as mahogany and oak. This steel is given several coats of the best baking enamel or lacquer, and each coat is carefully baked to render the finish hard. Finally, it is rubbed to a rich, dull eggshell gloss, giving to it a permanency under ordinary wear. It is cleaned easily and is sanitary. Of this material are made, in standard models, bill files, card files, check files, legal cap files, vertical letter files, upright files for folded documents, map cabinets with drawers running on roller channel suspension, flat and roll-top desks, typewriter desks, tables, chairs, wardrobe and storage lockers, trucks or omnibuses, truck cabinet for transporting records from vaults to office, safes with adjustable pigeonholes or fitted with any sections for documents, checks, etc., or with roller shelves for libers. The safes are constructed with double walls with asbestos lining, having an air-chamber insulation, on the principle of dead air space, the parts all welded as one piece, and fire-resisting and heat-proof. Files and roller shelf compartments can be had on the sectional unit system, or are built into record rooms or record vaults on the fixed stack or wall systems. The foregoing list by no means exhausts everything that can be had. The cost is not much more than first-class wood construction. The advantages over wood are incombustibility, durability, about 15 per cent of economy of floor space, files and drawers that do not shrink, warp, or stick, patented devices of one kind or another, conveniences, and security against rats and mice.

There are a number of firms in the United States which make a specialty of metal construction. Catalogues and estimates are furnished by them to interested persons without cost.¹

The CHAIRMAN. In the annual report there will be an account, derived from official sources in Washington, of the fire that occurred in the Geological Survey Building,² one of five fires that have occurred there in nine years; and when we think of that fire as having occurred

¹ The text of this chapter is merely tentative and the writer invokes suggestions and criticism from persons who have experience in the administration of public records.

² See above, p. 242.

in 1913 it makes us feel particularly interested in having a statement from Dr. Jameson of the progress that may have been made as to the project for a national archive building.

Dr. J. FRANKLIN JAMESON. The last Congress had before it in each House a bill providing for the preparation of plans for a suitable national archive building. When the omnibus public-buildings bill came along this bill was, by a Senate amendment, drawn up into it as one of its sections, and retained in conference, and the bill was passed with that provision. That section of the public-buildings act of March 3, 1913, provides that the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized to spend \$5,000, from any sums not otherwise appropriated, in the making of plans for a national archive building, the size of which and the nature of which are in brief terms defined.

Unfortunately, however, the language of the original bill was changed from "appropriated" to "authorized." That change was made in the last stages of the bill, and in deference to the usual custom whereby the appropriation of money, in the strict sense, is an affair of the Appropriations Committee. And therefore that act, so far as preparation of plans is concerned, marks merely a stage in advancement of opinion or of preparation. The plans will not be drawn under any such provision, for more than one reason: First, that no sum is appropriated; and, secondly, that the office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury is overwhelmed with its existing work, for I believe there are something like 1,200 United States buildings which are in some stage of progress at the present time, if you include cases where sites have been purchased as well as those where some progress has been made in actual construction.

The last section of the public buildings act of March 3 provides for a public buildings commission, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Postmaster General, the Attorney General, two Senators, and two Representatives, who naturally have been chosen from the two committees of the Senate and House, namely, the chairman and one minority member of the Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds and the chairman and one minority member of the House committee. The main duty of that commission is to straighten out the tangle in the Supervising Architect's Office, to prepare a program, to devise a mode of procedure by which that office can get forward more readily with the building of post offices and other local public buildings. It is within the functions of that public buildings commission also to make recommendations to Congress respecting buildings in Washington. But that commission intends in its first report to confine itself to the local buildings and will not take up for a good while any other questions. Therefore, so far as concerns new buildings for the Departments of State, Justice, and Labor, the Geological Survey and certain other related parts

of the Interior Department, and a national archive building, this commission is not likely to make any report for a good while to come. And therefore the only chance of a serious advance in respect to a national archive building in this present session is that the Appropriations Committee of the House or of the Senate, especially of the House, may be moved to take this up as a special matter, push it forward, and secure it.

I am sorry to say that it does not appear to me that the immediate prospects of a national archive building are bright. Yet it is no doubt true that congressional opinion is more alive on the subject than it has been before, and in the next session, if the thing is properly started, it will make headway more easily than in previous sessions. The point for present attack seems to be not the Public Buildings Commission, but the House Committee on Appropriations; and if any members of this audience have any influence with any member of the House Committee on Appropriations I should be glad if they would write to him in support of immediate action on such a measure. I believe it is conceded by Congressmen pretty generally that a national archive building ought to be built.

Prof. Herman V. Ames, of the University of Pennsylvania, presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

The Annual Conference of Archivists, assembled from the various States of the Union under the auspices of the American Historical Association, wishes to give public expression to its earnest hope that the State of South Carolina will proceed further, and as rapidly as is practicable, in the work of publishing the invaluable materials preserved in its archives of the earlier history of the State. All historical students are grateful for the interesting and well-edited publications which the Historical Commission of South Carolina has already put forth, but all are eager for the completer presentation of a record at once so inspiring to local patriotism and so important to the general history of the Union.

A paper by Dr. Solon J. Buck, of the University of Illinois, on the concentration of local archives was read and discussed, and the conference adjourned at 4 p. m. The text of the paper and a report of the discussion follow:

LOCAL ARCHIVES. SHOULD THEY BE CENTRALIZED AT THE STATE CAPITOL? ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF SUCH A CENTRALIZATION.

By SOLON J. BUCK.

It is customary nowadays when a question is propounded for a joint debate between two college literary societies to surround it with a whole regiment of provisions, explanations, concessions, and definitions, in order to confine the discussion to a limited field and insure a joining of issues. The question before us is stated in the form of a proposition for debate: Should local archives be centralized at the State capitol? and apparently I am expected to present arguments for both affirmative and negative, if not the decision of the

ury as well. As it stands, however, the question would admit of a vast amount of discussion on both sides, without the joining of an issue. I intend, therefore, to devote the first part of the time allotted to me to narrowing it down to workable limits.

Anyone who is at all familiar with problems relating to archives will admit at once that there are conditions and circumstances under which certain particular records now in local depositories should be centralized at the capitol; and it is equally clear that there are other conditions and circumstances under which certain other records should not be so centralized.

The best example of the former case which occurs to me is that of the Kaskaskia records in the custody of the officials of Randolph County, Ill. These records were made long before there was any such thing as Randolph County, and only in the physical sense can they be termed part of the county archives; they are archives of the old Illinois country as a whole during the French, British, and Virginia periods, and as such should unquestionably be deposited with the archives of the State at Springfield. It will probably be safe to formulate the general principle that records which are in local depositories merely as a matter of chance, which do not form an organic part of the archives of the particular corporate body which possesses them, and which relate to the Commonwealth as a whole or to a large part of it, should always be transferred to the custody of the State.

To go to the other extreme, it is obvious that there are certain local records of vital interest to the people of the locality, such as marriage, birth, and land records, which should under no circumstances be centralized at the capitol. Between these two extremes lies a vast area of debatable ground within which the decision must be governed largely by circumstances. A few general principles, however, may be set forth in a tentative way. It would seem that, as a rule, there should be no considerable centralization of local archives until the State has provided a suitable depository where they may be freely consulted, and where they will be reasonably secure from destruction. There must be a trained archivist in charge in order to insure the proper care and arrangement of the local records sent up to the capitol, and there should also be an examiner of public records or some other State officer whose duty it is to select the local archives and make provision for their transfer. Personally, I should be inclined to go so far as to say that discretion in the matter should be vested entirely in the State officer in charge and not at all in local officers, in order to prevent the haphazard accumulation of a variety of incomplete local records in the central depository.

That the conditions of care and likelihood of preservation of the local archives in their present depositories should be of influence in considering the question of centralization is obvious. The first consideration should always be the preservation of the documents, and when the local authorities do not and can not be made to give them adequate care, their transfer to the capitol is more essential than in the case of archives which are housed in well-appointed county courthouses and looked after by competent officials. On the other hand, if centralization is to be adopted as a policy, there should be no hesitancy about transferring certain classes of records, even when they are receiving the best of care: First, because it is desirable to have the different series as complete as possible in the central depository; and, secondly, because the shifting personnel in the local offices may at any time put in jeopardy records whose value is solely historical.

Let us assume, then, for purposes of discussion, that the State has provided a proper depository for archives at the capitol; that a competent archivist is in charge, and that there is an examiner of local records empowered by law to

select the records for centralization. Conceding also that certain documents such as the Kaskaskia manuscripts, should be removed to the capitol and that certain others should not be, the question is narrowed down to a consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of the centralization of the large mass of local archives which lies between the two extremes.

From the standpoint of the student of State and National history the advantage of centralization is obvious. Scattered as they now are it is practically impossible for anyone but the local historian to consult town and county records, but if brought together in one depository in each State they would be a valuable supplement to the State archives in furnishing materials for historical research. Such centralization would facilitate a considerable number of comparative and collective studies which would otherwise be very difficult if not impossible. For example, the secretary of the Arkansas History Commission has secured possession of the tax records of the different counties, from 1819 to 1870, from which he is compiling a catalogue of all resident citizens of the State from its organization to the close of the Civil War. The opportunity which such a collection offers for comparative studies of economic conditions in different parts of the State and among different classes of the people will be apparent to all.

Centralization would seem to be the most feasible method of insuring the preservation of noncurrent local archives. Theoretically it is quite possible to compel the local bodies to erect suitable buildings and vaults and keep their records in them, and some very effective work has been done along these lines in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and some of the other Eastern States. Practically, however, the difficulties in the way of such a procedure, so far as records whose value is solely historical are concerned, are almost insurmountable. An examination of nearly all the courthouses in Illinois disclosed the fact that records not in frequent use are almost invariably looked upon as so much "junk" by the officials in charge, and if not turned over to the janitor to be used for kindling they are usually packed away in boxes or barrels, without any attempt at arrangement. The situation could undoubtedly be vastly improved if the State had an efficient examiner of local records; but the surest remedy would seem to be centralization at the State capitol.

Of the disadvantages, the most prominent one is the large amount of space which would be required for the storage of local archives in a central depository, especially in some of the large Western States which have over 100 counties and innumerable cities, towns, villages, townships, and districts of all sorts. A little reflection, however, makes it clear that if these records are to be preserved quarters will have to be provided for them somewhere, and less space and expense will probably be required to store them all together, and carefully arranged, than when dispersed throughout the State. A local courthouse or town hall may be adequate for the present, but at the rate at which records are accumulating it soon becomes necessary to provide more space, or, what is more likely to happen, to push the older records into attics and basements to make room for current files.

Another and more serious disadvantage is the removal of the materials of the local historian, which might have a tendency to decrease the interest in local history. The real enthusiast, however, would certainly find his way to the archives depot in the capitol, and there he would find the desired documents carefully arranged, possibly calendared or inventoried, and surrounded with all the conveniences for investigation. Should he find it inconvenient to examine them in detail at the capitol, photostatic copies could be made for him at small expense, which he could then use at his leisure in his own study. Anyone who has attempted to carry on research under the conditions which prevail in

the ordinary courthouse will readily see that centralization, involving as it does care and arrangement, would actually make the records more accessible to the local historian. It is only the antiquarian and the curiosity hunter, then, who would really suffer, and their interests might in a measure be provided for by photostatic reproductions of old and interesting documents, which could be secured and displayed by the local historical societies.

In conclusion it may not be amiss to point out the fact that the problem under consideration is only a part of the much larger problem of introducing economy, efficiency, and uniformity in the making and preservation of public records. Our various governments—National, State, and local—have been in existence but a very short time when compared with those of the Old World, and yet an enormous mass of records has accumulated. If we are to go on making records at the same rate in the future, without consideration of what is and what is not worth while, and without eliminating duplication, useless verbiage, and luxurious expanses of blank paper, the problem which confronts us to-day will overwhelm our descendants in future centuries.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. R. D. W. CONNOR, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission. I find myself almost entirely in harmony with Dr. Buck's opinions, but should approach the subject from a different point of view. As I understand his argument, he approaches it from the point of view of the general historian. It seems to me more proper to approach it from the point of view of the local historian and local history. I agree with him in saying that certain records, such as he has mentioned—and I suppose all States have records of that sort that are local only by accident and that properly belong to general history—certainly should be transferred to a central depository. But, in my judgment, the records that are purely local in character, in origin, and in their application should remain in the locality in which they originate. If the general historian wishes to use them, it is his business to go there and find them, and our business, if we find that they are not properly cared for in the locality, is to work up sufficient sentiment in those localities so that they will be properly cared for there.

It has been my experience in my own State that a good many of the counties take better care of their local archives than the State has taken of her archives until within the last year or so.

In my judgment the interest of the local historian is paramount in this matter, and his interest should be conserved rather than that of the general historian. I should agree, therefore, with what I understand to be Dr. Buck's conclusion—that only those records which are local by accident, and which have a general rather than a local application, should be transferred to a central depository, and those that are local in their application and interest should be permitted to remain in the locality in which they originate.

Mr. A. S. SALLEY, jr., secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina. Almost everything of a general nature that I might have said has been anticipated by Dr. Buck, so that I will confine my remarks to local conditions as bearing on this question.

We have a condition in South Carolina that is somewhat similar to the Kaskaskia conditions. One series of our records is similar in its origin and in its location, but the result has been just the opposite. You will notice in a little pamphlet that we have distributed on Columbia that Gen. McCrady called attention to the fact that Charles Town (now Charleston) at the earliest historical period of South Carolina was the outpost of civilization here; and up to 1772 all records of the Province were kept in Charles Town and were recorded

there. All attempts at anything like localizing records and using a county record failed, so that everything was centralized at Charles Town.

When the province was subdivided into seven judicial subdivisions in 1772 they kept only records of courts of common pleas and general sessions and the offices of the sheriff and clerk and coroner. All records relating to lands, wills, administrations, deeds of every description, marriage settlements, and so on, were still kept in Charles Town. A short while after the State of South Carolina was organized—that is to say, just a few years after the Revolution—all of these records were moved to the new State capital of South Carolina, Columbia, but the inconvenience which arose to investigators of all classes was so great and so apparent that they were sent back about 65 years ago to Charleston.

The advantage of sending these records back has been exceedingly great to the students of history locally and to those who have come from other places to study South Carolina's history. Charleston has been the historical center of South Carolina up until a recent time. The records in Charleston were in better shape than they were in Columbia. They had a fireproof building down there, one of the best in this country. It was almost entirely of stone, and the historical society, now over a half century old, has been able to make use of those records down there and the student has been able to get more in Charleston than in Columbia.

The fire danger that we have had in Columbia up to a comparatively recent time has been great. If we had collected the different county records in Columbia prior to 1865, there would have been no county records to-day, as this town was swept by fire, the statehouse was burned, and only by the herculean efforts of certain historical students, who were then in Columbia, were the records that we now have saved. And it is really astounding to see the quantity of records that Prof. William J. Rivers saved compared with what we had and what has been lost.

In more recent times our records have been stolen from time to time. You will appreciate that when I tell you that S. Millington Miller was allowed the run of this statehouse for about two weeks, and of what he carried off we have not the faintest idea.

The records to-day in the various counties are not of that general nature which would enable the student to derive much advantage from them if they were here in Columbia, while at the same time they would deprive the local student of the advantages of local work. And I think it would detract from local interest in South Carolina if we centralized our general records.

Some years ago we discovered in the library of the State of New York certain records of the navy of South Carolina during the Revolution. We tried to get them back; appealed to the executive authorities. We then had at the head of the educational department of New York, who directed affairs of that sort, Dr. A. S. Draper, who violently opposed the returning of these records to South Carolina. One of the arguments used was that those records were of a national character; that they interested the people of the whole country; and that Albany was a good place to centralize the records; that they had a fireproof building; that we didn't have; that they had an excellent place to care for them, where students could get at them much easier than here; and that it would be of more advantage to students of naval history to keep those records there than to bring them down here.

The fire which partially destroyed the capitol at Albany occurred the very night that I happened to be in Albany to appear the next day to defend the passage of a bill to get the records back to South Carolina. We got the records back afterwards in a very much damaged condition.

Dr. Draper's plea was that the centralizing of the records would be of convenience and a help to students; but it was only when we got them here and put them in print that the students got the real advantage and the benefit of those records.

Dr. THOMAS M. OWEN, director of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama. There are two sides to the question; one that would absolutely prohibit any centralizing at all except on a loan basis, for making transcripts or for temporary use in the State house; and the other side, that would make a very careful selection of all records not in business use in the several depositories or places where records are required to be made, and remove those not in current use to a central depository.

Certainly there should be sound reasons and carefully considered bases for any action on the part of the superior authority. And it would seem that before the removal was made there should be not only a very careful survey as to the extent of the archives that should be regarded as local, but there should be a very careful concert on the part of the central and local authorities as to what might be termed the proper records that are in necessary business use in the locality.

Now, an archive or a record made in a county is made primarily in the course of county business. A will is offered for probate, it is admitted to probate, it is recorded, and all of the papers in connection with it. A land transfer is made, and the deed evidencing the transfer and sale is put on the record. And, obviously, here are two records that are of fundamental business importance in the locality where made.

A further analysis of the records of a county or town will indicate that there is a vast body of records that have a local place and purpose that pass with time, and that instead of longer remaining current records of business use have passed through that category and are to be regarded as archives, that could be transferred for purposes of transcription, etc., and returned to the local depository.

It seems to me that to discuss the thing practically, the central archivist of the State, in concert with the local historical agencies of the State and county and town officials and institution officials, should agree on a general program whereby there would be a clear demarcation between the business archives that should stay in the county and not be removed, and those that should be removed in order that they might be preserved and in order to avoid congestion and be placed in a central depository in the hands of a man whose prime duty is to care for records and who loves records for the record's interest and desires to see the record placed absolutely beyond hazard.

And I for one am in favor of a position being taken by this commission that would emphasize the importance of centralizing for preservation's sake, to avoid congestion in the local archives, to insure better arrangement and preservation and availability for use, not only for the general historian but for the local historian; and I am at variance with my good friend Connor's opinion that the record is better for the local historian in the local depository.

I take the position that in the hands of a trained archivist the local historian can study the records of his own locality in a central depository to better advantage than in a local depository.

My belief is that with the opportunity for comparison and analysis that will come only with the comparison of the records of his county with those from another county and with the materials collected in the central depository, the opportunity for local history writing is far superior to the opportunity that the local inquirer would have unaided in the locality.

Of course you understand that after you have made transcripts of the records they can be returned to the local depository. But that is not a part of the inquiry. The question is whether or not the local archive, of whatever character, is to be better preserved, is to be better loved, and used more intelligently and in a better way, if brought to a central locality. I am altogether in favor of centralizing.

DR. DUNBAR ROWLAND, director of the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi. My own idea is that the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Buck is the correct conclusion. I have been always an advocate of centralizing—to get things together at one place so that you can use related groups of material together. And it seems to me that in a central depository you can do this much better than in county archives.

In county archives there is no arrangement for work. You go there, spend your time in searching, and then discover that you don't find anything. You won't find anybody there that knows what they have. You never find anyone in charge of those archives who understands their real value, and there is a great difficulty in it, so it seems to me that the correct principle all along the line is centralization. Centralize all the archives at one place, centralize county records that are worth while in this one depository. In my State, for instance, the archives of Jefferson County and other counties, which are very interesting, contain records of the Spanish and French occupations. These things by all means should be centered at Jackson.

MR. FRANCIS A. SAMPSON, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri. The whole program and the speakers have gone on the theory that if there is centralization at all it must be to the State capitol. That is what I would like to speak on. Suppose as in the case of Missouri, the historical society is at the university town and not at the capital. Now, who is going to use this material after it is centralized? Is it the members of the legislature? According to my experience it is not. They don't want it. You want it in the atmosphere of the university. We have 10 investigators in our rooms to 1 that goes to Jefferson City, I am sure. Then, in such a case, where do you want your local material? You want it in the collection of the historical society, where we have more of Missouri matters than all other parts of the State put together, including the capitol and all of its offices.

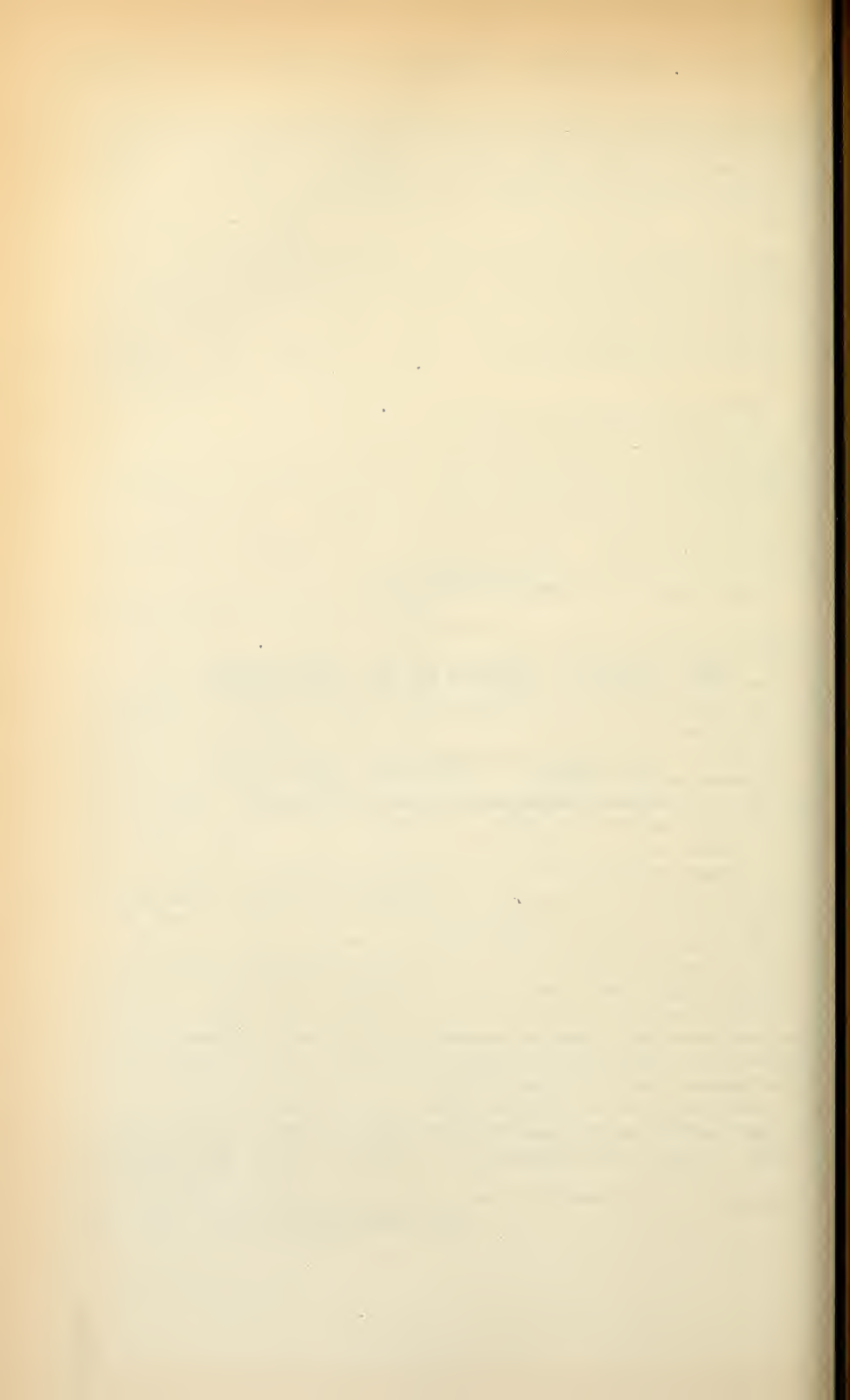
DR. BUCK. I wish to correct a misapprehension shown by one of the speakers who has apparently understood my paper as being opposed to any of the local archives being centralized except such as are of general interest. It was my intention to divide local archives into three classes—first, those of general interest and origin, which I suppose that every one would concede should be centralized; secondly, those in use for business purposes, which every one would concede should be left in the locality; and in the third class I put everything between, including archives of local origin. And it is my own personal conclusion, as I tried to bring out in my paper, that given a proper condition in the public archives, a proper equipment for handling the local archives when centralized in this archives building, that intermediate class should be taken to that central depository.

I wish to throw in one word of suggestion. It is possible to send them up and have them copied and send them back.

APPENDIX B.

THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF WYOMING.

By JAMES F. WILLARD, PH. D.,
Professor of History in the University of Colorado.



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THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF WYOMING.

By JAMES F. WILLARD.

INTRODUCTION.

Wyoming was made a Territory in 1869 and a State in 1890. The records of the more important officers of both periods are preserved in the capitol building in the city of Cheyenne, but some officers and a number of boards and commissions have their headquarters elsewhere, in Cheyenne or in other parts of the State. The present report has only to do with records, Territorial and State, found in the capitol building or elsewhere in Cheyenne. In most cases some indication is given of the present headquarters of the other officers or boards as an aid to anyone who may desire information concerning their records.

The records in the capitol building are as a rule well protected and easily accessible. The system of vaults is ample for most of the offices, though in some cases they are overcrowded. The lower vault of the governor's office is far too small to allow of any proper method of classifying the numerous classes of records, and the same is true, though to a less extent, of the lower vault of the secretary of state. Important records are usually well arranged, but correspondence and minor records are frequently not so, and at times have been destroyed or lost. In the offices of the engineer and the commissioner of public lands are many hundred letter files containing correspondence. These are not arranged in chronological or any other order. Much of the material in the lower vault of the governor's office is in a state of almost hopeless confusion.

The fact that so many of the boards and commissions are made up of State officers serving as ex officio members causes a confusion of the records in some offices. At times the records of such boards are not clearly separated from the other material in the vaults or cabinets. In this report the attempt has been made to list the records of each board separately, rather than under the name of the officer in whose charge they were found.

In the histories of the various offices and boards no attempt has been made to give detailed information of their duties. Only such

information is given as would seem to be necessary for an understanding of the records.

The officers in the capitol building and the secretaries of the boards located in Cheyenne showed an unvarying courtesy to the compiler of this report. In many instances vaults were thrown open for an unrestricted and unsupervised examination of the records they contained. I wish, however, to acknowledge especially my indebtedness to the courtesy of Mr. F. H. Wescott, deputy secretary of state; of Miss Frances A. Davis, State librarian; and of Miss Katherine Teague, private secretary to the governor. To the patience of my wife in checking up the data contained in the brief historical accounts of the various offices and boards, I owe whatever value they may have.

The investigation of the archives of Wyoming was made in March, 1914.

A. ELECTIVE OFFICES.

1. GOVERNOR.

The governor is elected for four years and has the usual powers.

The records are kept in two fireproof vaults, one adjoining the reception room of the office, and one in the basement. In the upper vault are kept files of reports, correspondence, and other material relating to the business of the present administration, in addition to certain records of permanent value. This material is fairly well arranged. The earlier records, in the lower vault, are not, at present, well classified. The records consist of:

I. Executive appointments.

a. Territorial.

Lower vault. Appointment book, 1886-1887.

b. State.

Lower vault. Appointment book, 1897-1899.

Upper vault. Executive appointments, 1890 to date, 1 volume. In the same volume there is a record of pardons since 1906.

II. Recommendations and applications for office.

These are filed in steel cases in the upper vault since 1904. The earlier papers are in the lower vault, but they are not well arranged. There is a series of envelopes containing such material for the territorial period.

III. Copies of extraditions and requisitions.

These are filed, since 1911, in the upper vault. The earlier records in the lower vault are not classified.

IV. Reports of Territorial and State officers, boards, and commissions.

The subdivisions of the following material require an explanation. Under the headings Territorial or State reports have been listed the regular annual or biennial reports of the various officers, boards, or institutions, and all special reports which are of the same character

as those made annually or biennially. Whenever these special reports deal with a subject clearly stated in their titles, or where they are clearly extraneous to the regular reports, they are listed as miscellaneous. The arrangement of these reports is my own, since they are filed in compartments in the lower vault and in drawers in the upper vault without any real attempt at classification.

1. Officers now elected.

(1) Secretary.

a. Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Report, 1889.

b. Secretary of state, reports of.

Lower vault. Biennial reports, 1891-1892, 1893-1894, 1895-1896, 1899-1900, 1901-1902, 1903-1904, 1905-1906, 1907-1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

c. Miscellaneous reports.

Upper vault. Statement of accounts, 1910-1911.

(2) Treasurer.

a. Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1882, 1886, 1888, 1889, 1890.

b. State reports.

Lower vault. Annual reports, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1905, 1907, 1909. Biennial reports, 1899-1900, 1901-1902, 1903-1904, 1905-1906, 1907-1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

c. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault. Trial balances, 1883 (territorial). Various financial statements, 1889 (territorial).

d. Auditing committee reports. See Auditor.

(3) Auditor.

a. Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1888, 1889. A report supplementary to that for 1890.

b. State reports.

Lower vault. Annual reports, 1890, 1893, 1894, 1897, 1898. Biennial reports, 1903-1904, 1905-1906, 1907-1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

c. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault. Trial balances (territorial) 1882, March 31, 1887.

Insurance department report, 1889 (territorial). Report, insurance department, 1891-1892.

d. Auditing committee.

From time to time audits of the accounts of the treasurer and auditor have been made by committees of the legislature. Their reports have been placed under this heading because of their nature, though they should by a strict construction of my classification be placed elsewhere.

a. Territorial reports.

Lower vaults. Reports, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1890.

b. State reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1905, 1907.

Upper vault. Reports, 1911.

1. Officers now elected—Continued.

(4) Superintendent of public instruction.

State reports.

Lower vault. Biennial reports, 1895-1896, 1897-1898, 1899-1900, 1901-1902, 1903-1904, 1905-1906, 1907-1908.

Upper vault. Biennial report, 1909-1910.

2. Appointive offices.

(1) Adjutant general.

a. State reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1905.

Biennial reports, 1899-1900, 1905-1906, 1907-1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

b. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault. Inspection report of the adjutant general, 1906.

Reports of inspector general, 1891, 1908, 1910.

(2) Attorney general.

a. Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Report, 1890.

b. State reports.

Lower vault. Report, 1890. Biennial reports, 1891-1892, 1893-1894, 1895-1896, 1897-1898, 1899-1900, 1903-1904, 1905-1906, 1907-1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

c. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault. Opinions delivered to governor, 1897. Case of John W. Sammon, 1899.

Upper vault. Opinions, 1911-1912.

(3) Chemist.

State reports.

Lower vault. Annual reports, 1904, 1905, 1906.

Upper vault. Annual reports, 1911, 1912, 1913. These are described as parts of the annual reports of the dairy, food, and oil commissioner, though made directly to the governor.

(4) Coal mines, inspectors of.

a. Territorial inspector of coal mines.

Lower vault. Annual reports, 1888, 1889.

b. State inspector of coal mines.

Lower vault. Annual reports, 1889-1890, 1892, 1893, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901. Biennial report, 1891-1892.

c. State inspectors of coal mines.

1. District No. 1.

Lower vault. Reports, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909 (4 quarterly), 1910 (2 quarterly). A special report for 1908.

Upper vault. Reports, 1909, 1910 (2 quarterly), 1911, 1912, 1913.

2. District No. 2.

Lower vault. Reports, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1909 (2 quarterly), 1910 (2 quarterly). Special reports, 1908, 1909.

Upper vault. Reports, 1909, 1911, 1912, 1913.

d. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault. Court proceedings in investigation of the cause of death of John L. Russell and Lee W. Wright, 1899. Report of accidents at Hanna, 1903.

Appointive offices—Continued.

(5) Dairy, food, and oil commissioner.

State reports.

Lower vault. Annual reports, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909.

Upper vault. Annual reports, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913.

(6) Engineer.

a. Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Report, 1886-1889.

b. State reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1890, 1891-1892, 1893-1894, 1895-1896, 1897-1898, 1899-1900, 1903-1904.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

c. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault.

1. Territorial reports.

Report on agricultural conditions, 1889. Report on the irrigation of arid lands, 1889. List of incorporated ditch companies, 1870-1885.

2. State reports.

Report on the progress of irrigation, 1890. Recommendations as to irrigation laws, 1904. Reports of superintendents of water divisions made to State engineer and by him transmitted to the governor, 1891-1892, 1903-1904. (Separate reports for the four water divisions.)

(7) Examiner.

a. State reports.

Lower vault. Reports, for the period ending November, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912. Annual reports, 1911, 1913.

b. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault. Report on conventions attended in 1910. Report on banking in Wyoming, 1908. Recommendations to Governor Brooks. Report on Hot Springs Reservation.

(8) Fish commissioner.

a. Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1885, 1889. Special report, 1890.

b. State reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1900.

Upper vault. Annual report, 1913.

(9) Fish hatcheries, superintendents of.

State reports.

1. Fish hatchery No. 1.

Lower vault. Annual reports, 1899, 1901, 1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912, 1912-1913.

2. Fish hatchery No. 2.

Lower vault. Annual reports, 1901, 1909.

Upper vault. Reports, 1909, 1911-1912, 1913.

(10) Game warden.

a. State reports.

Lower vault. Annual report, 1908.

Upper vault. Annual reports, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913. Biennial report 1911-1912

2. Appointive offices—Continued.

(10) Game warden—Continued.

b. Miscellaneous.

Upper vault. Statement of licenses issued by justices of the peace, 1911. Report of Cody Club Committee to game warden, relative to suggested change in game laws, October 30, 1912.

(11) Geologist.

a. Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1888-1890, and one submitted October 22, 1890.

b. State reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1901, 1903, 1903-1904, 1905, 1905-1906, 1907, 1907-1908, 1909.

Upper vault. Report, 1910. Biennial report, 1911-1912. Report, October, 1912-June, 1913.

c. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault. Coal in Wyoming, by G. E. Bailey. List of property turned over to governor's office by Territorial geologist, October 1, 1884. Cox mine near Grand Encampment, Carbon County, 1903. Case of North Platte Copper Mining & Smelting Co., 1905, et seq.

Upper vault. Mineral resources of Wyoming.

(12) Lands, commissioner of public.

State reports.

Lower vault. Report dated July, 1906. Biennial reports—first dated December, 1906; second, 1907-1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

(13) Librarian.

a. Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1888-1889, 1890.

b. State reports.

Lower vault. Biennial reports, 1891-1892, 1893-1894, 1895-1896, 1897-1898, 1899-1900, 1901-1902, 1903-1904, 1905-1906, 1907-1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

(14) Stenographer.

Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1889, 1890.

(15) Taxation, commissioner of.

a. State reports.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

b. Miscellaneous.

Upper vault. Valuation Sunrise and Chicago Iron Mines, July, 1912.

(16) Veterinarian.

a. Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Reports and correspondence, 1884-1890.

b. State reports.

Lower vault. Annual reports, 1898, 1900, 1904, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909.

Upper vault. Annual reports, 1910, 1911, 1913. Biennial report, 1911-1912.

c. Miscellaneous.

Upper vault. Statement of cattle inspections and dippings, January-July, 1912, 1913.

Boards and commissions.

(1) Accountancy, board of.

State reports.

Upper vault. Reports, 1911-1912, 1911-March, 1912.

(2) Capitol building commission.

a. Territorial reports.

1. First commission.

Lower vault. Final report, 1888.

2. Second commission.

Lower vault. Reports, 1888, 1889, 1890.

Special report, 1889.

b. State reports.

Third commission.

Lower vault. Report, 1890. Biennial reports, 1891-1892, 1893-1894, 1895-1896, 1897-1898, 1899-1900, 1901-1902, 1903-1904, 1905-1906, 1907-1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

(3) Charities and reform, board of.

a. State reports.

Lower vault. Annual reports, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1905, 1907. Biennial reports, 1903-1904, 1905-1906, 1907-1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

b. Miscellaneous.

Upper vault. First annual report of the chaplain of the Wyoming State Penitentiary, 1912. This report was made to the board of charities and reform and transmitted by it to the governor.

(4) Control, board of.

State reports.

Upper vault. Report of the secretary of the board on expenditures, 1909.

(5) Dental examiners, board of.

State reports.

Lower vault. Biennial report, 1905-1906.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

(6) Engineers, board of examining.

State reports.

Lower vault. Biennial report, 1909-1910.

(7) Equalization, board of.

a. State reports.

Lower vault. Biennial report, 1899-1900. A report, without date, on work done after 1900.

b. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault. Report to the board, 1897.

(8) Fair commissioners, board of State.

State reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1906, 1908, 1909.

Upper vault. Reports, 1910, 1912.

(9) Farm commissioner. Before the creation of the board of farm commissioners experiments in dry farming were conducted, seemingly under the direction of the University of Wyoming. I have found the following reports of the State period:

a. State reports.

Lower vault. Report of director of dry farming, 1908 (for four

3. Boards and commissions—Continued.

(9) Farm commissioner—Continued.

a. State reports—Continued.

Upper vault. Reports of farm commissioner, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.
The latter may be the report of the commissioner appointed by the board.

b. Miscellaneous.

Lower vault. Financial statement of dry-farming experiment stations, 1907-1909.

(10) Health, board of.

a. State reports.

Lower vault. Report, 1903-1904.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

b. Miscellaneous.

Lower vault. Report entitled "Certain Suggestions," without date.

(11) Horticulture, board of.

State reports.

Lower vault. Report dated January, 1907. Report on work done until 1908.

(12) Immigration, board of.

a. State reports.

Upper vault. Reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

b. Miscellaneous reports.

Upper vault. Report of State immigration agent, 1909-1910. Report of commissioner to State board for the year 1911.

(13) Land commissioners.

a. State reports.

Lower vault. Biennial reports, 1891-1892, 1893-1894, 1895-1896, 1897-1898.

b. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault. Special reports on arid land, 1898, 1899-1900, 1903-1904.

(14) Lander horticultural experimental commission.

State reports.

Lower vault. Report of director, 1905.

Upper vault. Reports of commission, 1911, 1912.

(15) Live stock commissioners.

a. Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Report, 1889.

b. State reports.

Lower vault. Reports, 1890, 1891-1892, 1895-1896, 1897-1898, 1899-1900, 1903-1904, 1905-1906, 1907-1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912. Report, October, 1912-January, 1913.

c. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault. Appropriations, 1892-1893.

(16) Louisiana Purchase Exposition, commissioners of the.

State reports.

Lower vault. Report, without date.

(17) Medical examiners, board of.

State reports.

Lower vault. Reports, first official, dated December 31, 1900, 1906.

Biennial report, 1907-1908.

Upper vault. Biennial reports, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

3. Boards and commissions—Continued.

(18) Nurse examiners, board of.

State reports.

Upper vault. Reports, December, 1909-1912, 1912, 1913.

(19) Pardons, board of.

a. State reports.

Lower vault. Biennial report, 1905-1906. Annual report, October, 1908-September, 1909.

b. Miscellaneous.

Lower vault. Pardons granted, 1905-1906.

Upper vault. Pardons granted, 1909-1910, 1911. Expenditures, 1909-1910, 1911-1912.

(20) Pharmacy commission (formerly board of pharmacy).

a. State reports.

1. Board of pharmacy.

Lower vault. Reports, 1895-1896, 1899.

2. Pharmacy commission.

Lower vault. Biennial reports, 1905-1906, 1907-1908.

b. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault. A transcript of the records of the Wyoming pharmacy commission to December 1, 1904.

(21) Sheep commissioners, board of.

a. State reports.

Lower vault. Annual reports, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909.

Upper vault. Annual reports, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913.

b. Miscellaneous reports.

Upper vault. Special reports, July, August, September, October, 1912; April, May, June, July, August, 1913; December, 1913-March, 1914. Report of expenditures, 1911-1912.

(22) Tax commission.

State reports.

Lower vault. Report, 1908.

(23) Useless property, board of condemnation of.

State reports.

Lower vault. Biennial reports, 1891-1892, 1893-1894, 1895-1896. January 20, 1898, September 30, 1900, 1905-1906, 1907-1908.

(24) Water rights, commission to codify laws relating to.

State reports.

Lower vault. Reports of a commission to revise, codify, and simplify the laws of Wyoming relating to water rights. First report, December 10, 1906. A fuller report, December, 1906.

(25) World's Columbian Exposition commissioners.

State report.

Lower vault. Report, 1893-1894.

4. Institutions.

(1) Agricultural and mineral exhibit.

State reports.

Lower vault. Report of custodian, 1908.

(2) Blind, Deaf, and Dumb Institute.

Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Reports of president of board of trustees, 1888, 1889, 1890.

3. Boards and commissions—Continued.

(3) Fort McKinney.

State reports.

Lower vault. Biennial reports of custodian, 1897-1898, 1899-1900.

(4) Historical Society.

a. State reports.

Lower vault. Report, 1898.

b. Miscellaneous reports.

Lower vault. List of birds of Wyoming.

(5) Insane Asylum.

State reports.

Lower vault. Report of commissioners, 1890.

(6) Miners' Hospital at Rock Springs.

State reports.

Lower vault. Reports of board of trustees, 1893, 1894.

(7) Poor Asylum.

State reports.

Lower vault. Reports of building commission, 1895, 1901.

(8) Soldiers' and Sailors' Home.

State reports.

Lower vault. Reports of commissioners, 1896, 1897-1898.

(9) University of Wyoming.

a. Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Reports of board of trustees, 1888-1889, 1888-1890.

b. State reports.

There seems to be no regular series preserved. The various reports found were:

Lower vault.

Report of the president of the university to the board of trustees, first biennial, 1903-1904.

Report of receipts and expenditures made by the president of the university, 1890-1894, 1895-1896.

Needs of the university, a statement by the president, 1904.

Upper vault.

Report of the president of the board of trustees, December, 1912.

Report of the president of the university to the board of trustees, December, 1912.

Statement of meeting of board of trustees, 1911.

c. Miscellaneous reports.

1. Territorial reports.

Lower vault. Report of board of visitors on visit made December 18, 1889.

2. State reports.

Lower vault. Report of expenses of a committee appointed by the house to investigate and report on the State University, 1896.

V. State examiners' reports.

A separate file, in letter cases, of the reports of the examiner on the accounts of State, county, and city officers and on the banks of the State. The earliest seen were dated 1896. From that date to 1910 the files are kept in the lower vault. The files from 1911 to date are in the upper vault.

VI. Records of pardons.

a. Territorial.

Lower vault. A letter case containing Territorial cases, 1877 et seq.

b. State.

Lower vault. Files, 1896-1905, in cases.

Upper vault. Files, 1905 to date.

VII. Miscellaneous papers.

a. Territorial.

Lower vault. Reports of governor to the Secretary of the Interior, 1889, 1890. The originals of Thanksgiving and other proclamations, unclassified.

b. State.

Lower vault. Proclamations, in letter cases. Report to the legislature on the affairs of Wyoming, 1899-1900.

VIII. Correspondence.

The files of the correspondence of the governor before the present administration are in a chaotic condition. Any accurate checking up of this material was found to be impossible because of lack of time. Outgoing correspondence was formerly copied into letter-copy books and in the lower vault are a number of these. The earliest seen was for the year 1870 and various others were found for the Territorial period. For the same period the incoming correspondence is in bundles without labels or scattered about in the lower vault. Since 1890 both the incoming and outgoing correspondence have been preserved in small letter cases and are seemingly complete.

In the lower vault, in a file of folders, is the correspondence relating to the Alaska-Yukon Exposition, 1909; Jamestown Exposition, 1906; American Mining Congress, 1907; Anti-Tuberculosis League, 1907; Deep Waterway Convention, 1907; International Mining Exposition, 1906; Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1903-1904; Lewis and Clark Exposition, 1905-1906; National Irrigation Congress, 1907; Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress, 1904, 1906-1907; Public Land Convention, 1907; Trans-Mississippi Dry Farming Congress, 1906 et seq. There is also a bundle of correspondence relating to the State penitentiary.

See also Territorial assayer, game commission, geologist, State librarian, veterinarian, board of immigration, Wyoming commission of the Lewis and Clark Exposition.

2. SECRETARY OF STATE.

The Territorial secretary was replaced under the State government by the secretary of state. Article IV, section 11, of the constitution provides that he shall be elected for a term of four years. His duties were first defined by an act approved January 15, 1891. According to this act he was to keep a record of the various acts of the governor and to preserve the records of the legislature, both Territorial and State. All corporation records are also kept in this office.

The records are kept in two vaults, one adjoining the office and one in the basement. Current papers and most of the more important series of records are to be found in the upper vault. This material is well arranged for the most part. The records in the lower vault are accessible but very poorly classified. In consequence of this lack of proper classification, it is probable that some of the following material may have been improperly ascribed by the present writer.

I. Records of the legislature.

a. Territorial.

Lower vault.

1. Journals.

Council, 1869 and 1871, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1888, 1890.

House, 1869, 1871, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1888, 1890.

The journals for 1873 missing for both council and house.

2. Original blotters, from which the journals are written up.

Council, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1884.

House, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1884.

3. Docket books.

Council, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1888, 1890.

House, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1888, 1890.

4. Record of executive sessions of the council, 1877, 1879, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1888.

5. Original bills as introduced in the council and house.

These are complete for both houses of the legislature for the sessions of 1869, 1871, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1888, 1890.

6. Enrolled acts, as passed and signed.

Complete for 1869, 1871, 1873, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1888. The bills for 1869 are also copied in one volume separately.

7. Miscellaneous Territorial records.

Report of auditor and treasurer, 1873. Report of superintendent of public instruction, 1871. Reports of various officers, in bundles, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1888. School report, 1870. Report of board of canvassers of election returns, 1870. Printed bills, 1882; engrossed bills, 1884.

b. State.

1. Journals.

Senate.

Lower vault, 1890-1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909.

Upper vault, 1911, 1913.

House.

Lower vault, 1890-1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909.

Upper vault, 1911, 1913.

2. Blotters.

Lower vault.

Senate, 1893, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913.

House, 1893, 1899, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913.

I. Records of the legislature—Continued.

b. State—Continued.

3. Dockets.

Lower vault.

Senate, 1890–1891, 1893, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913.

House, 1890–1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913.

Senate and house resolutions, 1897, 1907.

In the lower vault a number of undated dockets are found in a separate compartment.

4. Original bills.

Such bills, tied in bundles, were found in the lower vault for the sessions of 1890–1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, and in the upper vault for 1909, 1911, 1913.

5. Enrolled acts.

Lower vault, 1890–1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909.

Upper vault, 1911, 1913.

6. Miscellaneous.

(a) Reports of State officers, in bundles.

Lower vault, 1903, 1909, 1911.

Upper vault, 1913.

(b) Election contests.

Lower vault, *Iradale v. Revell*, 1899 (senate); *Pickett v. O'Kee*, 1893, *Pickett v. Coleman*, 1897 (house).

(c) Printed bills.

Lower vault, 1893, 1903, 1911, 1913.

(d) Records of the constitutional convention. These are tied up in one large bundle.

II. Election papers.

a. Territorial.

1. The election returns are kept in bundles or in small letter cases. These are entitled, Elections prior to 1880, 1886. A series of small boxes contains the election returns for the various counties from 1877 to 1884. A file contains the returns of delegates to the constitutional convention of 1889.

2. Records of certificates of election.

Lower vault, 1888–1889, 1 volume.

b. State.

1. Election returns.

Lower vault, 1890, 1892, 1894–1898, 1900, 1904.

Upper vault, 1906, 1908, 1910, 1912.

2. Duplicates of certificates of election.

Lower vault, 1892–1894, 1 volume, called record.

Upper vault, 1890, 1896, 1898, 1901 (legislature only), 1902, 1904, 1906, 1908, 1910, 1912. These duplicates are kept in books.

3. Certificates of nomination.

Lower vault. In small letter cases or bundles, 1890–1892, 1892, 1894, 1896, 1898, 1902, 1912.

Upper vault. In steel filing cases, 1906, 1910, 1912.

4. Miscellaneous election papers.

Lower vault. Bound papers relating to the nomination of F. E. Warren for United States Senator. Nomination petitions, 1912.

II. Election papers—Continued.

b. State—Continued.

4. Miscellaneous election papers—Continued.

Upper vault. Minutes of the State canvassing board, 1896 to date, in 1 volume. Records of the canvassing board in filing cases, 1908, 1910, 1912. Election United States Senator, 1913, in a filing case. Candidates' campaign expenses, 1912, in filing case.

III. Records relating to the governor.

1. Records of commissions and appointments.

Lower vault. Record of commissions, 1869–1900, 4 volumes. An index to these records covers the years since 1887. Record of officers appointed and elected, 1873–1881, 1 volume. Agents. Commissions to State agents to bring back criminals who have fled into other States, December, 1873–July, 1891, in 1 volume (Territorial).

Upper vault. Record of commissions and appointments, 1899–1906, 1 volume. Notarial commissions, 1906 to date, 1 volume. Miscellaneous, 1906 to date, 1 volume. Index to commissions, 1 volume. Commissions, Wyoming National Guard, 1911 to date, 1 volume. Record of commissions to State agents, 1890 to date, 1 volume.

2. Executive record.

The proclamations, appointments, and other transactions of the governor's office. In the lower vault is one volume covering the Territorial period, 1869–1890. In the upper vault is another volume for the State period and a file of proclamations since 1890 which is said to be incomplete.

3. Extraditions, requisitions, and pardons.

a. Extraditions, Territorial and State.

Lower vault. In letter filing cases, 1884, 1886, 1890, 1892, 1897–1899, 1900, 1902, 1902–1904, 1904–1906.

Upper vault. Record of writs of extradition, 1899 to date, 1 volume. Files of writs of extradition since 1906.

b. Requisitions, Territorial and State.

Lower vault. In letter filing cases, 1880–1881, 1882, 1889–1890, 1891–1892, 1893–1896, 1896–1899, 1900–1901, 1904–1906.

Upper vault. Record of requisitions, 1890 to date, 1 volume. File of requisition papers since 1906.

c. Pardons and paroles. Territorial and State.

Lower vault. Pardon papers prior to 1880, in one bundle. Pardons, May, 1873–June, 1891, 1 volume.

Upper vault. Record of pardons, 1890 to date, 1 volume. Record of restorations, 1907 to date, 2 volumes. Before the year 1907 a few such records in the record of pardons. Record of paroles, 1909 to date, 1 volume. Record of restoration of paroled convicts, 1897 to date, 1 volume. Record of commutation of sentence, 1913 to date, 1 volume. Before 1913 commutations may be found in the record of pardons.

IV. Oaths and bonds of Territorial and State officers.

a. Territorial.

Lower vault. Filing cases, for period previous to 1880, 1880–1885, 1886, 1888–1890.

b. State.

Lower vault. Filing cases for 1891, 1903, 1905.

Upper vault. In filing cases, 1895 to date. There is also a receiving book covering the same period.

V. Corporation records, Territorial and State.

Lower vault.

1. Records of certificates of incorporation. Both foreign and domestic corporations are enrolled in the same series of records. Volume 1 is entitled "Miscellaneous Record, 1," and covers the period 1873-1882. The succeeding volumes are entitled "Corporations" and are numbered from 2 to 5. They cover the period 1883-1890.
2. Acceptance of the constitution. All foreign corporations are directed by law to accept the constitution of the State of Wyoming. The record of their acceptance is preserved in large books. In the lower vault is one volume covering the period 1891-1906.

Upper vault.

1. Corporation papers. The papers of foreign and domestic corporations are preserved in files, by numbers. They are complete since May 23, 1869. Domestic corporations are required to file their articles of incorporation, a certificate of agent, proof of publication of notice of incorporation, and a certificate of amendments. A few file in addition a certificate of their seal and a certificate of paid-up stock. Foreign corporations must file a certified copy of their articles of incorporation, and of the general law under which they were organized, a certificate of agent and an acceptance of the constitution of Wyoming.
2. Corporation record. A copy of the articles of incorporation and record of agents, etc., 1890 to date, in 22 volumes.
3. Receiving book. A record of the name of the corporation, date of filing articles, fee, etc., 1 volume on the Territorial period; 1869-1890; 1890 to date, 2 volumes. There is an index to the same in 2 volumes, as well as a card index in the office.
4. Trade-marks. Before 1913 trade-marks were recorded in the corporation record and deposited with the corporation papers. Since 1913 they have been registered separately in 1 volume.

VI. Correspondence, Territorial and State. Outgoing correspondence is copied into letter-copy books and seems to be complete since 1869. Incoming correspondence was not found in a regular file before 1900. In the lower vault are several small boxes, entitled "Official Correspondence," dated, previous to 1880, 1883, 1884.

VII. Miscellaneous records. Territorial and State,

1. Organization of counties. Small letter cases containing the papers relating to the organization of Johnson and Fremont counties.
2. Records of the revision of the statutes in 1887. These include the original suggestions, a typewritten copy of the revision, and a bound copy of the final revision in 2 large volumes.
3. Military papers of the Territorial period, unclassified.
4. Letters of the governors and other material relating to their office. These are kept in small letter cases for a few governors under their names. The papers relating to Gov. Hale contain a sketch of his life. These cases are not arranged in any order.
5. Bonds of purchasers of mavericks and of stock inspectors. A small letter case for 1889-1890.
6. Lists of automobile owners.
7. Various papers relating to the erection of the university building, in bundle. Another, the proceedings of the University building commission, 1886.

See also commission of pharmacy.

3. STATE TREASURER.

By an act approved December 2, 1869, the office of Territorial treasurer was created. The office of State treasurer was provided for in the constitution, article IV, section 11. He is elected for a term of four years.

The records of his office are kept in two vaults. The earlier files are to be found in the vault in the basement. The records may be classified as follows:

1. Ledgers and journals.

1870 to date, 8 volumes in each series.

2. Warrant register.

1888 to date, 3 volumes.

3. Trust funds.

This series of letter files contains documents relating to trust funds in connection with the State land commission. October 1, 1910, to date seen.

4. Bond proceedings.

Bonds of the school districts. As they are not a permanent record they are very incomplete.

5. Correspondence.

Lower vault. Outgoing correspondence in letter-copy books, 1898 to 1910, 13 volumes. Incoming correspondence in letter files, January, 1899, to 1903.

Upper vault. Outgoing correspondence in letter-copy books, Nos. 14-21, 1910 to date. Incoming correspondence, 1905 to date.

6. Miscellaneous.

Stubs of receipts.

See also Capitol building commission, board of charities and reform, board of condemnation of useless property, examiner, board of penitentiary commissioners, board of deposits.

4. STATE AUDITOR.

By an act approved December 2, 1869, the office of Territorial auditor was created. By a later act, approved March 8, 1888, the State auditor was made ex officio insurance commissioner. This ended the separate existence of the office of insurance commissioner, which had been created in 1884. The State constitution, article IV, section 11, provides for the election of the State auditor for a term of four years.

The records of the office are kept in two vaults, the one in the basement containing early or unused material. They may be classified as follows:

1. Ledgers and journals.

1882 to date, 8 volumes in each series. There is one daybook for the Territorial period covering the years 1882-1884.

2. Vouchers for money paid out by the State.

These are filed by numbers and are complete since April, 1888.

3. Correspondence.

Outgoing correspondence is seemingly complete since 1882. Incoming correspondence is evidently incomplete. One box contains correspondence from 1870 to 1882. Since 1890 the files are complete.

4. Insurance records.

a. Reports of insurance companies and papers connected therewith. These are kept in one file. Under the names of the companies are placed the annual reports of insurance companies, the applications for agents, the company charters, and other papers, together with the correspondence connected with the same.

b. Ledger, showing insurance in force. 1882 to date, 2 volumes.

c. Insurance record. 1883-1890.

See also board of condemnation of useless property, board of equalization.

5. STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

During the Territorial period the office of superintendent of public instruction underwent many vicissitudes. By an act approved December 10, 1869, the Territorial auditor was made ex officio superintendent of public instruction. By an act approved December 14, 1871, the office was abolished and the county superintendents were directed to report to the governor. In 1873, by an act approved December 12, the Territorial librarian was made ex officio superintendent of public instruction. This arrangement seems to have persisted until Wyoming became a State. By the constitution, article IV, section 11, the office of superintendent of public instruction was made elective, and the term of office was fixed at four years.

Aside from the customary duties of the office, such as the supervision of the school system of the State and the distribution of school funds, the superintendent spends much of her time in the work of boards. She is ex officio a member of the boards of land commissioners, school land commissioners, charities and reform, pardons, school examiners, and child and animal protection; she is also a member of the board of trustees of the State university and of the State commission on prison labor.

The records of the office are kept in a large fireproof safe and in bookcases. There is at present a need of a more adequate protection against destruction by fire. These records may be classified as follows:

1. Reports of county superintendents of schools. The original reports are filed, 1903 to date. These have been copied in one large volume since 1905.
2. Records of certificates issued to teachers. Preserved in one volume, 1909 to date. There is also a card index to the same by name.
3. Biennial reports of the board of school examiners. Filed with this office since 1908.

4. Miscellaneous. Bonds of companies dealing in school-books in the State. Bird licenses. The superintendent issues licenses to kill birds for scientific purposes.
5. Correspondence.
6. Various expenses and receipt books.

See also board of charities and reform, board of pardons, commission on prison labor.

B. APPOINTIVE OFFICES, TERRITORIAL AND STATE.

No attempt will be made to describe the archives of officers not having their headquarters in Cheyenne.

6. ADJUTANT GENERAL.

By an act approved December 31, 1890, the office of adjutant general of militia was created. He was to be appointed by the governor for a term of three years. In 1895, this term of office was changed to four years, and in 1905 to two years. He has the usual powers of oversight of the militia.

The records of the adjutant general are kept in his office in the Deming Building, Cheyenne. In that office they are not even kept in a fireproof safe.

They consist of:

1. Record of the commissions issued to the officers of the Wyoming National Guard. This record covers the periods 1888-1903 and February, 1913, to date, 1 volume.
2. Enlistment papers and monthly returns. Filed since 1913. Previous records not found.
3. Federal inspection reports. Files found for 1912, 1913.
4. Record of company expenditures. April 1, 1913, to date in a letter-file.
5. Regimental descriptive book. 1911 to date, 1 volume.
6. Correspondence. Incoming and outgoing, August, 1912, to date. Filed.
7. Miscellaneous.

In the same office may be found the archives of the chief quartermaster. They consist of:

United States and State military property in the hands of military organizations, 1 volume.

Property in charge of the quartermaster, 1 volume.

Ordnance stores, 1 volume.

7. TERRITORIAL ASSAYER.

By an act of the Territorial legislature, approved December 12, 1877, the office of Territorial assayer was created. He was to be appointed by the governor to serve during good behavior. The assay office was at Rawlins. In 1882 the Territorial secretary was directed to transport all the property belonging to the office to Cheyenne. It was, therefore, discontinued.

The only records of the office found were a bundle of papers coming from the 70's in the lower vault of the governor's office.

8. ATTORNEY GENERAL.

By an act of the Territorial legislature, approved March 4, 1886, the office of attorney general was created. He was to be appointed by the governor for a term of four years. The office was carried over into the State period, but the term was only two years. By an act approved February 15, 1899, it was directed that he should be appointed by the governor for four years. His duties are the usual ones assigned to his office.

The records are kept in files in the office of the attorney general in the capitol building. There is no protection against fire or theft. They consist of:

1. Files of papers concerning cases tried before the supreme court. 1905 to date. These are not indexed.
2. Correspondence. In the letter files in the office incoming correspondence was found from 1898 to date. Since 1907 copies of outgoing correspondence have been placed in the same file.

9. STATE CHEMIST.

By an act approved February 23, 1903, the office of State chemist was created. The professor of chemistry in the University of Wyoming, at Laramie, was made ex officio State chemist. He makes analyses of foodstuffs and other materials furnished him by the dairy, food, and oil commissioner.

The records of the State chemist, if any, are to be found at Laramie. His findings are kept in the office of the dairy, food, and oil commissioner.

10. STATE INSPECTOR OF COAL MINES.

By an act approved February 25, 1886, the office of inspector of coal mines was created. He was to be appointed by the governor for a term of two years. The office was continued under the State government. In 1903 the State was divided into two inspection districts.

At present the inspector of district No. 1 has his headquarters at Cumberland, and the inspector of district No. 2 at Sheridan. Consequently their records were not seen.

11. DAIRY, FOOD, AND OIL COMMISSIONER.

By an act approved February 18, 1895, the office of dairy, food, and oil commissioner was created. He is appointed by the governor for a term of two years. His duty is to enforce the laws against the adulteration of food products, impurities in dairy products, and lowering the standards of oil products.

The records which have to do with the period before 1911 are said to be in Laramie in the office of the State chemist. In the capitol building, in the present office of the commissioner, were found:

1. Sample slips. Filed by number of the sample.
2. Sample descriptions. These are sent to the State chemist with the sample to be analyzed, and the findings of that officer are placed on the back of the slip. It is then returned to the commissioner and filed by number of the slip.
3. Samples not passed. A file of cases brought before a court, with letters and papers relating to the same.
4. Docket book. A record of cases that have been tried. March 23, 1906, to date, 2 volumes.
5. Sanitary law enforcement records. These cover the period 1913 to date and consist of:
 - a. Notice of violation of sanitary law.
 - b. Score book of food establishments.
6. Correspondence. Incoming and outgoing, 1911 to date.

12. STATE ENGINEER.

By an act approved March 8, 1888, the office of Territorial engineer was created. The State constitution, article VIII, sections 2 and 5, provided for a State engineer who should be president of the board of control and have general supervision of the waters of the State. He was to be appointed by the governor for a term of six years. By an act approved December 22, 1890, these provisions were made operative by the first State legislature. In 1911, by an act approved February 17, the State engineer was further directed to cause to be located and surveyed a series of public highways on which it was proposed to use convict labor.

All of the more important records are kept in two rooms in the capitol building assigned to the State engineer. They are kept, for the most part, in steel cabinets. Only the early correspondence and other relatively unimportant records are kept in a lower working room. The records may be classified as follows:

1. Water filings. These are applications for permits to appropriate water. February 6, 1891, to date, 9 volumes.
2. Permits to appropriate water. These are recorded as approved, 1891 to date, 40 volumes.
3. Permits to enlarge water appropriations. Called "Applications for permits—enlargements," May 7, 1891, to date, 11 volumes.
4. Reservoir applications. 1898 to date, 9 volumes.
5. County records of water rights. These are the water claims under Territorial practice, which were transferred to the State engineer's office in 1890-1891.
6. Miscellaneous records. Reservoir permits, special agreements, assignments, etc., 1891 to date, 4 volumes.
7. Record of property rights and irrigation works. One entry only, in a large volume, under the date 1907.
8. Proof of appropriation. Made by the applicant before the division superintendent and presented to the board of control for adjustment. Filed by proof numbers, 1891 to date.

9. Minute and order record. These are the record books of the board of control, of which the State engineer is president. Minute and order record 1, March 11, 1891, to March 11, 1893. Thereafter the transactions of the board were further classified as minutes and orders. Minute record, 1893 to date, 2 volumes. Order record, 1893 to date, 3 volumes.
10. Record book. A record of the decrees of the district courts of adjudications under Territorial practice. These decrees issued in 1890, 1 volume.
11. Transfer records. Assigned certificates and other miscellaneous material, 1905 to date, 1 volume.
12. Certificate record. The office copy of certificates, issued 1895 to date, 35 volumes.
13. Maps filed with permits. There is a file of these in the office.
14. Notice of completion of construction. Filed.
15. Requests for extension of time. Filed.
16. Consent to enlarge ditches. Filed.
17. Miscellaneous files. Field notes, notices of cancellation, applications rejected, etc.
18. Township plats. Filed in large portfolios.
19. Abstract of water claims. Territorial claims.
20. Stream and ditch gauges. Since 1909 these records have been placed in a card index.
21. Ditch record. An abstract of the county records made by or under the direction of the Territorial engineer.
22. Miscellaneous material. Expense books, dockets, stubs of certificates, plane table sheets, early State land selections.
23. Correspondence. The correspondence incoming and outgoing seems to be complete. The letter files covering the period 1891-1905 are found in the lower room. Since 1906 they are to be found in the upper office.

See also board of control, board of examining engineers.

13. STATE EXAMINER.

By an act of the Territorial legislature approved March 9, 1888, the office of Territorial bank examiner was created. He was to be appointed by the governor for a term of two years and was to report to the Territorial auditor. The State constitution, article IV, section 14, provided for a State examiner whose duty should be to examine the accounts of the State treasurer, supreme court clerks, county treasurers, and various other officials. By an act approved January 10, 1891, this provision was made operative. By subsequent legislation the duties of the State examiner have been considerably enlarged. He supervises the accounts of State, county, and municipal officials, and of the various State institutions. He also supervises all "banking, saving, and other moneyed corporations." He is appointed by the governor for a term of four years.

The records are kept in the office of the examiner, in the capitol building, on open shelves and in a vault in the basement. They are well arranged and consist of:

1. Reports and correspondence. Reports and correspondence, between which no rigid line of demarcation was drawn in the past, are preserved in letter-copy books. Of such books there are about 75 in the office and

1. Reports and correspondence—Continued.

present the two series are quite distinct. These records date from the year 1893. The first State examiner, appointed in 1891, seems to have done but little work, and the reports begin with the second incumbent of the office. There is, however, in the lower vault of the treasurer a letter-copy book, ascribed to the examiner, bearing the date 1891-1893 and entitled "Correspondence."

2. Files of examinations. The original returns of the examinations made by the examiner or his deputies. They are kept in small boxes, letter cases, indexed by officers, institutions, counties, and banks. The first seen in each series covers conditions from January 10, 1891, to 1893, and was made by the second State examiner. There are several hundred of such boxes. The series seems to be complete.

3. Annual inventory of the property of State officers and institutions. These inventories have been by law filed with the examiner since 1899, 2 volumes.

4. Monthly statements of earnings. Monthly statements of earnings are required to be sent to the State examiner by State officers and institutions having earnings and by the county clerks and clerks of county courts. These reports are not required of municipal officers, but many make them. The reports begin about 1900. They were not filed at first, but may be found in loose bundles in the lower vault. Since 1911 a record book has been kept of the earnings of State officers and institutions, and since 1909 the reports of the county officers have been copied into small books, one for each county.

5. Semiannual statements of the cost of maintaining county government. These statements, begun in 1909, are made to the examiner and preserved in a file.

6. Reports of assessed valuations and tax levies. The file of these reports for the counties of the State begins about 1900.

7. Miscellaneous. In the lower vault of the State treasurer's office are two sets of records said to belong to the State examiner.

a. Bond register, 1896-1897.

b. License and certificate register, 1903-1908, 2 volumes.

See also board of charities and reform.

14. STATE FISH COMMISSIONER.

By an act of the Territorial legislature, approved December 12, 1879, the office of fish commissioner was created. In 1882 this officer was replaced by a board of fish commissioners, composed of one member from each organized county. In 1884, however, the office of fish commissioner was re-created, and it was continued under the State government until, by an act approved February 15, 1899, it was merged in that of game warden. By this law the State was divided into two fish-hatchery districts, each under the direction of a superintendent appointed by the governor. These superintendents took over the duty of fish propagation and acted as fish wardens in their districts. The duty of general supervision of the enforcement of the laws was taken over by the game warden.

As neither of these three officers has his headquarters in Cheyenne no records of the past activities of the fish commissioner were found.

15. SUPERINTENDENTS OF FISH HATCHERIES.

For a statement of their duties see game commissioner. The superintendent of district No. 1 has his headquarters at Laramie and the superintendent of district No. 2 at Story.

No records seen because of the above fact.

16. STATE GAME WARDEN.

By an act approved February 15, 1899, the office of State game warden was created. He is appointed by the governor for a term of four years.

The headquarters of the game warden being at present in Lander, no records were seen.

17. STATE GEOLOGIST.

By an act of the Territorial legislature, approved December 15, 1879, the office of geologist and mining engineer was created. He was to be appointed by the governor for a term of two years, and to have as his chief duty the investigation of the metalliferous mines of the Territory. The office was continued under the name of State geologist by article IX, section 6, of the State constitution. The legislature, however, did not carry this provision into effect until 1901, by an act approved February 16. The State geologist is appointed by the governor for a term of six years, and has as his chief duty the investigation of mines and mining projects, and the making of reports upon the same. He is, ex officio, inspector of metalliferous mines and as such reports on dangerous conditions in such mines. He also reports to the State land board on all State lands, at their request, and has under his direction the bureau of mining statistics. The latter is as yet only a name.

The records kept in the office of the State geologist in the capitol building date from the year 1901.

1. Record of official reports on mines. July, 1901, to date, 1 volume.
2. Reports on mines. The original reports made by the State geologist, 1901 to date, bound.
3. Mine reports. The annual reports made by the mining companies. They are filed by the name of the company. These reports were made under the law of 1905 which, however, made their sending optional. By 1908 the companies began to neglect sending them in and they are now (1914) no longer made.
4. Field notes and maps in manuscript.
5. Correspondence. Incoming and outgoing correspondence, 1901 to date.
6. Correspondence and papers relating to Territorial geologist. In the lower vault of the governor's office there is a small box so entitled and dated 1878.

18. COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION.

See board of immigration.

19. INSURANCE COMMISSIONER.

See State auditor.

20. STATE LIBRARIAN.

By an act approved December 16, 1871, the office of Territorial librarian was created. Under the title of State librarian the office has been continued under the State government. He is appointed by the governor for a term of two years, and has charge of the State library which is in the capitol building. The librarian is ex officio superintendent of weights and measures and also has official custody of the archives and exhibits of the State Historical Society.

The records consist of accession lists and other material relating to the library. In the lower vault of the governor's office were found a series of bundles containing bonds, accredited to the Territorial librarian, for the years 1875, 1878, 1884-1886, 1890.

See also Wyoming Historical Society.

21. STATE INSPECTOR OF METALLIFEROUS MINES.

See State geologist.

22. COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC LANDS.

The State constitution provided for two land boards, one to have charge of State lands in general, the other to have special charge of school lands. Both of these acted through a registrar. After the passage of the Carey Act, 1894, the first board was directed to take control of arid lands. All the work connected with these boards was done in one office. Not, however, until 1905 was the present office of commissioner of public lands created. The commissioner is appointed by the governor for a term of two years and acts as secretary of the three land boards. Acting under their direction, he has control of all public lands belonging to the State.

The records of the commissioner and his predecessors are kept in two vaults, one off the office and one in the basement, in various cases and cabinets in both the office and basement. For the most part they are well arranged.

1. State and school lands.

(1) Record of lands leased. The first volume, not numbered, covers the period December 7, 1891-1899. There are, in addition, 17 numbered volumes, 1899-October 27, 1904, when this series ended. Since then the records have been kept on cards. These are indexed.

(2) Application to lease State lands. September 22, 1897, to date, 6 volumes, incomplete.

1. State and school lands—Continued.

- (3) Lands granted to the State. The records of lands selected for the various State institutions, October 1, 1886, to date, 2 volumes.
- (4) Record of applications for sale. June 27, 1891, to date, 1 volume.
- (5) Record of certificates of purchase. October 2, 1891, to November 22, 1910, 1 volume. This volume contains records relating to both school and State lands. It is followed by school lands, volume 1, covering the period 1910 to June 11, 1913, and by State lands, volume 1, covering the period 1910–July 21, 1913. Since the latter date the two classes of entries have again been combined in one series. The volume numbered 2 contains the records to date.
- (6) Record of land sales. An index to the certificate of purchase books, 1 volume.
- (7) Patents for State lands. The first volume, not numbered, covers the period August 4, 1892–December 4, 1907. Since the latter date there are two series, covering the years since 1907, volume 2, school lands, and volume 3, State lands.
- (8) Plat books. Fourteen in all.
- (9) Selection lists. Relate to school lands. One volume for each land office.
- (10) Books of patents from the United States Government. June 18, 1890, to date, 6 volumes.
- (11) Applications for leases and bonds. These are filed with the leases. The first is dated August 31, 1891. They are kept in letter files.
- (12) Applications for sale. These are the original applications. Kept in letter files.
- (13) Ledger and journal. A record of trust funds and fees received. There are about 25 volumes in all.

2. Arid lands (in basement).

- (1) Applications under the Carey Act. July 13, 1896, to date. In letter files.
- (2) Patents for arid lands. 1896 to date, 2 volumes.
- (3) Location register. 1896 to date, 3 volumes.
- (4) Final proofs of Carey Act locations.
- (5) Book of relinquishments. 1895 to date, 1 large volume.
- (6) "The files" of individual projects under the Carey Act. Contains correspondence, contracts, and other material relating to the same. Numbered 1 to 94.
- (7) Maps and other data connected with Carey Act. Filed and numbered by projects.
- (8) Correspondence. 1895 to date. Filed by projects.

See also board of land commissioners, board of school land commissioners.

23. OFFICIAL STENOGRAPHER (TERRITORIAL).

By an act of the Territorial legislature approved December 15, 1877, the office of official stenographer of Wyoming Territory was created. He was appointed by the governor for a term of two years and was to have as his chief duty the taking of official reports of court proceedings. The office was not continued under the State government.

No manuscript records were found.

24. COMMISSIONER OF TAXATION.

By an act approved February 20, 1909, the office of commissioner of taxation was created and his duties prescribed. He is appointed by the governor to serve for a term of four years. He has general supervision over all tax assessments of local property for State purposes, and of railroad, telegraph, and telephone and express companies; but in all cases he merely equalizes and submits his revaluations to the State board of equalization.

The records are kept in the office of the commissioner in the capitol building. There is no vault or other adequate means of protection against fire. These records consist of:

1. Record of the office. A record of trips made by the commissioner, attorney general's decisions, important letters, etc. On file since the first commissioner took office on February 23, 1909.
2. Abstracts of county assessment roll. These are made up by the county commissioners and sent to the tax commissioner. Filed by counties and complete since 1909.
3. Abstracts of city assessments. Incomplete.
4. Correspondence. Incoming and outgoing correspondence on file since 1909.
5. Expense book.

25. STATE VETERINARIAN.

By an act of the Territorial legislature approved March 8, 1882, the office of Territorial veterinarian was created. He was to be appointed by the governor upon the recommendation of the Stock Grower's Association for a term of two years. His chief duty was to investigate and report upon the contagious and infectious diseases of domestic animals, and to enforce the laws of the Territory relating to the same. The office was continued under the State government, by an act approved January 10, 1891, and the State veterinarian has duties which are practically the same as those of his Territorial predecessor.

The records are to be found in the office of the veterinarian in the capitol building. They consist of:

1. Investigations of disease. Current files only, 1913-1914. They are destroyed after the biennial report has been made.
2. Health certificates of imported cattle. Filed.
3. Inspection for cattle scab. 1907 to date. Filed.
4. Dourine records. 1913 to date, in file and in record book.
5. Record of cattle destroyed on account of tuberculosis.
6. Record of horses destroyed on account of glanders.
7. Expense book.
8. Correspondence. Incoming and outgoing correspondence in one file. In the office only 1910 to date.

In the lower vault of the governor's office the correspondence of the Territorial veterinarian is preserved in part. Bundles were found dated 1882, 1885, 1887, 1889-1890. There is also some miscellaneous correspondence of the Territorial period, not dated, in the same vault.

26. STATE REGISTRAR OF VITAL STATISTICS.

See State board of health.

27. STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

By an act of the Territorial legislature approved March 10, 1882, the secretary of the Territory was made ex officio superintendent of weights and measures. In 1884, by an act approved March 6, the duties of the office were transferred from the secretary to the Territorial librarian. Under the State government the librarian is still ex officio superintendent. He has the custody of the standard weights and measures furnished by the National Government, but the work of inspection is done by the county officials.

No records of the past were found and none are now kept.

C. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

28. SUPREME COURT.

The records of the supreme court, kept by its clerk, are preserved in two vaults in the capitol building, one adjoining the office of the clerk, the other in the basement. Only early files and correspondence are kept in the lower vault. The records may be classified as follows:

1. Journal, Territorial and State. May 2, 1870, to date, 4 volumes. The first volume covers the Territorial period.
2. Docket, State. March 14, 1891, to date, 2 volumes. The first volume, on the Territorial period, has not been found.
3. Files of the supreme court, Territorial and State. These contain the papers relating to the cases tried before the supreme court, i. e., briefs, returns of processes, and in some cases the opinions of the court. The Territorial files contain, at times, the original papers from the district court. These files for the Territorial period are kept in a cabinet in the lower vault and are complete. The State files are also complete. Since June 8, 1898, the opinions of the court have been separately filed.
4. Bar records. A register of the names of lawyers admitted to the bar, with date of admission. Though this register was begun in 1890, it contains the names of men admitted to the bar during the Territorial period, 2 volumes.
5. Applications for admission to the bar, 1899 to date. In files. See also board of law examiners.
6. Correspondence. Incoming and outgoing correspondence kept in letter files since 1895.

D. BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS.

29. STATE BOARD OF ACCOUNTANCY.

By an act approved February 17, 1911, the State board of accountancy was created. It consists of three members appointed by the governor for a term of three years. It determines the qualifications of public accountants and examines and grants certificates.

The records of the board are to be found in the office of Ira B. Fee, superintendent of schools, in Cheyenne. They consist of:

1. Register of public accountants, 1 volume.
2. Applications and correspondence.
3. Vouchers.
4. Minute book. March 31, 1911, to date, 1 volume. The last entry is for June 14, 1912.

30. STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES AND REFORM.

By an act approved January 8, 1891, the State board of charities and reform was created. It consists of the treasurer, auditor, and superintendent of public instruction. It has control of all charitable and penal institutions belonging to the State. In the first act the poor farm at Lander was excepted, but that institution no longer exists.

The records of the board are kept in the office of the superintendent of public instruction, as that official is, *ex officio*, secretary of the board and custodian of its records. They may be classified as follows:

1. Record of patients in various State institutions.
 - a. Wyoming school for defectives, January, 1912, to date, 1 volume.
 - b. Wyoming General Hospital (Rock Springs), 1898 to date, 2 volumes.
 - c. Wyoming General Hospital (Sheridan branch), 1905 to date, 1 volume.
 - d. Wyoming General Hospital (Casper branch), 1911 to date, 1 volume.
 - e. Wyoming Hospital for the Insane, 1889 to date, 1 volume.
 - f. Wyoming Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, 1895 to date, 1 volume.
2. Register of employees of State institutions, 1891 to date, 1 volume.
3. Record of convicts, Territorial and State, 1877 to date, 3 volumes. The earliest volume, covering the period 1877-1892, is in the lower vault of the State treasurer's office and is probably a part of the record of the Territorial board of penitentiary commissioners.
4. Record of paroled convicts. A card file, 1909 to date.
5. Record of juvenile delinquents. A card file, 1898 to date.
6. Deaf, dumb, and blind pupils. A card file, 1908 to date.
7. Voucher books of the various hospitals and homes. The first method used was to record all the institutions in one volume. Volume 1 is missing. From 1901 to 1909 there are 3 volumes preserved. Since January, 1910, each institution is accounted for separately and there are 9 volumes in all.
8. Voucher book of the Wyoming Industrial Institute, 1 volume.
9. Vouchers. The early vouchers, numbered 1001 to 8500, are to be found in the lower vault of the State examiner; later vouchers in the office of the superintendent.
10. Remittances and receipts from hospital patients. In the vaults of the treasurer are found a large number of letter files containing records of receipts of money paid by patients in the various hospitals.
11. Record of the State board of charities and reform. The record contains the minutes of meetings and all other transactions of the board, January 14, 1891, to date, 7 volumes.

12. Correspondence.

- a. Outgoing. In the vaults of the treasurer there are preserved 8 letter-copy books containing such correspondence covering the period January 15, 1891, to February 23, 1905. Later correspondence is in the office of the superintendent.
- b. Incoming. All the early letter files from 1893 on are to be found in the vault of the treasurer. Current files are in the office of the superintendent.

31. STATE BOARD OF CHILD AND ANIMAL PROTECTION.

By an act approved February 20, 1907, the Wyoming Humane Society was constituted the State board of child and animal protection. The governor, superintendent of public instruction, and attorney general were made ex officio members of the board of directors of the society. The duty of the board is to secure the enforcement of the laws providing for the humane treatment of children and dumb animals.

The records of the board are preserved in an office in the capitol building. No records of the humane society before 1910 were found, nor of the board before that date. The records are kept in cabinets in the office, and consist of:

1. Case files. Letters, complaints, and other like material. Filed, 1910 to date.
2. Record of children under the care and guardianship of the board. This record was made up for the first time in 1914, 1 volume.
3. Daily record book. June 20, 1913, to date, 1 volume.
4. Correspondence.
5. Minute book. 1910 to date, 1 volume.

32. CAPITOL BUILDING COMMISSION.

There have been three capitol building commissions. The first was created by an act approved March 4, 1886. It was to consist of five members appointed by the governor and was to have oversight of the erection of the State capitol building. The second commission was created by an act approved March 2, 1888. It was to consist of five members appointed by the governor, three of whom were to be residents of Laramie County. It was empowered to add wings to the capitol building. The third commission owed its origin to an act approved March 14, 1890. It consisted of the Territorial auditor, treasurer, and engineer. Its duties were the same as that of the second commission. This third commission was continued under the State government. It has now in its charge the care of the capitol building.

The records of the board are found in the vaults of the treasurer. They consist of:

1. Journals and ledger, Territorial. 1886-1888, 1888-1890.
2. Daybook of 1888.

3. Minutes, Territorial and State. March 17, 1886, to date, 4 volumes.
4. Correspondence, Territorial and State. Outgoing, all that was seen was 1886-1888, 1 letter-copy book; April 6, 1889-1903, in letter-copy books. Incoming, 1886 and following in letter files.

33. STATE BOARD OF CONDEMNATION FOR SALE OF USELESS STATE PROPERTY.

By an act approved March 3, 1890, there was created a board for the condemnation of useless Territorial property. It was to consist of the Territorial auditor, treasurer, and attorney general. The first State legislature, by an act approved January 9, 1891, created a similar board for the condemnation of useless State property. It consists of the auditor, treasurer, and secretary of state.

The records kept by the board are now in the auditor's office. They consist of:

1. Records of the board. Minutes of meetings and decisions, June 1, 1892, to date, 1 volume. In the treasurer's lower vault is a large volume in which two pages are devoted to the affairs of the board in 1890.

34. STATE BOARD OF CONTROL.

The State constitution, article VIII, section 2, provides for a State board of control composed of the State engineer and superintendents of the water divisions, to have supervision of the waters of the State. By an act approved December 22, 1890, the legislature gave effect to this provision. The board is now composed of five members—the State engineer and the four superintendents of water divisions.

The records of the board, aside from the general records of the State engineer, are far from numerous. They are kept in the office of the engineer and consist of:

1. Correspondence. Incoming and outgoing, in letter files for 1912-1914.
2. Minutes and orders. Record book 1, March 11, 1891-March 11, 1893. Thereafter the minutes and orders were separated.
 - a. Minutes. Record book 3, June, 1893-March, 1905. Minute record 4, March, 1905, to date.
 - b. Orders. Record book 2, June, 1893-March, 1900. Order record 3, October, 1900-February, 1907. A volume without title, 1907 to date.

35. STATE BOARD OF DEPOSITS.

By an act approved February 15, 1907, the State board of deposits was created. It consists of the governor, treasurer, and secretary of state. Its duty is to designate which banks within the State are eligible to be made depositories of the funds of the State.

The records of the board are kept in the vault of the treasurer and consist of:

Minutes, 1907 to date, 1 volume.

36. STATE BOARD OF DENTAL EXAMINERS.

By an act approved February 21, 1905, the State board of dental examiners was created. It consists of three members appointed by the governor for a term of four years. It is an examining and registering board.

The records of the board are at present kept in the office of Dr. Peter Appel, its secretary, in the Wyoming Fuel and Feed Building in Cheyenne. They may be classified as follows:

1. Register of dental examinations and licenses. June 16, 1905, to date, 1 volume.
2. Stubs of licenses. Kept since 1905.
3. Applications. Kept on file since 1905.
4. Copies of examinations.
5. Expense book.
6. Correspondence. Both incoming and outgoing correspondence kept on file since 1905.

37. STATE BOARD OF EMBALMING.

By an act approved February 25, 1913, the State board of embalming was created. The board consists of three members appointed by the governor for a term of three years. Its duty is to examine and license embalmers of human bodies and to formulate rules for the regulation of the business of embalming.

Its records are kept in the office of Herbert D. Gleason, its secretary, in Cheyenne and consist of:

1. Combined ledger and record. A card file, May 25, 1913, to date.
2. Applications for licenses.
3. Expense register. April 10, 1913, to date, 1 volume.
4. Minutes. April 7, 1913, to date, 1 volume.
5. Vouchers, examination papers, etc.
6. Correspondence. Incoming and outgoing on file, 1913 to date.

38. STATE BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.

The present State board of equalization is the result of a combination of two Territorial boards. By an act of the Territorial legislature approved December 10, 1869, the governor, auditor, and treasurer were constituted a board to equalize the assessment of taxes upon real property. Later, by an act approved December 13, 1879, the same board was given the power of equalizing the assessment of taxes upon railway and telegraph lines. Then, by an act approved March 2, 1886, it was directed that the several chairmen of the boards of county commissioners should constitute a board of equalization "for the purpose of fixing a uniform valuation, for the purpose of taxation, upon all neat cattle, horses, mules, sheep, and other live stock in the several counties of the Territory." The State board of equalization, provided for by article XV, section 10, of the consti-

tution and by subsequent legislation, combined these several functions. It is composed of the auditor, treasurer, and secretary of State.

The records of the board are kept in the vaults of the auditor and consist of:

Minutes and record. July, 1878, to date, 5 volumes. The first 3 volumes, covering the period 1878-1902, are in the lower vault.

39. STATE BOARD OF EXAMINING ENGINEERS.

By an act approved February 20, 1907, the State board of examining engineers was created. It consists of the State engineer, ex officio, and of two engineers appointed by the governor. Its duty is to examine and license engineers who have work to do in connection with the utilization of the water of the State.

The records of the board are kept in the office of the State engineer and consist of applications, examination papers, license records, and minutes in the form of memoranda.

40. STATE BOARD OF FARM COMMISSIONERS.

By an act approved February 21, 1911, the State board of farm commissioners was created. It is composed of three members appointed by the governor for a term of two years. The board employs a director, who directs experiments in the cultivation of soils and the production of crops on dry or nonirrigated land.

The records are kept in the office of the director, at present W. L. Quayle, of the Cheyenne Creamery. They consist of:

1. Account books of money spent on experiments.
2. Two reports on the cooperative work of the board with the United States Department of Agriculture on cereals and crop rotation, conducted at Archer.
3. Correspondence. Incoming and outgoing since 1911.

41. STATE GAME COMMISSION.

By an act approved February 18, 1911, the State Game Commission was created. It is composed of the governor, secretary of state, and auditor. Its duties are to generally supervise the propagation and protection of game animals and birds.

The records of the board are kept in the governor's office and consist of:

Minutes, April 16, 1911, to date, 1 volume.

42. STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.

The State board of health was created in 1901. It consists of three members appointed by the governor to serve for four years.

Its duties are to investigate all matters relating to public health and to oversee the enforcement of the laws pertaining thereto. In 1907 the board was further required to establish a State bureau of vital statistics. The secretary of the board became ex officio State registrar of vital statistics and gathers statistics of births and deaths.

The official headquarters of the board are in the capitol building. There the more important records of the bureau of vital statistics are kept. These consist of:

1. Records of births and deaths. These records are made up by the local physicians, given to the local registrar, and handed in by him each month. The file begins in 1909.
2. Account books. 1909 to date.

In the office of Dr. Wyman, the secretary of the board, are kept reports of contagious diseases. These reports are made by the county health officers and cover smallpox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, typhoid fever, measles, and "other diseases." They were begun in 1913.

43. STATE BOARD OF HORTICULTURE.

By an act approved February 18, 1905, the State board of horticulture was created. It consists of six members, four appointed by the governor for a term of four years, with the professor of botany and zoology at the State university and the governor as ex officio members. The chief duty of the board is the prevention of the spread of contagious diseases and of pests harmful to fruit trees.

The headquarters of the board are at present at Laramie, so its records were not seen.

44. STATE BOARD OF IMMIGRATION.

The desire of Wyoming to advertise its resources has resulted in the creation of several boards of immigration, none of them long lived. The first was provided for by an act of the Territorial legislature approved December 9, 1873. It was composed of the governor, commissioner of immigration, and the president of the board of county commissioners. This act was repealed December 11, 1875. In 1907, by an act approved February 20, a board of immigration was created to consist of the commissioner of public lands, geologist, and engineer. This board was set aside in 1909 by an act approved March 1. In its place a new board was created to consist of three members appointed by the governor. By an act approved February 14, 1911, even this board was reconstructed. It was now to consist of five members, the governor, ex officio, and four members appointed by him for a term of four years. The board was directed to select a commissioner of immigration to serve at its pleasure. Under the direction of the board he was to have charge of the work of advertising the State. The legislature of 1913 refused to grant an appropriation for the work of the board and it has now ceased to act.

The records of the board, kept in its office, now closed, in the capitol building, consist of:

1. Miscellaneous material gathered for the preparation of its pamphlets.
2. Minutes. April 20, 1911–March, 1913, 1 volume. These are at present in the governor's office.
3. Correspondence. Incoming and outgoing in one file. 1911 to March, 1913.

45. STATE BOARD OF LAND COMMISSIONERS.

The State constitution, article XVIII, section 3, provides for a board of land commissioners to consist of the governor, secretary of State, and superintendent of public instruction. By an act approved January 10, 1891, the legislature gave force to this provision and directed that the official title of the body should be "the Board." It was to have control of all State lands except those set aside for school purposes. After the passage of the Carey Act, 1894, the State accepted the grant of arid lands and in 1895 directed that the board of land commissioners should act as an arid land board.

The records of the board, in addition to those already described under the heading of commissioner of public lands, are to be found in the office of that officer. They are separated into:

1. Record (of the State board of land commissioners), 1891 to date, 3 volumes. Until 1903 this record includes material relating to school lands.
2. Record (minutes of the State board of land commissioners acting as the arid land board), April, 1895, to date, 2 volumes.

46. STATE BOARD OF SCHOOL LAND COMMISSIONERS.

The State constitution, article VII, section 13, provides for a board of land commissioners consisting of the governor, secretary of State, treasurer, and superintendent of public instruction, to have control of all school lands of the State. By supplementary legislature the title of the board was made officially the State board of school land commissioners.

The records of the board, in addition to those already described under the heading of commissioner of public lands, are to be found in the office of that officer and consist of:

Record. The minutes of the board, February 28, 1903, to date, 3 volumes. Before 1903 the minutes of the board are to be found in the record of the State board of land commissioners.

47. LANDER HORTICULTURAL EXPERIMENTAL COMMISSION.

No information.

48. STATE BOARD OF LAW EXAMINERS.

By an act approved February 16, 1899, the State board of law examiners was created. It consists of five members appointed by

the supreme court for a term of three years. The board examines applicants for admission to the bar and recommends successful candidates to the consideration of the supreme court. The applications are made to the clerk of the supreme court, are sent to the board, and, having been acted upon, are returned to the clerk to become a permanent part of his records.

The records of the board are kept in the office of its secretary, at present William B. Ross, in the First National Bank Building, Cheyenne. They consist of:

1. Record of applications. 1901 to date, 2 volumes.
2. Roster of attorneys. 1876 to date, 1 volume. The roster also contains the names of those admitted to the bar before the board came into existence.
3. Minutes. February 11, 1901, to date, 1 volume.
4. Correspondence.

49. WYOMING COMMISSION OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPOSITION.

An act approved February 15, 1905, directed the governor to appoint six persons to act as the Wyoming commission of the Lewis and Clark Exposition. It was to have charge of the State exhibit. The only records of the commission that were found consisted of a few papers in a letter case in the lower vault of the governor's office.

50. STATE BOARD OF LIVE-STOCK COMMISSIONERS.

By an act of the Territorial legislature approved March 6, 1884, it was made the duty of the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, through its officials, to care for brands, mavericks, and other matters relating to cattle. In 1888, by an act approved March 2, this law was repealed, and the supervision of such matters was given to a board of live-stock commissioners composed of five men appointed by the governor for a term of two years. By an act approved January 8, 1891, the State board of live-stock commissioners was created. It consists of three members appointed by the governor for a term of two years. It has charge of the registering of brands, the prevention of cattle diseases, the care of estrays, and other similar matters.

The records of the board are kept in its office in the capitol building and consist of:

1. Brand books. In these are kept the copies of certificates of brands. 1909 to date, 11 volumes. Before 1909 the brand records were kept by the county clerks.
2. Certified copies of brands. These were sent in by the county clerks in 1909 and show the brands on record in the counties before the State board took over this business.
3. Applications for stock brands. Filed and complete since 1909.
4. Record of brands. One volume, 1899 and the following years, showing the returns made by the county clerks.

5. Record of brands on hides shipped out of the State. March 12, 1913, to date, 2 volumes. The earlier portion of this record is to be found at the end of (6).
6. Report of cattle inspectors. A large volume relating to estrays, May, 1890-March, 1893.
7. Fee book. 1909 to date, 2 volumes.
8. Minutes. January 17, 1891, to date, 1 volume.
9. Correspondence.

51. STATE BOARD OF MEDICAL EXAMINERS.

By an act approved February 14, 1899, the State board of medical examiners was created. It consists of three members appointed by the governor for a term of three years. It is an examining and licensing body.

The secretary of the board being resident in Laramie no records were seen.

52. STATE BOARD OF EXAMINERS FOR MINE INSPECTORS.

By an act approved March 1, 1911, the State board of examiners for mine inspectors was created. It consists of five members appointed by the governor. Its duty is to pass upon the qualifications of all persons seeking appointment as State mine inspector.

As no member of the board is, at present, resident in Cheyenne, no records were seen.

53. STATE BOARD OF NURSE EXAMINERS.

By an act approved February 18, 1909, the State board of nurse examiners was created. It consists of three members chosen by the governor, from a list of five candidates recommended by the Wyoming State Nurses' Association, for a term of three years. It is an examining and registering body.

As the secretary of the board resides in Casper, no records were seen.

STATE BOARD OF PARDONS.

By an act approved February 20, 1905, the State board of charities and reform was directed to act as a State board of pardons. Its duty, in such a capacity, is to investigate all applications for pardons and to recommend cases to the clemency of the governor.

The records of the board are kept in the office of the superintendent of public instruction and consist of:

Record of proceedings of the State board of pardons. May 1, 1905, to date, 2 volumes.

55. BOARD OF PENITENTIARY COMMISSIONERS (TERRITORIAL).

By an act of the Territorial legislature approved December 8, 1869, a board of penitentiary commissioners was created. It was

to consist of three members appointed by the governor for a term of three years and was to have charge of the selection of penitentiaries in other States in which convicts should be confined. Wyoming had at the time no suitable prison. This first commission was abolished in 1877, by an act approved December 15, and the board was made to consist of the governor, *ex officio*, and of two members appointed by him. By an act approved March 10, 1882, the board was again reconstructed and made to consist of three appointed members. It was not continued under the State government.

The records of the board are now scattered. Volume 1 of the record of convicts (see board of charities and reform) in the lower vault of the treasurer's office is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the commissioners. In the same vault may be found the correspondence of the board covering the period 1879-1891. No other records were found.

56. COMMISSION OF PHARMACY.

An act of the Territorial legislature approved March 11, 1886, created the commissioners of pharmacy. They were three in number, appointed by the governor for three years. It was their duty to examine and register all persons desiring to practise pharmacy in the Territory. The State government continued the commissioners. At present the commission of pharmacy consists of three persons appointed by the governor for a term of six years. In the statutes this body is also called the board of pharmacy and the state board of pharmacy commission.

The records of the commission are kept in the office of its secretary, R. A. Hopkins. They consist of:

1. List of licensed pharmacists. 1902 to date, 1 volume.
2. Minutes. 1903 to date, 1 volume.
3. Miscellaneous. Stubs of licenses, expense books.

In the lower vault of the office of the secretary of state there is the registration book of the commissioners of pharmacy of the Territory of Wyoming. It covers the years 1886-1887.

57. STATE COMMISSION ON PRISON LABOR.

By an act approved February 17, 1911, the State commission on prison labor was created. Its duties are performed by the board of charities and reform, with one additional member, the warden of the State penitentiary. It has the direction of the work of the prisoners in the State penitentiary under its control.

The records of the commission are kept in the office of the superintendent of public instruction and consist of:

1. Daily labor record at the penitentiary. 1911 to date, 1 volume.
2. Minutes. June 6, 1911, to date, 1 volume.

58. COMMISSION FOR SURVEYING AND MARKING THE OLD OREGON TRAIL AND HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF WYOMING.

The commission was created by an act approved February 20, 1913. It consists of three members appointed by the governor.

No records seen because of inability to find the secretary.

59. STATE BOARD OF SCHOOL EXAMINERS.

By an act approved February 18, 1909, the State board of school examiners was created. It is composed of three members selected by the superintendent of public instruction from the principals of the high schools, county superintendents, and the faculty of the State university. It sets examinations for teachers seeking certificates.

No records found.

60. STATE BOARD OF SHEEP COMMISSIONERS.

The State board of sheep commissioners consists of three members appointed by the governor for a term of two years. The board has as its chief duty the prevention of infectious and contagious diseases, especially scab, among the sheep of the State.

The records of the board are kept in the office of Dr. H. R. Millard, its secretary, in the Plains Building, Cheyenne. They consist of:

1. Record of sheep inspected. The reports of the sheep inspectors. They have been kept since 1911 and are filed, but they are not a part of the permanent records.
2. Record of sheep imported. 1906 to date, 1 volume.
3. Record of bonds issued. 1909 to date, 1 volume.
4. Minutes. January 25, 1906, to date, 1 volume.
5. Record book of circulars and orders. A copy of such records as were found, made up in 1912 and continued since. The first entry, as copied, is dated May 18, 1903.
6. Correspondence. Outgoing correspondence, April, 1899, to August, 1904, 5 letter-copy books. Since the latter date neither outgoing nor incoming correspondence has been preserved.

61. BOARD OF STATE FAIR COMMISSIONERS.

By an act approved February 18, 1905, the board of State fair commissioners was created. It consists of five members appointed by the governor for a term of four years. It has control of all State fairs.

As the board has no office in Cheyenne, no records were seen.

62. WORLD'S FAIR MANAGERS.

By an act approved January 10, 1891, the governor was directed to appoint five men, one of whom was to be the Territorial engineer, to act as managers of the Wyoming exhibit at the World's Fair in

Chicago. The usual title of this body was World's Fair commissioners.

No records found.

E. INSTITUTIONS.

Only two of the institutions that may be so called, the State library and the State Historical Society, are located in Cheyenne. No attempt will be made to describe their history, except in the two cases noted. The present list, as found in the current legislature manual reads: University of Wyoming at Laramie, Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Buffalo, Home for the Insane at Evanston, General Hospital at Rock Springs, with branches at Casper and Sheridan, school for defectives at Lander, penitentiary at Rawlins, and fish hatcheries at Laramie and Story. Only the first two above mentioned have their headquarters in the capitol building.

63. WYOMING HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In 1895 the legislature directed the governor to appoint six persons who with the governor, secretary of state, and State librarian as ex officio members should constitute the board of trustees of the Wyoming Historical Society. The society was directed to gather historical material of all kinds, and the custody of this property was given to the State librarian. The society is now inactive and its collections are scattered. Some of the material it collected is on exhibition in the capitol building, some is boxed and to be found in the basement and in the closet off the office of the State geologist, and there is an agricultural exhibition in the Burlington railway station in Cheyenne.

The only records of the board of trustees that were found were its minutes from July 30, 1895, to 1899. They are in the custody of the State librarian.

64. STATE LIBRARY.

The State library is under the control of the State librarian (see section 20). The library receives an annual income from public lands as does also the so-called miscellaneous library.

The collection of newspaper files in the library is excellent. Several of the files of Wyoming papers go back to 1867. Since 1905 there has been an attempt made to keep up the files of the State papers. These papers are for the most part donated to the State historical society, which is, however, in this respect indistinguishable from the library. The collection of law books and State reports is large and said to be well selected. The miscellaneous library, though not so large, is well selected and for general reference purposes good.

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APPENDIX C.

LIST OF REPORTS AND REPRESENTATIONS OF THE PLANTATION
COUNCILS, 1660-1674, THE LORDS OF TRADE, 1675-1696, AND
THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1696-1782, IN THE PUBLIC
RECORD OFFICE.

EDITED BY

CHARLES M. ANDREWS,
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LIST OF REPORTS AND REPRESENTATIONS OF THE PLANTATION COUNCILS, 1660-1674, THE LORDS OF TRADE, 1675-1696, AND THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1696-1782, IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

INTRODUCTION.

The business of looking after the British colonies in America and elsewhere, during the period from 1660 to 1782, was intrusted in largest part to men who occupied in the British system of government a place no higher than that of advisers to the Crown. The select councils from 1660 to 1674, the Lords of Trade from 1675 to 1696, and the Board of Trade from 1696 to 1782 possessed no independent executive functions, and their decisions were merely recommendations which the King could accept or reject as he pleased. In whatever form they might be presented, such decisions, to be effective, had to be confirmed by a sign-manual warrant or an order in Council, which alone could give legal expression to the King's will and pleasure.

During the earliest of the three periods, that from 1660 to 1674, each recommendation took the form of a report, prepared usually by a committee of the Council, approved by the whole body at its regular meeting, and sent directly to the King. From 1675 to 1696, when colonial affairs were managed by a standing committee of the Privy Council, called the Lords of Trade, the reports were styled "memorandums," if the committee desired the lord president of the Council "to present" certain matters or "to move the king," and "minutes," if the committee, having reached its own conclusion, agreed "to move," "to present," or "to offer opinions," etc. From 1696 to 1782, when once more and for the last time colonial business was placed in the hands of a select council, known as the Board of Trade, the communication took the form either of a "Report," if sent in reply to a request from the committee of the whole Privy Council, or of a "Representation," in case the board, of its own accord and on its own responsibility, desired to present some subject that it deemed proper and necessary to bring to the attention of the King.

No great pains, however, was taken by the clerks to be precise in the use of these terms. Before 1696 the phrases "Address and Humble Advice" and "Opinion and Humble Advice" are occasionally

found, and "Representation" appears as early as April 26, 1689. "Report" is, however, the usual term. After 1696 "Report" and "Representation" are the only terms used, though the distinction between them is not very exactly preserved. Owing to the fact that the Board of Trade was ordered by its commission to make "Representations" to the King, this term received official sanction and was put into use at once in the journal. Nevertheless "Report" was often written when "Representation" was meant and had a generic significance, as is seen from the title "Clerk of the Reports," given to the official appointed in 1730 to aid in the drafting of these documents. On the other hand, in half-a-dozen instances, the reports to the committee of the whole Council are called "Representations"; and sometimes in the same entry the two terms are used interchangeably. The rule, however, seems fairly well established that "Report" was a reply to a reference from the committee and "Representation" an original recommendation submitted to the King, Queen, Prince of Wales, or lords justices.

The total number of the reports and representations drafted during the years from 1661 to 1782 can not be less than 4,200. For the purpose of this report 4,148 entries have been listed, of which 591 belong to the period before 1696, and 3,557 to the period from 1696 to 1782, representing the output of the Board of Trade. The list, however, is not complete, as some of the communications were either not recorded, or, if recorded, have not been discovered. But in any case the omissions can not be numerous, probably not exceeding fifty altogether.

The subjects dealt with are naturally of a varied character, but fall at once into two groups: those constituting the regular routine work of the board, and those constituting its manifold occasional activities.

In the first group are the following:

1. Representations accompanying drafts of governors' commissions and instructions.
2. Representations proposing the names of governors, lieutenant governors, chief justices, attorneys general, and secretaries.
3. Representations proposing the names of councilors, and even submitting drafts of warrants for the King's signature. This function involved inquiry into cases of suspension of councilors by colonial governors, and recommendations to restore, in case the causes for suspension appeared to be insufficient.
4. Recommendations to confirm or disallow colonial acts. Before 1718 such recommendations were usually based on the opinions of the attorney general or solicitor general, and after that date upon the opinions of the councilor to the board. The board might modify

the opinion of its adviser, just as the committee of the Privy Council might modify or alter the recommendation of the board.

5. Reports or representations accompanying drafts of proclamations.

6. Representations advising that passage be provided for governors going to their posts in the plantations, including requests for allowances of ship, freight, and even money, for family, servants, and household goods.

7. Representations recommending or opposing leaves of absence for colonial governors, councilors, and other officials, on grounds of health or otherwise.

8. Representations recommending that governors be allowed to receive presents from colonial assemblies.

9. Reports or representations accompanying warrants for the King's engraver to make seals for new colonies, new seals for old colonies, or to destroy old seals that had been replaced.

10. Representations recommending convoys for merchant ships during the periods when commerce needed protection, either from pirates or from ships of the enemy in time of war.

In the second group are all reports and representations that concern the remaining activities of the board. These reports and representations are contained in the list given below, from which all entries belonging to the first group have been excluded, except in a few instances. To have included these entries in the list would have lengthened this report beyond reasonable limits and have added very little to its value. Many of these representations are perfunctory communications, of trifling importance, while most of the others can readily be found elsewhere. Lists of councilors and of laws disallowed are printed in the appendices to the "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial," and in most cases can be seen, calendared at greater or less length, in the body of that work, or, until 1703, in the "Calendar of State Papers, Colonial." A list of governors' commissions and instructions has already been issued in the Report of this association for 1911.

What is here printed is, therefore, a select list, containing such reports and representations as disclose the activities of the various boards in other than the customary routine of their business. Containing as it does about 2,100 titles, it shows that half of the reports and representations dealt with matters that lay outside the regular functions of the boards. Taken altogether, the list is an impressive one, indicating the wide range of their business and the diversified character of the subjects upon which they made reports. It connotes a greater activity than has commonly been attributed to these advisory bodies. It shows how large a part the Lords of Trade and

the Board of Trade actually had in the business of colonial management, for a study of the orders in council makes clear that in the greater number of cases the ultimate authority, the King in Council, accepted without change the reports of its committee; and we know that the committee, as a rule, though there are some important exceptions, followed the advice of the advisory board in making up its report. There is reason to believe that in some instances the board even went so far as to draft the order in Council itself, in confident anticipation of the Council's action.

Reports arose under the following circumstances: The Privy Council, if a memorial, petition, or other matter were brought to its attention, either directly or through the secretary of state, as a rule referred it to the committee. In very many instances the business went no further, being dealt with by the committee alone. But more often the committee referred it for consideration and report to some department, such as the treasury, the admiralty, or the ordnance, or, in by far the greater number of cases, to the Board of Trade. The board in reply sent not only information as to the facts in the case, but also advice as to the course to be followed. The members of the committee, having received the report, generally approved it and embodied all or a part of it in their own report to the Council. In probably 90 per cent of the cases the resulting Order in Council reproduced almost verbatim the recommendation of the advisory board.

Representations, on the other hand, did not originate as a reply to a request from the higher authority; they were drawn up at the instance of the advisory board itself. Many of them are brief statements accompanying a warrant, commission, or instruction drafted by the board and submitted to the King; others are of greater length, containing explanations and comments that define the position of the board on the questions involved; while still others are elaborate documents, covering many pages of text, and often followed by appendices of illustrative material of great historical value. In making up such representations, the board utilized not only the papers in the Plantation Office and other record repositories, such as the Rolls Chapel and the Tower, but also reports obtained for the purpose from the Treasury, the Admiralty, the Ordnance Office, the Commissioners of Customs, and other departments of the government. Hence many of these representations are authoritative statements of departmental policy. In some of them the board, having come to a definite conclusion as to the course to be followed, proposed that an Order in Council be issued at once; in others it submitted a statement of the facts and asked for an expression of the King's will and pleasure. In such cases the committee, having received the representation by reference from the Council, would sometimes transmit it, or a part of it, to some other department for further consideration and

advice, and in the end would draft a report of its own, based on the various opinions received.

Owing to the growing importance of the secretariat in the period after 1702, the procedure followed by the board in submitting its reports and representations to the Council is involved in some obscurity. All of the reports made before 1675 were addressed to the King and sent directly to the Council. From 1675 to 1696 those submitted by the Lords of Trade were despatched to the lord president for report to the Council, though as early as September 19, 1690, we meet with a memorial addressed to the secretary of state urging him to move the King to a given end. The Board of Trade was instructed by its commission in 1696 to transmit its representations to the King or the Privy Council directly, and this would appear to have been not only the correct, but the usual method. In 1707, however, Secretary Sunderland found fault with the board for "failing to acquaint the Secretary of State with all business that relates immediately to his province before it be brought to the Council," and the board replied that it would in the future comply with his request, "it being very reasonable that your Lordship be fully informed in all those matters from us that come before her Majesty." Whether this agreement covered all the reports and representations of the board is not clear, but in any case, the Board of Trade two years later expressed itself as dissatisfied with the arrangement, because for the entire period the secretary had failed to inform it even once of the King's decisions on the matters presented to him. That transmission through the secretary was not considered the proper method is evident from the action of the Privy Council, August 12, 1724, when it returned a representation for redelivery on the ground that the paper should have been sent, not through the secretary, but directly to the King at the board. Exactly what the practice was at different times in the board's history is not easy to ascertain. Many representations were sent to the secretary with a letter desiring him to lay the matter before the King; but the greater number was undoubtedly delivered directly to the clerk of the Council at the Council Chamber. The offices were all very close together, in or near the Cockpit.

The references here given are to the entry books and other volumes and bundles in the Public Record Office. In addition, I have systematically inserted references to the "Calendar of State Papers, Colonial," to 1703, and to the "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial," after that date, with the idea of making the list in a sense an index to the reports and representations entered in those volumes. The list is, however, something more and something less than an index. Many of the reports and representations found in the Public Record Office are not entered in the printed works; and vice versa there are reports and representations in the "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial,"

that have not been discovered in the Public Record Office. Doubtless some of the omissions are due to the failure of the clerks to record the committee's reference and the reply of the board, thus leaving out of the Register all mention of the report, which may in fact be reproduced in the committee's report to the Council. Some of the missing reports have been found among the unbound papers, as calendared in the sixth volume of the "Acts." In a number of cases, the list supplements the "Acts" by noting the report where the printed entry does no more than mention the reference. Again, the printed entry occasionally mentions a report without giving its contents, and in such a case the full text can be found only with the aid of this list. A few errors in the dates and references given in the "Calendar" have been corrected here.

A complete and satisfactory definition of British colonial policy can not be drafted until the opinions, reasons, and rules embodied in these reports and representations, and altered or modified by the committee of the whole council, have been examined and their history traced. Such an investigation will demand a careful and critical study of the governors' commissions and instructions throughout the entire period, of all disallowances of colonial acts, West Indian as well as continental, of all comments upon colonial appointments, councilors as well as governors, and of all statements of policy contained in the reports and representations here listed. With the Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, now complete, with the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, complete to the year 1703 and about to enter on a period of more rapid progress, and with the Journal of the Board of Trade now marked for printing as a separate undertaking, it should soon be possible for the student of colonial history to find out, with greater certainty than has yet been attained, the motives that underlay the colonial policy of the British government and the part taken by the various advisory boards in originating that policy and giving it definite shape.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

1661.

April. Complaints regarding New England.

C. O. 1, 15, no. 47 (draft not signed), 2 pp.; Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1661-1668, § 80.

July 18. Heads of a letter for Jamaica.

C. O. 1, 15, no. 72, 1 p.; C. S. P., 1661-1668, § 132.

July 24. Jews, special license to reside and trade in Barbadoes.

C. O. 1, 15, no. 75, 2 pp.; C. S. P., 1661-1668, § 140.

Dec. 4. Provisions for Jamaica.

C. O. 1, 14, no. 59, pp. 40-41; C. S. P., 1661-1668, § 191.

1663.

June 1, 5. Grievances in Barbadoes.

C. O. 1, 14, no. 59, pp. 51-52; 17, no. 35, 2 pp.; C. S. P., 1661-1668, §§ 462, 470.

1664.

- Feb. 1. Proposals to remedy the defrauding of the customs revenue.
C. O. 1, 14, no. 59, pp. 55-56; N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 50.
 No date. Servants for the foreign plantations.
C. O. 324, 1, pp. 275-283; C. S. P., 1661-1668, § 791.

1667.

- Jan. 23. Dispute regarding authority of a governor of Barbadoes.
C. O. 1, 21, no. 8, 1 p.; C. S. P., 1661-1668, § 1387.
 Oct. 17. Petition of Peter Stuyvesant.
C. O. 1, 21, no. 126; N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 165.
 Oct. 30. Treaty, Maryland and Virginia; cessation of tobacco planting.
C. O. 1, 21, no. 140, 2 pp.; C. S. P., 1661-1668, § 1618.
 No date. Recovering debts and rights in Barbadoes.
C. O. 1, 66, no. 68, fos. 186-187; C. S. P., 1685-1688, § 2029.

1668.

- March 12. Affairs of Barbadoes.
C. O. 1, 22, no. 52, 1 p.; C. S. P., 1661-1668, § 1712.
 Nov. Dutch trade to New York.
C. O. 1, 23, no. 83, 3 pp.; N. Y. Col. Docts., III, 175.
 Dec. 4. Proposals regarding trade of the plantations.
C. O. 1, 23, no. 93, 2 pp.; C. S. P., 1661-1668, § 1884.

1670.

- Jan. 18. Newfoundland, chaplain to be sent but no governor. Captains to regulate abuses.
C. O. 1, 66, no. 75, 1 p.; C. S. P., 1685-1688, § 2036.
 Aug. 22. Committee to receive (French part of) St. Christopher.
C. O. 1, 25, no. 54, 1 p.; 389, 5, p. 3; C. S. P., 1669-1674, § 232 i.
 Nov. 17. Governor for Leeward Islands, independent of Barbadoes.
C. O. 1, 25, no. 97, 2 pp.; 153, 1, pp. 2-3; 389, 5, pp. 15-16; C. S. P., 1669-1674, § 339.

1671.

- Feb. 14. Government of Leeward Islands.
C. O. 389, 5, pp. 86-87; C. S. P., 1669-1674, § 412.
 March 2. Rules and orders for Newfoundland fishery.
C. O. 1, 26, no. 5, 8½ pp.; 195, 1, pp. 52-62; 389, 5, pp. 20-25; Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial, I, § 916.
 Aug. 3. Taking of remaining English from Surinam.
C. O. 1, 27, no. 14, 1 p.; 278, 2, p. 60; 389, 5, p. 88; C. S. P., 1669-1674, § 596.
 Aug. 12. Commissioners for New England.
C. O. 1, 27, nos. 15, 16, 17; 389, 5, p. 90, or part II, p. 5; C. S. P., 1669-1674, §§ 439 i, 598.
 Nov. 24. Proclamation (Wheler) concerning St. Christopher.
C. O. 1, 27, no. 46, 4 pp.; 389, 5, pp. 91-94; C. S. P., 1669-1674, § 658.
 Dec. 7. Against the same.
C. O. 1, 27, no. 49, 1½ pp.; 389, 5, pp. 96-97; C. S. P., 1669-1674, § 675.

1672.

- April 2. General state of the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 1, 28, nos. 41, 42, 5 pp. and 2 pp.; C. S. P., 1669-1674, § 804.
 May 10. Report on case of ship *William and Nicholas*.
C. O. 1, 28, no. 51 i, 1 p., 52, 1 p.; 389, 5, p. 27; C. S. P., 1669-1674, § 823.
 June 11. Petition from Capt. Archibald Henderson, Antigua.
C. O. 1, 28, nos. 44 (original), 43 (copy); 389, 5, p. 29; C. S. P., 1669-1674, § 806 i.

July 2. Propositions concerning the various West Indian colonies.

C. O. 1, 29, no. 1, 2 pp.; 389, 5, pp. 97-99 (marginal notes); *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674 § 879.

July 19. Regulars in Leeward Islands.

C. O. 1, 29, no. 16, 1 p.; 389, 5, p. 99; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 899.

Nov. 8. Suggestions for the safety of Jamaica.

C. O. 389, 5, pp. 30-31; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 961.

1673.

June 9. Long paper concerning St. Christopher.

C. O. 1, 30, no. 44, 4 pp. (closely written); 389, 5, pp. 50-54; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674 § 1105.

June 23. Rodney petition; property dispute, Nevis.

C. O. 1, 30, no. 47, 3 pp.; 389, 5, pp. 63-64; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 1110.

Nov. 15. About the retaking of New York.

C. O. 1, 30, no. 81, 2½ pp.; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, III, 211; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 1165.

1674.

Jan. 16. Petition of William Dyre for command of a ship.

C. O. 1, 31, no. 8, 1 p.; 389, 5, pp. 74-75; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 1208.

Feb. 13. Governors to take oath of allegiance before departure.

C. O. 1, 31, no. 11, 1 p.; 389, 5, p. 102; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 1221.

Feb. 23. Case of the Rodneys, Nevis.

C. O. 389, 5, p. 76, ½ p.; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 1225.

March 8. Petition of Edwin Stede, Barbadoes.

C. O. 1, 31, no. 20, 2 pp.; 389, 5, pp. 71-72; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, §§ 1167 i, 1238.

March 11. Case of merchants in West Indies, despoiled by Spaniards.

C. O. 1, 31, no. 12 iv, 1 p.; *A. P. C. Col.*, I, § 984.

March 23. Concerning Surinam.

C. O. 278, 2, pp. 61-63; 389, 5, pp. 103-104; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 1249.

Sept. 24. Concerning Surinam.

C. O. 1, 31, no. 61, 1 p.; 278, 2, p. 65; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 1355.

Oct. 27. Removal of British subjects from Surinam.

C. O. 1, 31, nos. 67, 68; 278, 2, pp. 67-70; 278, 3, pp. 59-63; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674 § 1367.

Nov. 24. On points relating to Vaughan's commission and instructions, Jamaica.

C. O. 138, 1, pp. 188-189; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 1392.

Dec. 4. Demands on Holland regarding Surinam.

C. O. 1, 31, no. 84, 1½ pp.; 278, 2, p. 71; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 1401.

Dec. 17. Regarding Indians brought thither from Guiana.

C. O. 389, 5, p. 105; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 1409.

Dec. 22. Regarding orders for governor of Surinam.

C. O. 1, 31, no. 91, 1 p.; 278, 2, p. 74; *C. S. P.*, 1669-1674, § 1416.

1675.

April 15. Hinton's petition concerning Newfoundland.

C. O. 1, 67, nos. 30 i, 4 pp. (original), 32 i, 9½ pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, §§ 443, 524.

June 18. Regulars at St. Christopher.

C. O. 1, 34, no. 91, 2 pp.; 153, 2, pp. 3-6; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 597.

Oct. 19. Power of governor and council in Virginia to purchase lands of Culpeper grant.

C. O. 1, 35, nos. 34, 35; 5, 1355, pp. 43-46; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 696.

Oct. 19. Virginia, petition of agents for charter privileges.

C. O. 389, 3, pp. 20-22; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, §§ 602 i, 697 i.

Nov. 29. Capt. E. Cooke's claim against Spain.

C. O. 1, 35, no. 48, 1 p.; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 719.

Dec. 20. Petition from Mason and Gorges.

C. O. 5, 903, pp. 79-81; 389, 3, pp. 30-31; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 747.

Dec. 23. Affairs in St. Christopher.

C. O. 1, 36, no. 1, 6½ pp., no. 2, 4 pp.; 153, 2, pp. 30-36; 389, 3, pp. 32-37; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 757.

Dec. —. Concerning St. Christopher.

C. O. 1, 35, no. 70, 2 pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 759.

1676.

Feb. 3. Regarding defense of St. Christopher.

C. O. 1, 36, no. 19, 8 pp.; 153, 2, pp. 54-61; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 809.

April 24. Southwell's expenses and future arrangements for management of Lords of Trade.

C. O. 389, 3, pp. 69-71; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 899.

May 30. Cranfield's services in taking off British subjects from Surinam.

C. O. 1, 36, no. 75, 2 pp. (four papers annexed); 278, 3, pp. 167-168; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 933.

June 15. Sarah Bland's petition.

C. O. 1, 37, no. 5, 1 p. (report deferred); *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 951.

July 20. Trial and condemnation of pirate in Jamaica.

C. O. 138, 3, pp. 83-84; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 995.

Aug. 10. Simpson petition, letter of marque against French.

C. O. 1, 37, no. 45 ix, 3 pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 1018 ix.

Nov. 7. Barbadoes petition against Royal African Company.

C. O. 1, 38, no. 31, 3 pp.; 29, 2, pp. 109-114; 268, 1, pp. 51-52; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 1116.

Nov. 24. Instruction to Atkins to secure company's privileges.

C. O. 29, 2, p. 118; 268, 1, p. 57; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 1157.

No date. Men-of-war in channel to secure Virginia fleet.

C. O. 1, 38, no. 98, ½ p.; *C. S. P.*, 1675-1676, § 1197.

1677.

Feb. 4. Laws of Jamaica may pass under great seal.

C. O. 1, 42, no. 25, 3 pp.; 138, 3, pp. 180-183.

Feb. 6. Rules for passes; not to be offered to New England.

C. O. 1, 39, no. 26, 2 pp.; 5, 903, pp. 179-181; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 41.

March 26. On fishery and plantation of Newfoundland.

C. O. 1, 39, nos. 49, 3 pp., 50, 2 pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 101.

April 30. Release of prisoners at Havana.

C. O. 1, 40, no. 58 i, 4 pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 204 i.

May 3. Ordnance for Barbadoes.

C. O. 1, 40, no. 61, 1 p.; 29, 2, pp. 151-152; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 210.

May 17. Affairs of Leeward Islands.

C. O. 1, 40, no. 83; 153, 2, pp. 200-216; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 254.

May 18. Pikes for militia in Barbadoes.

C. O. 1, 40, no. 87; 29, 2, p. 158; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 259.

June 7. Affairs of Leeward Islands.

C. O. 1, 40, nos. 101, 102; 153, 2, pp. 222-223; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 287.

June 7. Regarding Randolph's paper on New England.

C. O. 5, 903, pp. 208-209; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1681, § 289.

June 12. Regarding certain parts of the same.

C. O. 1, 40, no. 105, 2 pp.; 5, 903, pp. 210-212; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 295.

June 26. Petition of Robert Clowes, Jamaica.

C. O. 1, 39, no. 19 iv; 138, 3, pp. 119-121; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 28 iv.

June 26. Money affairs in Virginia.

C. O. 1, 40, no. 114; 5, 1355, pp. 138-139; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 312.

July 11. Complaints of receivers of duties in Jamaica.

C. O. 1, 41, nos. 9, 10; 138, 3, pp. 109-110; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 326.

- July —. Affronts offered by Spaniards in West Indies.
C. O. 1, 41, nos. 6, 7; 138, 3, pp. 129-133; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 323.
- July 11. Regarding the same.
C. O. 1, 41, nos. 4, 5; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 324.
- July 11. Recruits for St. Christopher.
C. O. 1, 41, no. 3, 3 p.; 153, 2, p. 230; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 322.
- July 17. Report of chief justices on claims of Gorges and Mason.
C. O. 1, 41, no. 24, 3½ pp.; 5, 903, pp. 219-220 (extract); C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 343
- July 19. Upon examination of New England agents.
C. O. 1, 41, no. 29, 2 pp.; 5, 903, pp. 223-225; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 351.
- Sept. 11. Regarding receivers of duties in Jamaica.
C. O. 1, 41, nos. 65, 66; 138, 3, pp. 138-139; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 409.
- Oct. 10. Booth petition; goods seized by governor of Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 183-185; C. S. P., 1677-1680, §§ 407 II, 448.
- Oct. 10. Petition of Sarah Drummond, Virginia.
C. O. 1, 41, no. 75, 3 pp.; 5, 1355, pp. 189-191; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 426.
- Oct. 19. Treaties with Indians in Virginia to be printed.
C. O. 1, 41, no. 81, 2 pp.; 5, 1355, pp. 198-199; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 444.
- Oct. 22. Petition of John Jeffreys for payment of wine destroyed at Jamestown.
C. O. 1, 41, no. 80 I, 2 pp.; 5, 1355, pp. 206-208; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 455.
- Oct. 22. Oaths for governor of Barbadoes and others.
C. O. 1, 41, nos. 85, 86; 324, 4, pp. 49-53; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 451.
- Nov. 10. On Jamaica laws.
C. O. 1, 41, no. 104, 1 p.; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 476.
- Nov. 13. State of Jamaica (fourteen numbered paragraphs).
C. O. 138, 3, pp. 161-164; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 480.
- Nov. 27. Petition of Abraham Langford, Barbadoes.
C. O. 1, 41, no. 113; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 495.
- Nov. 29. Commission of Oyer and Terminer for trial of pirates in Jamaica.
C. O. 1, 41, no. 115; 138, 3, p. 170; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 500.
- Nov. 29. Regarding Culpeper's commission and instructions.
C. O. 5, 1355, p. 229; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 499.
- Dec. 6. Regarding Commissioners' charges against Berkeley.
C. O. 1, 41, no. 122; 5, 1355, p. 240; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 511.
- Dec. 11. Concerning certain Virginia laws of Feb., 1677.
C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 222-227; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 516.
- Dec. 18. Letter for Gov. Jeffreys of Virginia regarding treaties with Indians.
C. O. 1, 41, no. 127, 1½ pp.; 5, 1355, pp. 243-244; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 524.
- Dec. 20. Reimbursement of Capt. Gardner's fine, Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 214, 219-221; 1, 42, nos. 2, 11; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 527.

1678.

- Feb. 4. Observations on commission and instructions for Carlisle, Jamaica.
C. O. 1, 42, no. 25; 138, 3, pp. 180-183; C. S. P., 1677-1680, §§ 596, 600.
- Feb. 19. Acts against pirates and privateers, Jamaica.
C. O. 1, 42, no. 30; 138, 3, pp. 192-193; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 607.
- April 18. On oath of allegiance in New England.
C. O. 1, 42, no. 67, 6 pp.; 5, 903, pp. 257-262; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 668.
- April 25. Recapitulation of reports on Leeward Islands.
C. O. 1, 42, no. 65, 25 pp.; 153, 2, pp. 274-299; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 679.
- June 21. Payment Virginia bills of Exchange; Gould and others.
C. O. 1, 42, no. 96, 2 pp.; 5, 1355, pp. 256-258; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 735.
- Dec. 16. Gov. Stapleton and Dutch claims to certain negroes (Leeward Islands).
C. O. 1, 42, no. 155, 2½ pp.; 153, 2, pp. 335-338; C. S. P., 1677-1680, § 848.

1679.

- Jan. 2. Case of inhabitants of Warwick, Rhode Island.
C. O. 5, 903, pp. 319-329.
- Feb. 6. John Crown and lands of Mt. Hope, New England.
C. O. 5, 903, pp. 336-338; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 881.
- Feb. 6. Privateers in Jamaica and logwood trade.
C. O. 138, 3, pp. 275-276.
- Feb. 8. Regarding militia bill and a mint in Jamaica.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 20, 2 pp.; 138, 3, pp. 257-260.
- Feb. 10. Advising restitution to Elizabeth Dudley of Virginia.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 17, 3 pp.; 5, 1355, pp. 276-278; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 887.
- Feb. 10. Case of *Golden Sun* and cargo of negroes, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 3, pp. 264-267; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, §§ 888, 900.
- Feb. 10. Petition of Robert Morris and other captains of ships in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 273-274; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 939.
- Feb. 18. Upon various affairs connected with Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 266-272; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, §§ 893, 932; *A. P. C. Col.*, I, § 1250.
- Feb. —. Proposals concerning Massachusetts.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 25, 3 pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 912.
- April 2. Concerning the business of Jamaica.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 39, 2 pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 954.
- April 4. Certain advice for Gov. Carlisle, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 3, pp. 284-285; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 961.
- April 16. Regarding negroes removed from Tobago.
C. O. 153, 2, p. 349; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 970.
- May 22. Bringing off the remainder of the English from Surinam, and other matters.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 61, 7 pp.; 138, 3, pp. 305-312; 389, 6, pp. 293-296; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1002.
- May 22. Petition of René Petit and Jacob Guerard.
C. O. 1, 43, nos. 65, 141 i; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1000.
- May 28. On the laws and government of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 3, pp. 293-304; 389, 6, pp. 300-307; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1009.
- June 12. Petition of Capt. Joseph Crispe; further treaty of neutrality with France.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 71; 153, 2, pp. 358-359; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1021.
- June 18. Continuation of allowance for Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 356-357; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1022.
- June 19. Draft of letter for New England.
C. O. 5, 903, pp. 351-357; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1026.
- June 19. Salary and reward for Randolph.
C. O. 5, 903, pp. 358-359; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1026.
- June 19. Claim of William Harris and others, Pawtucket, Rhode Island.
C. O. 5, 903, pp. 346-350; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1044.
- June 26. Petition of Col. Strode, farmer of four and a half per cent. export duty, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 2, pp. 265-269; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1035.
- June 27. Regarding allowances to governors and others in the plantations.
C. O. 324, 4, p. 63; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1037.
- July 2. Claims of Robert Mason to New Hampshire.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 82, 8 pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1045.
- July 2. Heads of treaty of neutrality, British and French West Indies.
C. O. 153, 2, pp. 367-372; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1043.
- July 4. Concerning laws of Barbadoes.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 85; 29, 2, pp. 269-273; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1050.
- July 5. Regulating government of New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 903, pp. 360-366; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1058.

- Oct. 22. Various matters relating to the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 146, 6 pp.; 153, 2, pp. 372-379; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1158.
- Oct. 30. Grievances of inhabitants of Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 1, pp. 77-80; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, §§ 1168, 1184.
- Nov. 6. Restitution of St. Eustatius and Saba.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 151, 3 pp.; 153, 2, pp. 390-392; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1176.
- Nov. 14. Regarding inspection of all offices in plantations, and division made of those to be filled by King and governor.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 156, 6 pp.; 324, 4, pp. 67-71; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, §§ 1182, 1183.
- Dec. 4. Claim of the widow of Gov. Jeffreys of Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 369-371; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1205.
- Dec. 4. Petition of John Crown and lands of Mt. Hope; latter should be granted to New Plymouth with a new charter.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 161; 5, 904, pp. 10-15; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1206.
- Dec. 4. Governors to give offices only to persons deserving the trust.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 160; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1204.
- Dec. 6. Bundles of papers concerning trade and plantations now in the Privy Council office to be lodged in office of the Committee.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 163; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1209.
- Dec. 22. Regarding the capture of certain British ships by the Spaniards.
C. O. 1, 43, no. 177; 138, 3, pp. 357-360; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1241.
- Dec. 22. *Scire facias* to be brought against the Bermuda charter.
C. O. 38, 1, pp. 83-84; *cf. C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1184.

1680.

- Jan. 13. Unsettled state of Jamaica.
C. O. 1, 44, no. 6; 138, 3, pp. 342-343; 389, 6, pp. 308-309; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1260.
- Feb. 7. No mercy for John Culpeper unless he make good £3000 which he took from customs (Albemarle).
C. O. 1, 44, no. 19, 2 pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1289.
- March 4. Case between Ward and Palmer, New York.
C. O. 1, 44, nos. 37, 38, 4 pp.; 5, 1111, pp. 47-49; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1314.
- March 8. Col. Stapleton's letters about St. Christopher.
C. O. 1, 44, no. 41; 153, 2, pp. 416-418; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1320.
- March 26. Regarding restitution of negroes in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 3, pp. 377-378; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1332.
- April 27. Regarding Englishmen at Surinam.
C. O. 1, 44, no. 54, 1½ pp.; 153, 2, pp. 423-424; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1348.
- July 14. Ordinance for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 3, p. 397; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1444.
- Nov. 11. Regulating trade of Royal African Company with Jamaica.
C. O. 268, 1, pp. 89-90; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1583.
- Dec. 18. Answering Jamaica proposals.
C. O. 1, 46, no. 69; 138, 3, pp. 455-460; *C. S. P.*, 1677-1680, § 1622.

1681.

- Feb. 21. Affairs in Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 1; pp. 89-92; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 31.
- Feb. 24. Draft of charter for William Penn.
C. O. 1, 46, no. 104, 1 p.; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 29.
- March 9. Treaty of neutrality with France.
C. O. 1, 46, no. 110; 153, 2, pp. 459-460; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 44.
- April 12. Case against the admiralty court, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 3, pp. 462-465; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 77.
- May 3. Randolph's salary.
C. O. 5, 904, p. 126; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 96.

- June 14. On Dutton's arrival in Barbadoes; his proposal to the assembly and the latter's answer.
C. O. 1, 47, no. 10; 29, 3, pp. 63-64; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 140.
- Aug. 16. Concerning the revenue in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1355, pp. 404-405; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 203.
- No date. Attorney general for Barbadoes, but exchequer court not necessary.
C. O. 29, 3, p. 84; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 207.
- Sept. 29. Judgment against Thomas Darvall at New York assizes to be confirmed.
C. O. 5, 1111, p. 52; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 235.
- Oct. 21. Draft of letter from the King to Massachusetts.
C. O. 1, 47, no. 79, 12 pp. (with corrections); *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 266.
- Oct. 31. Foot companies in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1356, pp. 1-2; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 275.
- Nov. 10. Offices of register and examiner of chancery, Barbadoes.
C. O. 1, 47, no. 89; 29, 3, pp. 103-104; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 290.
- Dec. 3. Letters patent to Wilson, naval officer at Barbadoes.
C. O. 138, 4, p. 52; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 310.
- Dec. 13. Various matters relating to Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1356, pp. 3-6; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 322.
- Dec. 15. Virginia tobacco for Russia; encouragment of hemp and flax.
C. O. 1, 47, nos. 108, 109; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 326.
- Dec. 20. *Quo Warranto* to be prosecuted against the Bermuda Company.
C. O. 1, 47, no. 114; 38, 1, p. 98; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 334.
- Dec. 20. Foot companies in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1356, p. 7; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 335.

1682.

- Jan. 13. Irregularities in New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 940, pp. 30-31; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 361.
- Jan. 21. Commission for Culpeper; wish directions as to councilors.
C. O. 5, 1356, p. 14; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 372.
- Jan. 31. Draft of letter from King to the commander-in-chief in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1356, pp. 63-65; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 389.
- Feb. 7. Foot companies at St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 3, pp. 27-30; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 399.
- Feb. 28. Commission for Cranfield, New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 940, p. 32; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 422.
- Feb. 28. Officers of Port of London object to drawing up monthly accounts of exports and imports, unless paid.
C. O. 324, 4, p. 81.
- April 8. Affairs of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 3, pp. 119-122; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 463.
- April 11. Petition of Middleton, planter in Antigua.
C. O. 153, 3, pp. 49-50; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 471.
- April 20 or 21. Regarding colonial appointments to office, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 3, p. 125; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 480.
- June 14. Tobacco cutting riots in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1356, pp. 74-77; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 561.
- June 28. Affairs of St. Christopher, condemnation of a ship there.
C. O. 153, 3, pp. 40-41, 43-44; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 586.
- July 21. Some one with powers to go to Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1356, pp. 84-85; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 623.
- July 21. Creditors of the Earl of Carlisle; nothing for some years from the four and a half per cent. export duty.
C. O. 1, 49, no. 6; 29, 3, p. 131; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 624.
- July 21. Petition of Sarah Bland to be admitted to appeal.
C. O. 5, 1356, p. 88; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 625.

- July 21. Petition of William Dyre.
C. O. 5, 1111, pp. 54-55; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, 320.
- July —. Commission of review for Narragansett country.
C. O. 5, 904, pp. 140-142; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 636.
- Aug. 24. Seizure of ship in Leeward Islands.
C. O. 1, 49, no. 28, 1½ pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 661.
- Sept. 12. Petition of Abraham Langford, Barbadoes.
C. O. 1, 49, nos. 48, 49; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 686.
- Sept. 12. Regarding Capt. Billop tried in Barbadoes.
C. O. 1, 49, no. 47; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 685.
- Sept. —. Capt. Billop's case.
C. O. 1, 49, no. 50; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 687.
- Sept. 20. Agents from New England; insufficient powers.
C. O. 5, 904, pp. 165-166; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, §§ 684, 697.
- Sept. 30. Concerning William Dyre.
C. O. 5, 1111, p. 56; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, 321.
- Sept. 30. Against transportation of criminals, except on certain conditions.
C. O. 324, 4, pp. 83-84; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 717.
- Sept. 30. Recruits for St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 3, pp. 66-67; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 720.
- No date. Petition of Earl of Doncaster, for lands in Florida, Cape Florida, Guiana.
C. O. 324, 4, pp. 84-85; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 696.
- Dec. 2. Petition of Mrs. Susan Jeffreys, Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1356, pp. 90-92; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 827.
- Dec. 6. Affairs of Barbadoes.
C. O. 1, 50, 2 pp.; 29, 3, pp. 141-143; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 832.

1683.

- Feb. 10. Petition of Richard Thayre; lands in Massachusetts Bay.
C. O. 5, 904, pp. 169-170; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 989.
- Feb. 14. Regarding privateers in Jamaica.
C. O. 1, 51, nos. 30, 31; 138, 4, p. 119; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 942.
- Feb. 28. Seizure of ship by Danish governor at St. Thomas.
C. O. 1, 51, no. 55; 153, 3, p. 79; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 977.
- March 8. Goods of Richard Buller, Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1356, pp. 98-99; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1009.
- March 19. Petition of M. de Chambré, regarding estate in St. Christopher.
C. O. 1, 51, no. 82, 2 pp.; 153, 3, pp. 74-75; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1005.
- June 5. Letters in favor of the Royal African Company.
C. O. 268, 1, p. 93; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1104.
- June 12. Recommend *quo warranto* against Massachusetts Bay.
C. O. 5, 904, pp. 178-179; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1120.
- Aug. 17. Petition of Richard Brayne, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 4, p. 163; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1197.
- Aug. 24. Petition of Edwin Stede, office of provost marshal in Barbadoes.
C. O. 1, 52, no. 70; 29, 3, p. 189; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1212.
- Aug. 24. Letters to Governors of Barbadoes and Leeward Islands.
C. O. 1, 52, no. 71; duplicate in no. 72; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, §§ 1213, 1214.
- Oct. 31. Ketch of war for Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1356, pp. 252-253; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1342.
- Nov. 3. Jamaica and the Royal African Company.
C. O. 268, 1, pp. 105-106; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1349.
- Nov. 3. Case of Hanson against Sir Richard Dutton.
C. O. 29, 3, pp. 201-203; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1368.
- Dec. 1. Gov. Lynch to treat with the pirate Laurens.
C. O. 138, 4, p. 178; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1424.

1684.

- Jan. 22. Appeal of Walton and Barefoot, New Hampshire, to be dismissed.
C. O. 5, 940, p. 99; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1513.
- Feb. 12. Ship *Fountain* not to carry passengers to Tobago.
C. O. 1, 54, no. 26; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, §§ 1533.
- Feb. 27. Laws restraining pirates and privateers, Jamaica.
C. O. 324, 4, p. 102; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1560.
- Feb. 28. Suspension of Sir Henry Morgan and Col. Byndloss from the council, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 4, pp. 193-194; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1565.
- March 4. Jamaica and the Royal African Company.
C. O. 268, 1, pp. 107-108, 110-112; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1571.
- May 7. Confirmation of court of crown pleas, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 3, pp. 238-239; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1671.
- May 13. Gov. Stapleton to assist Danish governor of St. Thomas.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 117; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1676.
- May 13. Capture of New Providence, Bahamas, by Spain.
C. O. 324, 4, p. 110; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1680.
- May 13. Negroes supplied to Jamaica to be reduced from five thousand to three.
C. O. 268, 1, p. 115; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1679.
- May 13. Assistance for new Danish governor of St. Thomas.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 117; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1678.
- June 11. Three hundred malefactors for St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 140; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1739.
- June 18. Regarding Morgan and Byndloss, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 4, pp. 260-261; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1777.
- July 2. Dispute between Gov. Stapleton and William Freeman.
C. O. 153, 3, pp. 131-132; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1789.
- Nov. 22. Regarding complaint from governor of St. Thomas.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 167; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 1954.
- Dec. 6. Proper legal procedure for those who suffered by the capture of New Providence.
C. O. 324, 4, pp. 139-140; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 2013.
- Dec. 16. Debts and a proposal of the late Bermuda Company.
C. O. 1, 55, no. 48, 1½ pp. (very rough draft); 38, 1, pp. 110-111.
- Dec. 31. Case of William Godwin or Goodwin sold in Maryland.
C. O. 1, 56, no. 131, 2½ pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 2028.

1685.

- Jan. 13. Proposal of the late Bermuda Company.
C. O. 1, 57, no. 5; 38, 1, pp. 111-113; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 2044.
- Jan. 13. Proceedings against Sir. John Witham, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 3, pp. 254-256; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 2044.
- Jan. 17. Case of Capt. Young, carrying passengers without a ticket (West Indies).
C. O. 29, 3, pp. 261-262; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 2059.
- Jan. 20. Added clauses for Sir Philip Howard's commission, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 4, pp. 317-318; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 2055.
- Jan. 31. Trial of Col. Talbot, Maryland, by special commission in England.
C. O. 1, 57, no. 8, 2 pp.; 5, 733, pp. 91-93; *C. S. P.*, 1681-1685, § 2064.
- Feb. 25. Concerning Gov. Cony and his troubles at Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 1, pp. 124-128; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 30.
- March 17. Case of Sir John Witham, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 3, pp. 271-279; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 95.
- March 27. Gov. Cranfield's answer to articles against him.
C. O. 5, 940, pp. 138-139; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 118.

March 27. Disposal of effects of Moxon and Holloway, Antigua and Barbadoes.

C. O. 324, 4, pp. 169-170; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 179.

May 5. Petition of John Custis, Virginia.

C. O. 5, 1356, pp. 323-324; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 180.

May 5. Regarding Antigua act and the Royal African Company's reasons against it.

C. O. 153, 3, pp. 184-185; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 166.

July 15. Recommendation of *quo warrantos* against Connecticut, Rhode Island and the Jerseys.

C. O. 324, 4, pp. 230-231; 5, 904, p. 246; 5, 723, pp. 102-103; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, §§ 282, 283.

Aug. 3. Randolph and the *quo warrantos*.

C. O. 5, 904, pp. 249-250.

Aug. 23. Randolph's proposals for a temporary government at Boston.

C. O. 5, 904, p. 250; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 328.

Aug. 26. Regarding clause for commission for New England.

C. O. 5, 904, p. 251; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 333.

Sept. 9. Lord Howard of Effingham's commission delayed.

C. O. 5, 1357, pp. 61-62; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 362.

Sept. —. Regarding certain prisoners from Bermuda.

C. O. 38, 1, p. 166.

Oct. 17. Request from Randolph for flags.

C. O. 5, 904, p. 258.

Oct. 31. Case of Sir John Witham, Barbadoes.

C. O. 29, 3, pp. 348-352; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 439.

Nov. 7. Gov. Dutton and presents from assembly, Barbadoes.

C. O. 29, 3, p. 366.

Nov. 7. Penn-Baltimore dispute.

C. O. 5, 723, pp. 107-109; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 456.

Dec. 2. As to employment of Stephen Duport, a Frenchman, St. Christopher.

C. O. 153, 3, p. 196; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 484.

Dec. 14. Case of Edward Plampin in Virginia.

C. O. 5, 1357, pp. 81-82; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 508.

Dec. 21. An appeal of Christopher Billop.

C. O. 5, 1111, pp. 76-79; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, 366.

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Jan. 16. Continuance of Gov. Cony as governor, Bermuda.

C. O. 1, 59, no. 13; 38, 1, pp. 182-183; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 544.

March —. Regarding Gov. Dutton's prosecution of Goldingham and Lane.

C. O. 29, 3, p. 356; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 595.

March 24. Renewal of order (Dec. 13, 1682) regarding servants for the plantations.

C. O. 324, 4, pp. 175-176; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 607.

April 21. Issue of *quo warrantos* against Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island the Jerseys, and Delaware.

C. O. 5, 723, p. 109; 324, 4, pp. 232-233; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, 363.

May 20. Appeal of Rainsford and Stokes (Barbadoes).

C. O. 29, 3, p. 373; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 698.

June 3. Salary of Gov. Andros.

C. O. 5, 904, p. 281; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, §§ 706, 712.

June 3. Andros to go to Bermuda, to settle differences.

C. O. 38, 2, p. 1; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 708.

June 3. Regarding pardon for Charles Hudson, Jamaica.

C. O. 138, 5, pp. 155-156, 175-176; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 706.

June 10. Act of 22-23 Car. II, lately revived, not to be dispensed with (Irish plantation trade).

C. O. 324, 4, pp. 225-226; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 720.

- July 6. Duke of Albemarle's proposals for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 5, pp. 242-243; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 758.
- July 6. Ordinance for Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 3, p. 378; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 757.
- Sept. 12. Andros to demand surrender of Rhode Island charter.
C. O. 5, 904, pp. 305-306; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 857.
- Oct. 10. Mines in New England not to be included in any general grant of mines in America.
C. O. 1, 60, no. 65; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 901 (where "to" should be "of").
- Oct. 13. Recruits for St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 212; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 906.
- Oct. 23. Against mint at Boston.
C. O. 5, 904, p. 325; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 929.
- Oct. 23. Appeal of Thomas Cook, ship condemned at Nevis.
C. O. 153, 3, pp. 232-233; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 929.
- Nov. 6. Judgment against William Vaughan of New Hampshire, to be confirmed.
C. O. 5, 940, pp. 156-157; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 975.
- Dec. 4. On appeal of William Vaughan.
C. O. 5, 940, pp. 160-161.
- Dec. 8. Prisoners from Bermuda to be allowed to return.
C. O. 38, 2, pp. 95-97; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1057.

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- Feb. 2. On proposals of the Duke of Albemarle, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 5, pp. 253-258; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1120.
- Feb. 9. Trial of Sir Timothy Thornhill, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 3, p. 405; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1126.
- March 10. Proposals of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 3, pp. 246-247; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1180.
- May 18. Gov. Andros to see that Robert Orchard obtains redress.
C. O. 5, 904, p. 355; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1259.
- May 18. Writs of *quo warranto*.
C. O. 5, 723, p. 110; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1689, § 1259.
- June 3. Points from Duke of Albemarle and answers.
C. O. 1, 62, no. 68; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1289.
- June 15. Petition of New Jersey proprietaries to be sent to Gov. Dongan.
C. O. 5, 1113, p. 118; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1302.
- June 15. Case of *Good Intention*, seized by Capt. St. Loe.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 268; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1689, § 1303.
- June 15. Andros to take Connecticut into his government.
C. O. 5, 904, pp. 352-353; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1308.
- July 18. Negroes not to be imported from the Dutch islands.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 270; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1352.
- Oct. 25. Maryland and Virginia to prohibit exportation of tobacco in bulk.
C. O. 5, 1357, pp. 157-158; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1482.
- Oct. 25. Grant to Gov. Stede from assembly to be allowed.
C. O. 29, 3, p. 432; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1483.
- Nov. 16. Appeal of Dame Ayliff Rainsford, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 3, pp. 455, 456; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1520.
- Dec. 15. Dismissal of appeal of Richard Scott, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 3, pp. 456-457; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1560.

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- Jan. 25. Ship *Joanna*, confiscated at Penobscot, to be delivered up.
C. O. 5, 904, p. 377; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1608.
- Feb. 15. Gov. Johnson to accept present of sugar given him by St. Christopher and Nevis.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 278; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1629.

- Feb. 22. Verdict against Sir Timothy Thornhill to be confirmed.
C. O. 29, 3, pp. 449-450; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1643.
- April 10. Petition of Lord Culpeper and others regarding the Narragansett country.
C. O. 5, 905, pp. 8-9; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1695.
- April —. Lieutenant governor for New England; Dongan to be recalled.
C. O. 1, 67, no. 56.
- May 4. Gov. Johuson to protect French Protestants settling in Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 301; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1741.
- May 4. Petition of Richard Scott, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 3, p. 460; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1739.
- May 4. Lieut.-Gov. Hill of St. Christopher may accept present of sugar.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 294.
- May 4. French Protestants in West Indies to have letters of denization.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 301; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1741.
- May 4. Recall of foot companies at St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 318; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1742.
- May 25. Suspension of Col. Bourden from council of Jamaica confirmed.
C. O. 138, 6, p. 105; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1769.
- May 30. Col. Molesworth to be allowed to return.
C. O. 138, 6, pp. 96-97; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1770.
- June 14. Gov. Johnson and Lieut.-Gov. Blakiston of Leeward Islands to accept gifts from Montserrat.
C. O. 153, 3, pp. 322-323; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1794.
- July 6. Gov. Johnson to allow settlers on Crab Island.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 325; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1819.
- July 6. Money received from the wreck to be spent on new fortifications in New England (Secretary of State).
C. O. 5, 905, p. 19; *C. S. P.*, 1685-1688, § 1821.
- Oct. 17. Report on New England proposals.
C. O. 5, 905, pp. 76-77.

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- Feb. 22. Recommend a new governor and a new establishment for New England.
C. O. 5, 905, pp. 79-80; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 37.
- April 26. Proposals regarding war with France.
C. O. 5, 1, no. 1; 324, 5, pp. 44-47; 138, 6, pp. 172-173.
- April 26. Regarding proprieties and their defense in the war with France.
C. O. 5, 723, pp. 117-118; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 90.
- April 29. *Id.*, regarding St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 399; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 94.
- May 4. Troops and ammunition for St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 3, pp. 402-403; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 106.
- May 16. Governor and stores for Bermuda, and for Newfoundland while the war lasts. Think it worthy the attention of Parliament whether Maryland, Carolina, and Pennsylvania should not be brought into closer dependence on the Crown.
C. O. 324, 5, pp. 50-51; 723, pp. 118-119; 38, 2, pp. 216-217; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 124.
- May 25. Relations of Maryland toward England to be brought before Parliament.
C. O. 5, 723, pp. 119-120; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 145.
- May 29. Petition of Edward Thompson, office for enrolling servants for plantations.
C. O. 324, 5, p. 65; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 151.
- June 3. Hiring ships for expedition to the West Indies.
C. O. 153, 3, pp. 409-411; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 170.

- July 3. Robert Ayleway wishes to be auditor general of Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1358, pp. 6-7; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 226.
- July 3. Letter from New York, praying orders for a settlement.
C. O. 5, 1, no. 5; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 223.
- July 3. Concerning Molesworth's proposals (Jamaica).
C. O. 138, 6, pp. 182-184; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 227.
- July 27. Protection and fortification of Newfoundland.
C. O. 1, 67, no. 78, 5½ pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 301.
- Aug. 16. Earl of Stirling's claim to Long Island.
C. O. 5, 1113, pp. 197-199; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, 606.
- Aug. 16. Petition of Ralph Lane, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 4, pp. 134-135; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 354.
- Aug. 26. Petition of Col. Philip Ludwell, Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1357, pp. 268-270; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 412.
- Aug. 28 or 29. Memorandum concerning the plantations; arms, powder, etc.
C. O. 153, 3, pp. 433-435; 324, 5, pp. 72-73; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 384.
- Aug. 31. Letter from council, New York.
C. O. 5, 1113, pp. 202-203; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, 618.
- Sept. 7. Commission, Nicholas Sankey, Leeward Islands.
C. O. 152, 37, no. 39; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 410.
- Sept. 13. Companies for New York; King to appoint commission officers.
C. O. 5, 1113, p. 203; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, 618.
- Sept. 18. As to the state of the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 4, pp. 68-69; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 432.
- Oct. 16. Petition of the Royal African Company against a Jamaica money act.
C. O. 138, 6, p. 277; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 493.
- Oct. 28. Richard Lloyd for clerk of the crown in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 6, p. 323; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 518.
- Nov. 6. Part of four and a half per cent export duty to be used to pay soldiers in West Indies.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 456; 324, 5, pp. 93-94; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 530.
- Nov. 6. Defense of St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 450; 324, 5, p. 88.
- Nov. 11. Commander of West Indian squadron to be of the council of Barbadoes.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 457; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 545.
- Nov. 11. Stores for St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 3, p. 454; 324, 5, p. 92; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 544.
- Nov. 11. Instructions prepared for commander of the West India squadron.
C. O. 324, 5, p. 95.
- Nov. 23. Convoy for merchant ships going to Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1358, pp. 15-16; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 596.
- Nov. 25. Salaries for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 6, p. 303; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 598.
- Nov. 28. Instructions for commander of West India squadron.
C. O. 153, 3, pp. 463-464; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 609.
- Dec. 28. Remission of fine of John Towers, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 6, p. 324; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 684.
- Dec. 28. Complaint of Col. Ivy, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 6, p. 326; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 658.
- Dec. 28. Men of Monmouth's rebellion, in Nevis, to be pardoned.
C. O. 153, 4, p. 54; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 658.

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- Jan. 7. Reply to address from Maryland, ordering peace to be kept.
C. O. 5, 723, pp. 146-147; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 693.
- Jan. 9. Pardon for pirates and privateers.
C. O. 137, 44, no. 15; 138, 6, p. 331; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 703.

- Jan. 23. Bedding for the foot companies of New York.
C. O. 5, 1, no. 24; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 736.
- Feb. 25. On the unsettled condition of the government of New England.
C. O. 5, 855, nos. 67, 69; 5, 905, pp. 168-172; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, §§ 773, 788 (date wrong).
- March 26. Petition of the Hudson's Bay Company.
C. O. 1, 67, no. 88, 2 pp.; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 1196.
- April 17. Trial of murderers of John Payne, Maryland.
C. O. 5, 713, no. 7; 723, pp. 169-170; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 833.
- April 17. Dismissal of charge against Andros and others.
C. O. 5, 905, pp. 188-190; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, §§ 830, 846.
- April 24. Return of records from Boston to New York.
C. O. 5, 1081, no. 124; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 849.
- May 22. State of province of New York under Leisler.
C. O. 5, 1113, pp. 255-256; 1081, no. 136 A; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 891.
- June 12. Various New England affairs.
C. O. 5, 905, pp. 222-227; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 939.
- Sept. 19. More seamen for Virginia, Maryland, and the West Indies.
C. O. 324, 5, p. 130; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1059.
- Sept. —. Joseph Dudley to be first of the council of New York.
C. O. 5, 1113, p. 260.
- Sept. 27. Ships and men for the West Indies.
C. O. 324, 5, pp. 142-143; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1077.
- Oct. —. Ordnance, engineer, and miners for the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 4, p. 236; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1097.
- Oct. —. Various items regarding the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 152, 37, nos. 103, 104, 105; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, §§ 1108-1110.
- Nov. 3. Difficulties over repeal of the act in Barbadoes requiring Monmouth rebels to serve.
C. O. 324, 5, pp. 137-140; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1184 (date wrong).
- Nov. 27. Danger from French, necessity for ships, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 7, pp. 6-8; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1219.
- Dec. 22. Case between convention in Maryland and Lord Baltimore.
C. O. 5, 723, pp. 210-211; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1278.
- Dec. —. Gov. Codrington to exchange French prisoners first for British subjects.
C. O. 153, 4, p. 280; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1263.

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- Feb. 23. On the application of the two shilling per hogshead duty in Maryland.
C. O. 5, 723, pp. 217-218; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1333.
- Feb. 23. Lord Inchiquin's report on Col. Ivy.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 12; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1332.
- April 27. Shall governor in New England consent to laws or shall making them be left wholly with the people.
C. O. 5, 905, p. 269; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1432.
- May 12. Attorney general to prepare draft of charter for New England.
C. O. 5, 905, p. 271; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1483.
- May 22. Engineer for Newfoundland.
C. O. 1, 68, no. 64; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1527.
- May 22. Letter in behalf of Mounteney Boncle, Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 4, p. 339; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1528.
- May 22. Petition of Pate and Bayer in behalf of Joseph Crispe.
C. O. 153, 4, p. 340; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1527.
- June —. Commissioners of Navy to accept bills drawn by Gov. Kendall of Barbadoes for provisions for the squadron.
C. O. 29, 4, p. 240; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1607.
- July 29. Proceedings in regard to new charter for Massachusetts.
C. O. 5, 856, no. 177; 905, pp. 279-281; *C. S. P.*, 1689-1692, § 1670.

- July 29. On petition of Edward Davis and others, Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1358, p. 66; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 1666.
- July 29. Lord Culpeper's petition to be sent to governor and council of Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1358, p. 75; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 1679.
- Sept. 2. Ordnance stores for the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 4, p. 421; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 1730.
- Sept. 16. Draft of charter for Massachusetts.
C. O. 5, 905, p. 298; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 1760.
- Sept. 17. Appeal of James Smailes, Bermuda, to be dismissed.
C. O. 38, 2, pp. 295-296; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 1762.
- Sept. —. Petition of George Harris for secretaryship of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 7, pp. 14-15; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 1770.
- Sept. 28. Frigates for New England and New York.
C. O. 5, 905, p. 399; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 1788.
- Sept. 28. Usher's and Andros's accounts to be referred to the governor and council of New England.
C. O. 5, 905, p. 407, repeated on p. 411; C. S. P., 1689-1692, §§ 1789, 1790.
- Oct. 6. Ships for New England should be of 40 guns or thereabouts.
C. O. 5, 905, p. 399; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 1805.
- Oct. 12. Allowance to Col. Copley from the tobacco duty.
C. O. 5, 724, pp. 46-47; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 1824.
- Dec. 15. Appointment of clerks of county courts, Maryland.
C. O. 5, 713, no. 67; 723, p. 235; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 1954.
- Dec. 15. Defenseless state of New England.
C. O. 5, 905, p. 400; 1037, no. 81; C. S. P., 1689-1692, §§ 1952, 1956.

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- Jan. 10. Appointment of Allen and Usher, New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 940, p. 182; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2006.
- Jan. 11. Nova Scotia taken by the French and New England left unguarded.
C. O. 5, 905, pp. 402-403; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 1999.
- Jan. 11. Vacation of Hender Molesworth's recognisance.
C. O. 138, 7, pp. 26-27; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2007.
- Jan. 11. Mr. Offley's petition for a grant to make pitch in America.
C. O. 324, 5, p. 255; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2000.
- Jan. 21. Suit of Sir John Witham, reversal of judgment.
C. O. 29, 4, p. 276; C. S. P., 1689-1692, §§ 2012, 2020.
- Jan. 25. Presentment of Commissioners of Customs about the four and a half per cent.
C. O. 153, 5, p. 9; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2026.
- Feb. 27. Ordnance for New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 940, p. 208; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2078.
- Feb. 27. Needs of New York: defense and Indian presents.
C. O. 5, 1113, pp. 363-364; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2081.
- Feb. 27. Instructions for governors of Virginia, New York, and New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 1358, p. 140; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2079.
- Feb. 27. Stores of war for Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1358, p. 143; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2100.
- Feb. —. Commission for Gov. Fletcher; additional clause as to Pennsylvania.
C. O. 5, 1113, p. 321; C. S. P., 1689-1692, §§ 2134 (date wrong), 2227.
- March 9. Opinion on Dr. Cox's petition.
C. O. 5, 1113, pp. 398-399; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2115.
- March 11. Opinion on petition of Leisler, jr.
C. O. 5, 1113, p. 383; C. S. P., 1689-1692, §§ 2121, 2127.
- March —. On state of the colonies in America and the West Indies.
C. O. 323, 1, no. 15, 5 pp.; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2147.

- April 1. Intercession for Leisler, Beeckman, and others as fit objects for mercy.
C. O. 5, 1113, pp. 386-387; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2149.
- April 18. Petition of Jacob Mauritz of New York.
C. O. 5, 1113, pp. 392-393; 1037, no. 96; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2180.
- April 18. *Scire Facias* against the proprietaries of East and West New Jersey.
C. O. 5, 1037, nos. 97, 98; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2181.
- May 2. Regarding pardon to persons assisting Leisler.
C. O. 5, 1113, pp. 388-389; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2216.
- May 2. As to Quakers and the oath, in the commission of Gov. Fletcher.
C. O. 5, 1113, p. 401; 1236, pp. 23-24; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2227.
- June 27. Virginia and Maryland to pass laws for ports and for prohibiting the exportation of bulk tobacco.
C. O. 5, 1358, p. 176; C. S. P., 1689-1692, §§ 2299, 2300.
- July 1. Fletcher's commission to pass without fees.
C. O. 5, 1037, nos. 115, 116; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2309.
- July 8. General pardon for New York.
C. O. 5, 1113, p. 423; 1037, no. 118; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2325.
- July 29. Records of New Hampshire in Boston to be returned.
C. O. 5, 940, pp. 209-210; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2371.
- Aug. 19. Gov. Beeston's proposals as to judges in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 77; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2399.
- Aug. 19. *Id.*, military stores.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 78; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2397.
- Aug. 19. *Id.*, frigate for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 79; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2397.
- Sept. 2. Two frigates to carry stores to Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 113; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2434.
- Sept. 17. Resettlement of St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 5, pp. 101-102; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2482.
- Sept. 19. Arms and ammunition for Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 4, p. 295; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2484.
- Sept. —. Assistance for New York from neighboring colonies.
C. O. 5, 1113, p. 429; not calendared, but see C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2543.
- Oct. 11. Petition from Jamaica merchants against the planting of indigo in Africa.
C. O. 138, 7, pp. 124-125; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2546.
- Nov. 28. Case of Ralph Lane, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 4, pp. 316-317; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2646.
- Nov. 28. Confirming appointment of Samuel Gardiner as lieutenant governor of Nevis.
C. O. 153, 5, p. 109; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2649.
- Dec. 20. Charges against Gov. Richier, Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 3, pp. 37-38; C. S. P., 1689-1692, § 2705.
- Dec. 20. About ministers' stipends in Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 5, p. 111; C. S. P., 1689-1693, § 2704.
- Report of solicitor general on dispute between Lord Baltimore and the assembly.
C. O. 5, 724, p. 62; not calendared.

1693.

- Jan. 7. Names of persons for government of Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 3, p. 46; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 9.
- Jan. 7. On petition of Stephen Duport, St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 5, p. 114; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 8.
- Jan. 26. On clause in patent of a naval officer for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 7, pp. 135-136; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 29.

- Jan. —. Proceedings of Gov. Phips against persons charged with witchcraft.
C. O. 5, 905, p. 417; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 33.
- Feb. 3. Gov. Nicholson to receive £200 from assembly of Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1358, p. 222; not calendared.
- Feb. 11. Connecticut and Rhode Island to assist New York.
C. O. 5, 905, p. 420; 1114, p. 12; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 76.
- Feb. 26. Petition of Sir Thomas Lawrence, Maryland.
C. O. 5, 724, pp. 96-99; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 125.
- Feb. 26. Objections of P. Colleton and Davers to two Barbadoes acts.
C. O. 29, 4, p. 319; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 128.
- March 1. Discharge of Capt. Lopdell's recognizance, Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1358, p. 233; C. S. P., 1693-1696, §§ 312, 327.
- March 30. Frigate for New York; arrears to be paid the foot companies.
C. O. 5, 1114, p. 15; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 231.
- May 1. Regarding ship *Fortune* stopped in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1358, p. 235; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 328.
- May 3. On addresses from New Hampshire praying to be annexed to Massachusetts Bay.
C. O. 5, 940, pp. 219-220; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 322.
- June 12. Arms and accoutrements for New York.
C. O. 5, 1114, p. 28; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 405.
- June 15. State of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 7, pp. 152-153; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 417.
- June 15. Admiralty courts in Barbadoes and Jamaica to proceed judicially on prizes.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 144; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 431.
- Sept. 15. Sir Thomas Lawrence's case.
C. O. 5, 724, pp. 120-121; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 556.
- Sept. 15. Petition of Col. Hallet of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 4, pp. 360-361; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 555.
- Sept. 18. Removal of soldiers from Piscataqua and placing a frigate there to preserve the masts.
C. O. 5, 940, p. 226; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 566.
- Sept. 18. Frigates for Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 4, pp. 372-373; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 567.
- Sept. 18. Defense of Barbadoes.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 163; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 567.
- Sept. 25. Appeal of Sir Richard White from Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 166; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 576.
- Sept. 25. Charter, Sir Matthew Dudley and others, for working copper mines in New England.
C. O. 5, 906, pp. 37-38; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 577.
- Nov. 14-23. Grant to Sir John Hoskins of islands of Ascension, Trinidad, and Martin Vaz.
C. O. 324, 5, p. 323; see C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 691.
- Dec. 6. Petition of Jahleel Brenton and others.
C. O. 5, 906, pp. 69-72; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 719.
- Dec. 6. Petition of planters against a Barbadoes act.
C. O. 29, 4, p. 434; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 720.
- Dec. 6. Troops to the West Indies.
C. O. 29, 5, pp. 47-48; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 721.
- Dec. 27. Companies of grenadiers for New York.
C. O. 5, 1114, pp. 69-70; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 754.
- Dec. 27. Gov. Russell of Barbadoes allowed to receive present from the assembly.
C. O. 29, 4, p. 384; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 747.
- Dec. —. Gov. Nicholson to be governor-in-chief of Maryland.
C. O. 5, 724, p. 130; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 753.

1694.

- Jan. 8. On New York act allowing a penny a pound rate for Gov. Fletcher.
C. O. 5, 1114, p. 86; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 782.
- Jan. 8. Crimes of Jean Reaux.
C. O. 5, 1114, p. 84; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 783.
- Jan. 8. Memorial of commissioners of the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 5, pp. 162-163; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 784.
- Jan. 12. Petition of Charles Mein.
C. O. 29, 4, pp. 437-438; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 811.
- Jan. 19. Capt. Short's complaints against Sir William Phips.
C. O. 5, 858, no. 10; 906, pp. 89-92; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 826.
- Feb. 2. Phips to attend in England.
C. O. 5, 858, no. 15; 906, pp. 93-94; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 862.
- Feb. 2. Penn's complaint against his propriety being under New York.
C. O. 5, 1114, p. 88; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 860.
- Feb. 2. Attorney general's report on a Barbadoes act to enable John Kirton to sell lands.
C. O. 29, 4, pp. 443-444; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 857.
- Feb. 2. Ships of war for Barbadoes and Leeward Islands.
C. O. 29, 5, pp. 51-52; 153, 5, pp. 160-161; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 858.
- Feb. 12. Firearms, shot, etc., for Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 5, p. 166; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 875.
- March 5. Gov. Nicholson before leaving England to be sworn to observe the acts of trade and navigation.
C. O. 5, 724, p. 176; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 926.
- March 5. Regiment for Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 5, p. 61; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 928.
- March 5. Execution of Barbadoes act regulating freight of sugars, etc., to be suspended.
C. O. 29, 5, pp. 69, 71; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 929.
- March 5. Commanders not to impress seamen without leave.
C. O. 138, 7, pp. 184-185; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 937.
- March 12. Pardon for Beeckman and others, New York.
C. O. 5, 1114, pp. 91-92; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 943.
- March 16. Sir Edmund Andros to have leave to go to any of the neighboring colonies for two months for his health.
C. O. 5, 1358, p. 248; C. S. P., 1693-1696, §§ 958, 979.
- March 21. Accounts of Andros and Usher.
C. O. 5, 906, pp. 110-111; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 974.
- March 21. Proposals of Ashurst and Evans, naval stores.
C. O. 5, 906, pp. 58-60; 324, 5, pp. 340-342; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 982.
- March 26. Omission of clause proposed to be added to Kirton's act, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 5, pp. 72-73; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 981.
- April 13. Convoy for Jamaica and Barbadoes.
C. O. 137, 3, no. 32; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1014.
- April 13. Uniting of neighboring colonies in defense of New York.
C. O. 5, 1114, pp. 114-115; 1038, no. 50; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1015.
- May 15. Presents for Gov. Kendall, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 5, p. 86; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1050.
- May 22. Petition of Earl of Stirling's children.
C. O. 5, 1114, pp. 103-104; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1059.
- June 1. Bedding for two companies in New York.
C. O. 5, 1038, no. 59; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1076.
- June 16. About ships trading between Scotland and Ireland and Virginia and Maryland.
C. O. 5, 1358, pp. 262, 266-267; C. S. P., 1693-1696, §§ 1101, 1208.
- Aug. 1. Assistance of neighboring colonies for New York.
C. O. 5, 906, pp. 148-151; 1114, pp. 174-177; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1176.

- Aug. 1. and 3. William Penn's petition approved.
C. O. 5, 1114, pp. 134-142; 1236, pp. 51-56; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1181.
- Aug. 8. Soldiers embarked for New York.
C. O. 5, 1114, pp. 169-170; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1203.
- Aug. 8. Reward for Capt. Gardner, Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1358, p. 280; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1224.
- Sept. 3. Forces for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 7, pp. 217-218, 253, 304; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1279.
- Sept. 26. About recruiting the Leeward Islands' regiment.
C. O. 153, 5, p. 187; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1350.
- Sept. 28. Petition of Capt. Weems.
C. O. 5, 1114, p. 182; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1359.
- Nov. 1. Gov. Codrington to prevent Virgin Isles being settled by subjects of Elector of Brandenburg.
C. O. 153, 5, pp. 203-204; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1475.
- Nov. 1. Reward to Capt. Elliot for giving warning of the design of the French on Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 407; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1476.
- Nov. 20. Concerning two companies at Plymouth, England, bound for New York.
C. O. 5, 1114, p. 185; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1522.
- Nov. 20. Petition of Capt. Hyde, commanding one of these companies.
C. O. 5, 1114, pp. 186-187; see also pp. 187-188.
- Nov. 20. Condition of regiment of foot in Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 5, pp. 188-189.
- Nov. 26. Shipping and provisions for regiment for Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 5, p. 90; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1557.
- Nov. 26. Petition of Sutton and Blackmore, Barbadoes.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 408; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1565.
- Dec. 2. State of preparations for expedition to Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 336; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1571.
- Dec. 10. Petition of merchants and planters of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 8, p. 4; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1587.
- Dec. 14. Ships and recruits for Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 5, p. 192; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1599.
- Dec. (between 10 and 21). To know his Majesty's pleasure concerning expedition to Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 7, pp. 345, 347; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1602.

1695.

- Jan. 7. Petition of Richard and Killian Van Rensselaer, New York.
C. O. 5, 1114, p. 192; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1635.
- Jan. 7. Request of Col. Lillington for power to grant commissions in his regiment.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 349.
- Jan. 7. Instructions for distribution of prizes and booty.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 387; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1634.
- Jan. 9 or 10. Expedition to Jamaica; various orders.
C. O. 138, 7, p. 354.
- March 8. Ships and men for Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 5, pp. 196-198, 200, 207-208; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1405.
- May 22. Stores for Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1358, p. 284; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1841.
- May 22. Gov. Russell to receive present from the assembly, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 5, pp. 125-126; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1838.
- May 22. Qualification of electors in Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 5, pp. 127-128; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1839.
- June 4. Indian presents, New York.
C. O. 5, 1114, pp. 202-203; C. S. P., 1693-1696, § 1875.

- July 4. Case of Sir Thomas Lawrence, Maryland; accusations to be dismissed.
C. O. 5, 724, pp. 185-186; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 1937.
- July 12. Petition of Anthony Gomez and others in behalf of Jews in Jamaica and Barbadoes.
C. O. 138, 8, pp. 27-28; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 1958.
- July 25. Appeals from Barbadoes: William Sharpe, Barbara Newton.
C. O. 29, 5, p. 195; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 1979.
- Aug. 7. Andros to apply the quit-rents to the service of the government, Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1358, pp. 296-297; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 1993.
- Aug. 7. Supplies for the King's ships, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 5, pp. 180-181; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 1995.
- Aug. 7. Case of Ralph Lane, prisoner in Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 5, pp. 190-191; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 1996.
- Aug. 14. Memorial of Henry Dunn, desiring to institute proceedings against Gov. Kendall, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 5, p. 197; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2007.
- Sept. 14. Regarding annexation of New Hampshire to Massachusetts.
C. O. 5, 940, pp. 270-275; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2057.
- Oct. 10. Petition of Robert Livingston, New York.
C. O. 5, 1114, pp. 224-230; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2085.
- Oct. 30. Address of the assembly of Maryland.
C. O. 5, 1114, pp. 251-253; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2109.
- Nov. 25. Memorial of Sir Thomas Lawrence, as to support of Protestant ministers in Maryland.
C. O. 5, 724, p. 204; see also p. 207; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2157.
- Nov. 25. Address from Maryland about naval stores.
C. O. 5, 724, pp. 206-207; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2158.
- Dec. 2. Petition and appeal of Col. Hallet, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 5, pp. 208-210; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2176.
- Memorial for convoy for the New York stores.
C. O. 5, 1039, no. 32; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2221.

1696.

- Jan. 23. Supplies for King's ships, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 5, p. 239; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2246.
- Jan. 28. On Randolph and trade, privateers, courts of exchequer, navigation acts, customs.
C. O. 324, 5, pp. 371-373, also 375; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2249.
- Jan. 31. On the condition of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 8, p. 60; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2260.
- Jan. —. Recruits for Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 5, p. 227.
- April 11. Recruits and a fireship for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 8, pp. 68-69; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2322.
- April 11. For justification of Col. Lillingston, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 8, p. 61; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2321.
- April 11. Proposal that men of war in New England and the northern plantations cruise in the Caribbee Islands during the winter.
C. O. 153, 5, pp. 237-238.
- April 18. Col. Holt to be of the council in the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 5, p. 237; *C. S. P.*, 1693-1696, § 2336.
- July 7. On the state of the northern colonies in America.
C. O. 324, 6, p. 11; 5, 1039, no. 481; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 82.
- Aug. 10. Leave to Gov. Russell to accept present from the assembly of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 6, p. 4; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 134.
- Aug. 12. Oaths for governors of the proprietary colonies.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 26-27; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 140.

- Aug. 13. Admiralty courts in the plantations.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 27-28; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 142.
- Sept. 7. Attorneys general for the plantations.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 34-35; 5, 1, no. 321; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 189.
- Sept. 24. Convoys for the Virginia and Maryland trade.
C. O. 5, 1359, pp. 12-14; 324, 6, pp. 68-70; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 255.
- Sept. 30. On the state of the northern colonies.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 59-68; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, IV, 227.
- Sept. 30. Convoys to the southern colonies.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 71-76; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 287.
- Oct. 14. Instructions for naval stores, commissioners to New England.
C. O. 5, 907, pp. 43-47; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 318.
- Oct. 14. Various matters relating to New York.
C. O. 5, 1115, pp. 28-33; 1079, no. 2; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, IV, 230.
- Nov. 11. Regarding resettlement of the French part of St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 6, pp. 18-19; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 383.
- Nov. 12. Advice boats to warn the West India governors.
C. O. 138, 9, pp. 34-35; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 391.
- Nov. 18. Ordnance for New York.
C. O. 5, 1115, pp. 38-39; 1079, no. 3; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 401.
- Nov. 25. Military governor and vice-admiral for New England.
C. O. 5, 907, p. 51; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 424.
- Dec. 3. Weak state of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 6, pp. 36-38, 39 (list of stores); *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 452.
- Dec. 3. Recommendations for Barbadoes.
C. O. 138, 9, pp. 53-57; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 458.
- Dec. 3. Squadron for the West Indies.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 89-90; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 453.
- Dec. 10. Surveyor to be sent to Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 4, pp. 5-6; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 487.
- Dec. 10. Convoy for Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 2, pp. 47-48; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 491.
- Dec. 10. Restitution of Tortola.
C. O. 153, 6, pp. 30-31; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 490.
- Dec. 17. Objections of proprietary colonies to establishment of courts of vice-admiralty.
C. O. 5, 1287, pp. 16-17; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 511.
- Dec. 19. Recommending poor weavers for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 9, pp. 59-61; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 519.
- Dec. 19. Passage money for ministers going to Maryland.
C. O. 5, 725, p. 25; not calendared.

1697.

- Jan. 13. Defense of Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 2, pp. 58-61; Jan. 21, pp. 68-73; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 583.
- Jan. 15. Differences between Hudson's Bay Company and M. de la Forest.
C. O. 134, 3, no. 6; 135, 3, pp. 37-43; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 591.
- Jan. 23. Refusal of the commissioners of the customs to clear ships for West Indies under convoy.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 95-97; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 615.
- Jan. 25. Additional report as to Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 2, pp. 74-76; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 621.
- Jan. 28. Appointment of Gov. Webb of the Bahamas.
C. O. 5, 1287, pp. 29-30; Feb. 11, pp. 50-51; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 643.
- Feb. 18. Complaints of lieutenants of New York companies.
C. O. 5, 1115, pp. 83-88; 1079, no. 5; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 740.
- Feb. 25. Union of northern colonies for defense.
C. O. 5, 907, pp. 134-139; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, IV, 259.
- March 4. Officials of admiralty courts in America.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 117-119; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 780.

- April 1. Sixty or eighty "laborious tradesmen" for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 9, p. 86; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 887.
- May 11. Man of war, warlike stores, recruits, Indian presents, etc., for New York.
C. O. 5, 907, pp. 183-185; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1008.
- May 14. Defense of New England by sea and land.
C. O. 5, 907, pp. 181-191; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1024.
- May 17. Isaac Richier *v.* Gov. Goddard of the Bahamas.
C. O. 38, 4, pp. 23-33; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1028.
- May 18. Defense of New England; pay of troops, etc.
C. O. 5, 907, pp. 197-198; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1033.
- June 24. Holman's expenses, etc., in defending Ferryland harbor, Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 2, p. 119; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1105.
- July 6. Disbanding company of foot in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 9, p. 113; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1154.
- July 21. On the disorders in New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 907, pp. 214-216; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1196.
- July 26. No colony willing to receive fifty women convicts, except the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 6, pp. 86-88; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1205.
- Aug. 10. On the Duchess of Hamilton's claim to the Narragansett country (long report).
C. O. 5, 907, pp. 221-238; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1234.
- Aug. 10. Scottish Darien project, to be checked.
C. O. 389, 15, pp. 181-184; not calendared.
- Aug. 12. Appointment of Capt. Norton as lieutenant governor of St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 6, pp. 93-95; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1240.
- Aug. 26. Instructing governors to forbid renewing laws for a limited time.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 176-178; not calendared.
- Sept. 2. Petition of Capts. Weems and Hide against Gov. Fletcher.
C. O. 5, 1115, pp. 257-260; 1079, no. 7; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1297.
- Sept. 16. Taking possession of Golden Island and a port opposite at Darien.
C. O. 389, 15, pp. 214-215; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1305.
- Oct. 1. Offices of secretary and provost marshal, Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 4, pp. 48-49; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1360.
- Oct. 21. Case of Thomas Bulkley of the Bahamas.
C. O. 5, 1287, pp. 168-175; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1400.
- Oct. 21. Provisions for the forces at Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 2, pp. 130-131; *C. S. P.*, 1696-1697, § 1401.
- Oct. 27. Objections of several of the colonies to receiving convicts.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 187-189; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 1.
- Oct. 27. Regarding port at Perth Amboy.
C. O. 5, 1287, pp. 176-185; *N. J. Arch.*, II, 180.
- Oct. 29. Men-of-war for the West Indies.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 182-183; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 8.
- Nov. 4. Disbanded soldiers for Virginia, Maryland, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 196-203; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 25.
- Dec. 9. To restrain pirates in the plantations.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 211-213; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 94.
- Dec. 9. Provisions taken up in Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 2, pp. 170-171; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 93.
- Dec. 23. Long account of the trade of the kingdom, with a paragraph on trade with the plantations.
C. O. 389, 15, pp. 265-282; 390, 12, pp. 130-170; not calendared.
- Dec. 24. As to what part of St. Christopher is to be restored, and what demands are to be made regarding Hudson Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, in consequence of the late treaty.
C. O. 1, 68, no. 113; 5, 1, no. 49; 153, 6, pp. 132-139; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 124.

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- Jan. 7. On island of Tortola.
C. O. 153, 6, pp. 150-157; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 156.
- Jan. 13. Suppression of piracy in the East Indies.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 222-225; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 173.
- Feb. 10. Acts for increasing number of white men in the plantations to be effectually executed.
C. O. 324, 6, p. 234; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 218.
- Feb. 17. Recall of engineers sent to the colonies.
C. O. 324, 6, p. 241; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 236.
- Feb. 26. Piracy in the East Indies, supported chiefly by proprietary and charter colonies.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 245-248; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 265.
- March 18. Expedition against pirates in the East Indies; surrendered pirates not to be sent to American colonies, but to be tried in King's dominions.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 253-260; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 304.
- March 30. State and defense of Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 2, pp. 184-188; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 333.
- March 31. Captains of Newfoundland convoys to take all English subjects found on foreign ships, and to hinder foreign ships fishing between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista.
C. O. 195, 2, pp. 190-191; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 339.
- May 5. On method of furnishing H. M. ships in the colonies.
C. O. 29, 6, pp. 189-193; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 427.
- May 11. Hudson's Bay Company's answer to French complaints.
C. O. 134, 3, no. 5; 135, 3, pp. 47-49; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 450.
- May 12. Draft of a bill for the trial of pirates.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 284-285, with bill, to 293; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 447.
- May 13. Gov. Grey of Barbadoes to receive present from the assembly.
C. O. 29, 6, pp. 205-207; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 457.
- May 26. Commander of convoys to have command of forts and soldiers in Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 2, p. 232; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 512.
- July 9. Forfeiture incurred by Gov. Beeston remitted.
C. O. 138, 9, pp. 209-210; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 652.
- July 9. Concerning the island of New Tortola.
C. O. 153, 6, pp. 215-219; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 653.
- July 12. Petition of Gov. Fletcher; his sureties released.
C. O. 5, 1115, pp. 273-274; 1079, no. 13; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 667.
- July 26. Affairs of New York.
C. O. 5, 1115, pp. 378-382; 1079, no. 14; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV, 359.
- July 28. Suppression of pirates in the East Indies.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 311-312; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 703.
- Aug. 23. Alteration in Gov. Nicholson's instructions.
C. O. 5, 1359, pp. 252-259; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 767.
- Sept. 1. Instructions for squadron going to East Indies.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 319-328, 332-341; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 788.
- Sept. 6. Trade instructions, Govs. Nicholson, Blakiston, Bellomont.
C. O. 324, 6, p. 329; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 798.
- Sept. 8. Proposed powers and directions to the commissioners accompanying Capt. Warren's squadron.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 332-341; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 806.
- Sept. 12. Complaints of Walrond against Gov. Codrington.
C. O. 153, 6, pp. 256-277; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 817.
- Sept. 20. On death of Gov. Codrington.
C. O. 153, 6, pp. 281-285; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 834.
- Sept. 22. Devolution of Codrington's authority; no special instructions needed.
C. O. 153, 6, pp. 285-290; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 841.
- Oct. 13. Instructions for expedition against pirates in the East Indies.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 349-350; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 889.

- Oct. 19. On the province of New York.
C. O. 5, 1116, pp. 1-34; 1079, no. 19; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV, 385; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, 6.
- Oct. 25. Claim of Sir Thomas Lawrence, Maryland.
C. O. 5, 725, pp. 304-309; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 935.
- Oct. 27. On denization of Arnold Noding, New York.
C. O., 5, 725, pp. 309-313; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 940.
- Oct. 27. Fortifications, New York; Col. Römer.
C. O. 5, 1116, pp. 45-46; 1079, no. 21; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 939.
- Oct. 27. Naval officers to give security.
C. O. 324, 6, pp. 369-370; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 943.
- Oct. 28. Draft of letter to Gov. Bellomont.
C. O. 5, 1116, p. 47; 1079, no. 23; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 945.
- Dec. 21. Illegal trade and piracies, Rhode Island.
C. O. 5, 1287, pp. 275-281; *C. S. P.*, 1697-1698, § 1071.

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- Jan. 5. Trade instructions, Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the Proprieties.
C. O. 324, 7, p. 5; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 16.
- Jan. 10. Ships of war for the colonies on the continent of America.
C. O. 324, 7, pp. 4-7; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 29.
- Jan. 13. Encouragement of the woolen manufacture (House of Commons).
C. O. 389, 16, pp. 145-155.
- Feb. 9. Memorial from the agents of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 9, pp. 270-273; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 91.
- Feb. 16. Impressment of the *Mary Rose* in the King's service.
C. O. 29, 6, pp. 242-243; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 105.
- March 9. Complaints of John and Nicholas Hallam, Connecticut.
C. O. 5, 1287, pp. 355-356; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 160.
- March 9. Affairs of New York.
C. O. 5, 1116, pp. 262-282; 1069, no. 29; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV, 479.
- March 30. Newfoundland fishery.
C. O. 195, 2, pp. 277-280; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 217.
- April 18. Commission for Gov. Codrington, with suggestions.
C. O. 153, 6, pp. 353-354; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 271.
- April 18. Dispute regarding Perth Amboy to be tried at Westminster Hall.
C. O. 5, 1287, pp. 400-401; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 272.
- April 25. Petition of Francis Brinley, Rhode Island.
C. O. 5, 1287, pp. 410-411; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 299.
- April 25. Suppressing pirates, coast of Guinea and in the West Indies.
C. O. 324, 7, pp. 38-39; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 300.
- April 27. Petition of Edward Chilton, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 6, p. 254; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 310.
- May 4. Remission of John Lucas's fine, Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 6, pp. 358-359; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 344.
- May 18. Petition of Sir William Waller and settlement of Tobago.
C. O. 29, 6, pp. 268-271; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 420.
- May 18. Instructions to governors regarding soldiers in pay.
C. O. 324, 7, pp. 42-43; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 407.
- May 25. Peter Beckford, jr., to be tried in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 9, pp. 329-331; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 449.
- May 26. Scottish Darien expedition (Secretary of State).
C. O. 323, 3, no. 15.
- June 29. On complaint of Dutch ambassador against Gov. Trott, Bahamas.
C. O. 5, 1287, pp. 460-468; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 575.
- June 29. Governors, particularly of proprietary and charter governments, to protect collectors.
C. O. 29, 6, pp. 307-309; 324, 7, p. 58; *C. S. P.*, 1699, §§ 572, 573.
- July 6. Petition of London merchants contracting with the Portugal Company to carry negroes to Carthage, for aid from governors of Barbadoes and Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 9, pp. 342-343; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 610.

- July 6. Dispute between Edward Randolph and Gov. Day of Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 4, pp. 176-178, 185-187, 203-205; *C. S. P.*, 1699, §§ 612, 642, 668.
- July 13. An address from Massachusetts Bay regarding appeals.
C. O. 5, 908, pp. 156-160; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 646.
- July 13. Military stores for New York.
C. O. 5, 1116, pp. 307-309; 1079, no. 30; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 639.
- July 20. Drafts of various instructions.
C. O. 153, 6, p. 389; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 670.
- July 27. Petition of Peter Van Belle, negroes seized by governor of St. Christopher; navigation act.
C. O. 153, 6, pp. 393-395; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 685.
- Aug. 4. Col. Markham and Pennsylvania.
C. O. 5, 1288, pp. 20-32; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 694.
- Aug. 10. Illegal trade at New York.
C. O. 5, 1116, pp. 316-321; 1288, pp. 68-73; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, IV, 542.
- Sept. 12. French settlements at St. Lucia.
C. O. 29, 6, pp. 325-328; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 775.
- Sept. 12. Further report about piracy.
C. O. 324, 7, pp. 63-72; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, IV, 583.
- Sept. 14. Sir Peter Colleton's executors *v.* Col. James Colleton, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 6, pp. 329-331; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 782.
- Sept. 15. *Sea Flower* trading from Honduras to Venice with logwood.
C. O. 389, 16, pp. 345-348; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 791.
- Sept. 20. Petition of Richard Bate, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 6, pp. 333-335; 31, 5, pp. 480-481; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 790.
- Oct. 31. Draft of letter for governors, concerning pirates.
C. O. 324, 7, pp. 85-94; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 909.
- Nov. 2. Instructions to Gov. Grey regarding St. Lucia.
C. O. 29, 6, pp. 350, 359; *C. S. P.*, 1699, §§ 922, 939.
- Nov. 2. Complaint of Mears against Gov. Day, Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 4, pp. 233-234; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 916.
- Nov. 9. Fleet of ships of war to clear American coast of pirates.
C. O. 324, 7, pp. 106-109; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 943.
- Nov. 10. Irregular pressing of seamen and landmen, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 9, pp. 399-402; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 946.
- Nov. 16. Ships of war not to carry off debtors or indentured servants.
C. O. 29, 7, pp. 1-3; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 968.
- Nov. 22. Isaac Richier *v.* Nicholas Trott, Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 4, pp. 240-242; see *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 988.
- Dec. 7. Gov. Codrington to recover goods plundered by Kidd.
C. O. 153, 7, p. 22; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 1041.
- Dec. 14. *Id.*, Beeston, Jamaica, salary.
C. O. 138, 9, p. 410; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 1055.
- Dec. 14. Law officers for New York.
C. O. 5, 1116, pp. 438-440; 1079, no. 32; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, IV, 598.
- Dec. 21. On Dr. Coxe's title to Carolana.
C. O. 5, 1288, pp. 139-143; *C. S. P.*, 1699, § 1082.

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- Jan. 4. King's right and title to Tobago.
C. O. 29, 7, pp. 15-20; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 9.
- Jan. 11. Dr. Coxe's memorial regarding Carolana.
C. O. 5, 1288, p. 146; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 28.
- Jan. 11. Further directions to governors regarding pirates.
C. O. 324, 7, pp. 148-150; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 29.
- Jan. 18. Scottish settlement at Darien.
C. O. 324, 7, pp. 152-159; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 43.
- Jan. 25. Fortifications and barracks, St. John's, Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 2, pp. 339-340; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 54.

- Feb. 1. Letters to governors about pirates, with special reference to the latter for East and West Jersey.
C. O. 324, 7, pp. 163-164; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 72.
- Feb. 15. Petitions of Sir Thomas Lawrence and others, for the government of Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 4, pp. 255-256; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 131.
- Feb. 28. On the misdemeanors of Gov. Day.
C. O. 38, 4, pp. 261-264; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 173.
- Feb. 29. Terms proposed by Francis Burghill for the government of Bermuda; not fit to be allowed.
C. O. 38, 4, pp. 265-266; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 172.
- March 7. Proposals about Protestant refugees for Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1359, pp. 391-392; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 199.
- March 13. Boundaries between New York and Connecticut.
C. O. 5, 1117, pp. 99-104; 1079, no. 34; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV, 625.
- March 22. Advances made in the trade of England (House of Commons).
C. O. 389, 17, pp. 20-37; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 244.
- March 28. Boundaries between New York and Connecticut.
C. O. 5, 1117, p. 121; 1079, no. 35; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 267.
- March 28. Petition of Mr. Dupin and others for a settlement on Tobago.
C. O. 29, 7, pp. 33-35; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 264.
- April 8. Summary of Bellomont's report on Rhode Island.
C. O. 5, 1288, pp. 184-186; *House of Lords MSS.*, V, 77; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 291.
- April 24. Letter from Bellomont about Indians.
C. O. 5, 1117, pp. 198-213; 1079, no. 42; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV, 639.
- May 7. Commission for trial of pirates; under great seal or Admiralty.
C. O. 324, 7, p. 202; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 401.
- May 8. Sir Thomas Day's defense of his son Gov. Day, Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 4, pp. 300-308; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 411.
- May 8. Submit names of Capt. George Brook and other petitioners for government of Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 4, pp. 308-309; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 410.
- May 8. *Mary*, stopped in New England by Bellomont, to proceed.
C. O. 5, 909, pp. 16-17; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 407.
- May 8. Governors to secure the *Beckford* galley and the pirates who seized her.
C. O. 324, 7, pp. 203, 297-299 (June 19); *C. S. P.*, 1700, §§ 406, 567.
- June 5. Passes for ships, regulations.
C. O. 324, 7, pp. 213-220; 389, 17, pp. 67-73; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 497.
- June 5. Commissioners recommended for trial of pirates.
C. O. 324, 7, pp. 221-239; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 498.
- June 12. Security for governor of the Bahamas, Haskett.
C. O. 5, 1288, pp. 220-222, 238-239 (June 26); *C. S. P.*, 1700, §§ 539, 596.
- June 12. King's title to Dominica and trade of Royal African Company in Gambia.
C. O. 29, 7, pp. 67-77; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 536.
- June 12. As to Lord Bellomont's salaries.
C. O. 5, 909, pp. 25-27, 30-32 (June 22); *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 535.
- June 26. Appeal allowed in case of *Cole and Bean*, galley.
C. O. 5, 1288, pp. 239-240; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 595.
- June 28. Restitution of ship seized by the French while trading for negroes in Africa.
C. O. 389, 17, pp. 103-106; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 601.
- Aug. 2. Case against Lieut.-Gov. Norton of St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 7, pp. 63-64; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 684.
- Aug. 29. Imprisonment of Daniel Smith for piracy, Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 5, pp. 58-62; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 741.
- Oct. 3. Matthew Plowman's petition, New York.
C. O. 5, 1117, pp. 404-405; 1079, no. 49; *C. S. P.*, 1700, § 811.

Oct. 4. Bellomont's proposals.

C. O. 5, 1117, pp. 405-431; 1079, no. 51; N. Y. Col. Docs., IV, 700.

Oct. 10. *Mary*, with lumber from New Hampshire to Portugal, to proceed.

C. O. 5, 909, p. 257; C. S. P., 1700, § 828.

Oct. 15. Upon the preservation of the King's timber in America.

C. O. 5, 909, pp. 258-274; C. S. P., 1700, § 841.

Oct. 23. King's title to St. Lucia (Secretary of State).

C. O. 29, 7, pp. 115-123; C. S. P., 1700, §§ 856, 873.

Dec. 4. As to validity of acts of Leeward Islands, passed on the death of Codrington. Null and void.

C. O. 153, 7, pp. 125-128; C. S. P., 1700, § 969.

1701.

Jan. 10. State of the forts in the northern colonies.

C. O. 5, 1118, pp. 79-91; 1079, no. 60; N. Y. Col. Docs., IV, 830.

Jan. 16. Deductions from soldier's pay, New York.

C. O. 5, 1118, pp. 109-110; 1079, no. 64; C. S. P., 1701, § 41.

Jan. 22. On claim of John Crown to Penobscot.

C. O. 5, 909, pp. 349-350; C. S. P., 1701, § 58.

Jan. 23. Supplies for soldiers, Newfoundland.

C. O. 195, 2, pp. 399-401; C. S. P., 1701, § 62.

Jan. 25. State of the forts, Bermuda, Bahamas, Leeward Islands (Secretary of State).

C. O. 324, 7, pp. 363-368; C. S. P., 1701, § 79.

Feb. 6. Delays of justice in Barbadoes.

C. O. 29, 7, pp. 257-261; C. S. P., 1701, § 133.

March 4. Draft of proclamation for apprehending pirates.

C. O. 324, 7, pp. 375-384; C. S. P., 1701, § 205.

March 6. Four and a half per cent export duty for certain public uses in Barbadoes.

C. O. 29, 7, pp. 289-291; C. S. P., 1701, § 220.

March 6. Commissions for vice-admiralty officers in Massachusetts and New York.

C. O. 1118, pp. 214-215; 1079, no. 67; C. S. P., 1701, § 215.

March 11. On delay of justice in Barbadoes.

C. O. 29, 7, p. 299; C. S. P., 1701, § 246.

March 26. Charges against the proprietary and charter governments.

C. O. 5, 1289, pp. 12-17; 1360, pp. 89-90; 726, p. 60; C. S. P., 1701, § 286.

March 27. Review of the work of the board (House of Commons).

C. O. 389, 17, pp. 167-191; C. S. P., 1701, § 287.

April 10. Instructions about trying of pirates.

C. O. 324, 7, p. 410; C. S. P., 1701, § 324.

April 23. Relating to trade and courts of justice (House of Commons).

C. O. 324, 7, pp. 424-452; House of Lords MSS., V, no. 1829.

April 24. Petition of Samuel Allen, New Hampshire.

C. O. 5, 909, pp. 399-401; C. S. P., 1701, § 365.

April 29. Governors to be forbidden to receive presents.

C. O. 324, 7, pp. 454-455; C. S. P., 1701, § 383.

May 6. Lieut.-Gov. Norton of St. Christopher to be removed.

C. O. 153, 7, pp. 167-168; C. S. P., 1701, § 405.

May 8. Complaints against the proprietary and charter governments (House of Lords).

C. O. 5, 1289, pp. 66-68; C. S. P., 1701, § 420.

May 21. Draft of a bill concerning religious worship in Maryland, to be passed by the assembly there.

C. O. 5, 726, p. 66; C. S. P., 1701, § 468.

May 27. Appeal of John and Nicholas Hallam, Connecticut.

C. O. 5, 1289, pp. 100-101; C. S. P., 1701, § 481.

June 19. Petitions for places of lieutenant governors of St. Christopher and Montserrat.

C. O. 153, 7, pp. 188-190; *C. S. P.*, 1701, § 556.

July 9. Merchant ships in West Indies wearing H. M. colors.

C. O. 324, 8, pp. 5-7; *C. S. P.*, 1701, § 629.

July 24. Stores of war for Jamaica.

C. O. 138, 10, pp. 237-240; *C. S. P.*, 1701, § 667.

Sept. 3. Case of ship carrying logwood direct from Campeachy to Leghorn.

C. O. 389, 17, pp. 231-234; *C. S. P.*, 1701, § 818.

Oct. 2. Long account of East and West New Jersey.

C. O. 5, 1289, pp. 244-258; *C. S. P.*, 1701, § 916.

Oct. 16. Article in projected treaty with Morocco (passes) not to be inserted.

C. O. 389, 17, pp. 236-237; *C. S. P.*, 1701, § 954.

Dec. 12. Irregularities in administration of justice, Barbadoes.

C. O. 29, 7, pp. 444-453; *C. S. P.*, 1701, § 1074.

Dec. 22. Secretary of Virginia to reside at Williamsburg.

C. O. 5, 1360, pp. 98-100; *C. S. P.*, 1701, § 1107.

1702.

Jan. 6. Surrender of the government of the Jerseys.

C. O. 5, 1289, pp. 319-321; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 7.

Jan. 8. Concerning firelocks for Nevis.

C. O. 153, 7, pp. 333-334; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 18.

Jan. 24. Upon the state of defense of the several plantations in America.

C. O. 324, 8, pp. 37-63; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 55.

Jan. 28. On constitution of courts of Chancery and Errors in Barbadoes.

C. O. 29, 7, pp. 469-473; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 62.

Jan. 31. As to the trade, security, and governors of the plantations (House of Commons).

C. O. 389, 37, pp. 241-308; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 76.

Feb. 5. Case of Mr. Freeman, St. Christopher.

C. O. 153, 7, pp. 389-398; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 95; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 49.

Feb. 5. Proceedings in connection with trade, during 1700 and 1701, with returns of exports and imports from plantations (House of Commons).

C. O. 389, 17, pp. 235-297; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 97.

Feb. 13. Complaint against Codrington, Nevis estate, Shipman and others.

C. O. 153, 7, pp. 400-408, 410-414 (Feb. 23); *C. S. P.*, 1702, §§ 113, 140.

Feb. 16. Similar to that of Feb. 5, above (House of Lords).

C. O. 389, 14, pp. 299-386; 389, 37, pp. 310-415; *House of Lords MSS.*, IV, 436-463; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 117.

March 6. Stores and ordnance for Newfoundland.

C. O. 195, 3, pp. 38-40; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 179.

March 16. Regarding complaints of courts of justice in the plantations (House of Commons).

C. O. 324, 8, pp. 75-77; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 201.

March 17. Upon the state of Newfoundland.

C. O. 195, 3, pp. 55-62; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 207.

March 26. Small arms for Virginia.

C. O. 5, 1335, pp. 1-3; 1360, pp. 129-131; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 252.

April 17. Relating to the application of the four and a half per cent.

C. O. 29, 7, pp. 507-517; 8, pp. 15-23 (April 29); *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 349.

April 17. Upon the general state of plantation defense.

C. O. 324, 8, pp. 116-145; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 348.

May 18. On Virginia address relating to assistance for New York.

C. O. 5, 1360, pp. 174-178; 1335, no. 17; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 497.

May 21. Regarding the four and a half per cent.

C. O. 29, 8, p. 31; 153, 7, p. 440; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 515.

May 29. Case of Jeronimy Clifford.

C. O. 389, 40, pp. 133-135; *C. S. P.*, 1702, § 542.

- June 8. Virginia's assistance for New York.
C. O. 5, 1360, pp. 179-180; 1335, no. 33; C. S. P., 1702, § 579.
- June 16. Remonstrance from Bahamas against Gov. Haskett.
C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 28-32; C. S. P., 1702, § 604; A. P. C. Col., VI, § 64.
- June 18. The present state of Jamaica.
C. O. 133, 10, pp. 340-341; C. S. P., 1702, § 627.
- June 25. On petitions for and against Gov. Hamilton's being appointed governor of New Jersey.
C. O. 5, 994, pp. 18-21; 1290, pp. 62-65, 102-103 (July 7); C. S. P., 1702, § 664.
- June 26. Advising confirmation of appointment by the proprietaries of Nathaniel Johnson as governor, Carolina.
C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 92-93; C. S. P., 1702, § 671.
- Aug. 21. For security of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 8, pp. 198-199; C. S. P., 1702, § 885.
- Aug. 22. Petition of Gov. Haskett, the Bahamas.
C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 194-197; C. S. P., 1702, § 891.
- Oct. 28. On the woolen manufactory, in part referring to the plantations.
C. O. 412, 543, pp. 504-518; C. S. P., 1702, § 1103.
- Nov. 11. Regarding Hamilton as governor of Pennsylvania.
C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 237-239, 240-241; C. S. P., 1702, § 1141.
- Nov. 18. On the state of trade since the last session of Parliament (House of Lords).
C. O. 389, 18, pp. 3-24; House of Lords MSS., V, no. 1829; C. S. P., 1702, § 1165.
- Nov. 24. Irregularities and state of Rhode Island.
C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 224-248; C. S. P., 1702, § 1184; A. P. C. Col., VI, § 75.
- Nov. 26. Upon appeals from Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 8, pp. 263-264; C. S. P., 1702, § 1194; A. P. C. Col., VI, § 76.
- Nov. 28. Relating to the Proprieties, duties on dyeing wares, and Newfoundland, with lists (House of Lords).
C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 250-252, 253-258; House of Lords MSS., V, no. 1829; C. S. P., 1702, § 1202.
- Dec. 3. Gov. Dudley to receive present from New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 910, pp. 302-303; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 8.

1703.

- Jan. 18. On an act touching religious worship in Maryland.
C. O. 5, 726, pp. 170-172; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 201.
- Jan. 21. Various regulations for the government of Pennsylvania.
C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 285-288, 302-305; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 218.
- Feb. 19. Petitions of Newfoundland traders.
C. O. 195, 3, pp. 161-164; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 342.
- Feb. 25. Requesting that her Majesty's picture and arms be sent to the colonies for their council chambers.
C. O. 324, 8, pp. 214-215; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 374.
- Feb. 25. Packet boat service with the colonies.
C. O. 5, 1084, no. 15; 324, 8, pp. 215-218; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 373.
- March 4. Incorporation of Sir Matthew Dudley and others.
C. O. 5, 910, pp. 404-409; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 404.
- March 4. Gov. Codrington to receive a present from the assembly, Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 8, pp. 139-140; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 407.
- March 5. Claims of children of the late Lord Stirling.
C. O. 5, 1119, pp. 388-389; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 416; A. P. C. Col., VI, § 91.
- March 18. Lord Cornbury to receive present, New York.
C. O. 5, 1119, pp. 430-431; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 471.
- March 19. Relating to the defense and security of Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 3, pp. 204-207; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 479.
- April 2. Salaries of the plantation governors and the presents made them.
C. O. 324, 8, pp. 229-240; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 536.

- April 2. On Lord Cornbury's letters relating to the state of New York.
C. O. 5, 1119, pp. 442-450; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 533.
- April 9. Samuel Allen's title to lands in New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 910, pp. 450-453, 454-456, 463 (April 16); C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 564.
- April 16. Drafts of letters to the governors with regard to their salaries, etc.
C. O. 324, 8, p. 243; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 578.
- April 23. On Dudley's letters with reference to the state of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 911, pp. 6-14; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 611.
- April 23. Removing Gov. Partridge (New Hampshire) in favor of Usher.
C. O. 5, 911, pp. 4-5; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 612.
- April 29. Relating to George Larkin's being detained in Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 5, pp. 376-378; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 628.
- May 13. Drafts of letters for Dudley, Massachusetts, and for the lieutenant governor of Bermuda.
C. O. 5, 911, pp. 41-42; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 687.
- June 4. On Vaughan's petition against John Usher.
C. O. 5, 911, pp. 52-54, 62-64; C. S. P., 1702-1703, §§ 789, 793.
- June 4. Convoys for Virginia and Maryland.
C. O. 5, 1360, pp. 393-396; not calendared.
- June 16. Instructions for Dudley and Usher touching Allen's dispute.
C. O. 5, 911, pp. 65-69; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 830.
- July 7. On appointment of an attorney general for Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1360, pp. 399-400; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 889.
- July 7. Upon the authority and methods of appeal of vice-admiralty courts in the plantations.
C. O. 324, 8, pp. 257-258; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 890.
- July 9. No objection to John Evans as deputy governor of Pennsylvania.
C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 350-352; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 904.
- July 16. On letters from Dudley relating to Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.
C. O. 5, 911, pp. 92-95; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 922.
- July 22. Trade instructions for Penn; Evans's appointment.
C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 356-357; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 937.
- Oct. 15. Memorial of the officers of the two regiments at Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 11, pp. 43-48; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 1149.
- Oct. 29. Recommend that governors in the northern plantations send ships of war in winter as convoys to the southern islands. Also comment on Dutch and Spanish trade in the islands.
C. O. 152, 39, fo. 208; 324, 8, pp. 262-266; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 1208.
- Nov. 23. Relating to the rates of foreign coins in the plantations.
C. O. 324, 8, pp. 282-284; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 1299.
- Dec. 16. Account of state of trade.
C. O. 412, 549, pp. 69-169; 389, 18, pp. 60-154; C. S. P., 1702-1703, § 1390; House of Lords MSS., V, § 1951; Bulletin, N. Y. Public Library, XI, 469-497.

1704.

- Jan. 13. Upon the revenue acts in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 11, pp. 102-106; A. P. C. Col., II, § 919, p. 835.
- Jan. 13. On irregularities in Rhode Island, also for repealing an act relating to an admiralty court there.
C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 413-416; A. P. C. Col., II, § 917; VI, § 112.
- Jan. 14. On levying the four and a half per cent. in the French part of St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 8, pp. 236-238; A. P. C. Col., II, § 914.
- Jan. 26. Share of the Lord High Admiral of prizes in the plantations.
C. O. 324, 8, pp. 331-333.
- Feb. 3. Gov. Granville's house rent in Barbadoes.
C. O. 20, 8, pp. 376-377; A. P. C. Col., II, § 918.

- Feb. 16. Draft of letter to the governors relating to distribution of prizes.
C. O. 324, 8, p. 346.
- Feb. 16. On letters from Gov. Dudley relating to refusal of assistance by Connecticut and Rhode Island.
C. O. 5, 911, pp. 206-208; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 922.
- Feb. 16. Draft of a letter to governor and company of Rhode Island.
C. O. 5, 1290, p. 438; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 917.
- Feb. 16. Stores of war for Massachusetts.
A. P. C. Col., II, § 920.
- Feb. 21. Stores of war for Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 8, p. 253; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 921.
- March 2. *Id.*, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 8, p. 396; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 923.
- March 9. Petition of James Cowes, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 8, pp. 406-408; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 816.
- March 9. Complaint of Nicholas Hallam, Connecticut, on behalf of the Mohegan Indians.
C. O. 5, 1290, pp. 453-457; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 925; VI, § 118.
- March 23. Drafts of letters to Connecticut and Rhode Island on their refusal to assist Massachusetts Bay.
C. O. 5, 1290, p. 479; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 922.
- March 23. Upon an order in Council touching Mr. Bridger's accounts.
C. O. 5, 911, pp. 224-225, also pp. 237-238 (April 6); *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 908.
- March 23. Relating to Newfoundland—fortifications, engineers, convoys, musters, provisions.
C. O. 195, 3, pp. 289-293; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 926.
- April 4. Petition of Edward Jones, provost marshal and secretary of Barbadoes.
C. O. 38, 5, pp. 468-469; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 910.
- April 4. Charter for Thomas Byfield and others, naval stores.
C. O. 5, 1291, pp. 1-2; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 930.
- May 18. Relating to the production of naval stores in the plantations.
C. O. 5, 911, pp. 291-296; 3 (a bundle), 4 pp.
- June 13. Regarding negroes of Peter Van Belle, St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 8, pp. 312-314; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 924.
- June 13. On complaints against Gov. Nicholson, Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1360, pp. 479-482; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 927.
- June 21. Present of £2000 to heir-at-law of late Gov. Selwyn.
C. O. 138, 11, pp. 278-279; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 937.
- July 10. Letter from Gov. Dudley relating to state of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 911, pp. 358-364; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 940.
- July 13. Renewal of commission for trial of pirates.
C. O. 324, 8, pp. 481-483; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 342.
- Sept. 20. Memorial of merchants trading to Barbadoes; also of the Royal African Company relating to convoys.
C. O. 29, 8, pp. 483-484; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 948.
- Oct. 26. Relating to a privilege assumed by the councilors of Barbadoes, whereby they shelter themselves from prosecution for debt.
C. O. 29, 9, pp. 69-75; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 949; VI, § 124.
- Nov. 7. Stores of war for Massachusetts Bay.
C. O. 5, 751, pp. 211-214; 911, pp. 399-404; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 951.
- Nov. 9. Ship *Expectation* to return from Virginia without convoy.
C. O. 5, 1361, pp. 41-43; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 916.
- Nov. 16. Petition of four suspended councilors, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 9, pp. 96-97; cf. *House of Lords MSS.*, VI, 375-380; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 947.
- Nov. 23. Complaints against Gov. Granville, Barbadoes.
C. O. 20, 9, pp. 102-104; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 949.

- Nov. 25. Relating to the French being served with provisions from St. Thomas.
C. O. 153, 9, pp. 48-51.
- Nov. 30. Account of the state of trade (House of Lords).
House of Lords MSS., no. 18.
- Dec. 15. On New York act declaring illegal the proceedings against Bayard and Hutchins.
C. O. 5, 1120, pp. 233-234; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 875.

1705.

- Jan. 10. Want of convoys for Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 9, pp. 75-76.
- Jan. 10. Petition from Robert Livingston, New York.
C. O. 5, 1120, pp. 240-241; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 954.
- Jan. 11. Letter to Gov. Dudley, Massachusetts Bay.
C. O. 5, 911, p. 408.
- Jan. 25. Convoys for next year's trade to Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 3, pp. 400-402.
- Feb. 20. As to members absenting themselves from the assembly of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 9, p. 185, 227-275 (March 29); *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 947.
- Feb. 22. Want of stores in New York.
C. O. 5, 1120, pp. 271-274; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 960.
- March 1. Recruits for the four companies, New York.
C. O. 5, 1120, pp. 275-276; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 962.
- March 2. Regarding ships sailing without convoy.
C. O. 5, 3, 2 pp.; 1361, pp. 55-56.
- March 29. Complaints against Gov. Granville, Barbadoes.
A. P. C. Col., VI, § 130.
- April 5. Relating to the settling of ports, etc., Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1361, pp. 104-107; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 965.
- April 26. Trial of Lieut. Henly, Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 6, pp. 114-116; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 968.
- May 26. On petition of merchants of Virginia and Maryland complaining of practices in the tobacco trade to Russia.
C. O. 5, 1361, pp. 226-230; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 971.
- June 15. Complaints against Gov. Granville, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 9, pp. 317-318; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 978; VI, 37.
- Oct. 5. Submitting that an act of Connecticut relating to heretics should be repealed.
C. O. 5, 1291, pp. 210-211; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 832.
- Oct. 22. Complaint of George Lillington of proceedings of court of oyer and terminer in Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 9, pp. 386-388; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 976; VI, § 137.
- Nov. 14. Upon a petition of New England merchants for a person to instruct in naval stores.
C. O. 5, 911, pp. 477-478.
- Nov. 29. On letter received from Gov. Seymour relative to a combination in Maryland against the government.
C. O. 5, 726, pp. 339-344; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 982.
- Dec. 13. Regarding proceedings against Col. Maycock in Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 9, pp. 456-458; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 977.
- Dec. 20. Relative to the misfeasances of the charter governments.
C. O. 5, 912, pp. 65-68; 1291, pp. 238-253 (Jan. 10, 1706); *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 952; VI, § 139.

1706.

- Jan. 16. State of the trade and fishery, Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 4, pp. 105-129.
- Jan. 16. *Id.*, to the House of Commons.
Brit. Mus., Egerton, 921, fos. 3-8.

- Jan. 23. On an address of the assembly of Virginia against Robert Quarry.
C. O. 5, 1361, pp. 431-433.
- Jan. 24. Commission's report on the Mohegan case, Connecticut.
C. O. 5, 912, pp. 111-113; A. P. C. Col., II, § 925.
- Feb. 14. Defense of Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 4, pp. 195-207, 219-230; A. P. C. Col., II, § 991.
- Feb. 21. To require that the fishery admirals keep a journal.
C. O. 195, 4, pp. 208-209; A. P. C. Col., II, § 993.
- March 19. Petition of the assembly of Bermuda against Edward Jones, secretary and provost marshal.
C. O. 38, 6, pp. 170-171; A. P. C. Col., II, § 910.
- April 8. Col. Ingoldesby's commission as lieutenant governor of New York.
C. O. 5, 1120, pp. 447-449, 452-454; A. P. C. Col., II, § 996.
- April 26. Upon memorials of Quarry relative to convoys and the tobacco trade.
C. O. 5, 3 (bundle), 13 pp.; 1362, pp. 44-53.
- May 24. The present state of the Bahamas.
C. O. 5, 1291, pp. 387-392; 23, 12, fo. 80; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1004.
- May 24. Complaints of the inhabitants of Carolina.
C. O. 5, 1291, pp. 382-386; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1002.
- June 26. Commissioners for review in the Mohegan case.
C. O. 5, 1291, pp. 411-413; A. P. C. Col., II, § 925.
- July 4. Regarding lowering of duty on bottled beer imported into Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 11, pp. 489-491; 12, pp. 7-9; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1005.
- Oct. 17. Regarding Land Bank, Barbadoes.
A. P. C. Col., VI, §§152, 181.
- Nov. 22. Mr. Hodges, suspended from the practice of law in Barbadoes, to be restored.
C. O. 29, 10, pp. 352-353; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1009.
- Dec. 3. Proposal by Richard Butler and others for ensuring an annual consumption of English wool by clothing slaves and servants with linsey-woolsey.
C. O. 324, 9, pp. 131-133; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1003; VI, § 150 (d).
- Dec. 11. For confirming Walter Hamilton lieutenant governor of Nevis, Michael Lambert of St. Christopher, and recommending Parke for next vacancy.
C. O. 153, 9, pp. 422-424; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1030.
- Dec. 20. Convoys for Virginia and Maryland.
C. O. 5, 1362, pp. 88-90; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1016.

1707.

- Jan. 14. Four and a half per cent. export duty in Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 10, pp. 384-386; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1012; VI, § 161.
- Jan. 23. Trade and fishery of Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 4, pp. 341-357.
- Jan. 29. The needs of Newfoundland, garrison, provisions, and convoys (a "yearly duty").
C. O. 195, 4, pp. 363-364; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1015; VI, § 163.
- Jan. 29. Commission of review on the Mohegan case.
C. O. 5, 1291, p. 437; A. P. C. Col., II, § 925.
- Feb. 19. Recruits needed for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 12, pp. 65-66; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1018.
- April 3. Mr. Squire to practise law in Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 10, pp. 433-434; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1020.
- April 3. Complaints against John Pogson, St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 9, pp. 477-478; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1024.
- April 22. Additional instructions for governors to prevent disputes between presidents and councilors on death of governors.
C. O. 324, 9, p. 137; A. P. C. Col., II, p. 791.
- April 22. Upon petition of Samuel Vetch and others against six acts passed in Massachusetts Bay imposing fines.
C. O. 5, 912, pp. 354-357; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1017.

- May 28. Complaints against Col. Sharpe, president of the council of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 11, pp. 2-24, 37-46 (June 10); *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1022.
- June 10. Relating to the disobedience of the proprietary and charter governments to the royal proclamation about foreign coin.
C. O. 324, 9, pp. 143-145.
- June 13. Complaints against Mr. Cox, chief judge of court of oyer and terminer, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 11, pp. 48-62; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1021.
- June 17. Upon the appointment of Robert Holden to be governor of the Bahamas.
C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 6-9; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1060.
- July 1. Relating to the tobacco trade.
C. O. 5, 1362, pp. 240-247 (cf. p. 247); *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1044.
- July 7. Suppression of the privateers of Martinique and Guadeloupe.
C. O. 153, 10, pp. 29-33; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1037.
- July 21. Thomas Barrow, to practise law in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 12, pp. 123-126; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1032 A; VI, § 177.
- July 29. Upon two acts of New York.
C. O. 5, 1121, pp. 83-98; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, V, 21; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 182.
- Oct. 23. Complaints of Sir Thomas Lawrence, president of the council and acting governor, about licenses in Maryland.
C. O. 5, 726, pp. 482-488; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1042.
- Oct. 23. Complaints of Mr. Budge against the governor of New York.
C. O. 5, 1121, pp. 99-103; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1041.
- Nov. 27. Regarding petitions of merchants complaining of losses through ill-timing of convoys (House of Lords).
House of Lords MSS., no. 33.

1708.

- Jan. 22. Annual needs of Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 4, pp. 430-433; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1045.
- April 1. Petition of Mr. Benger and wife regarding dispossession of a plantation, Ferryland, Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 5, pp. 25-29; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1048.
- April 27. Complaint of James Whitchurch of Jamaica of the escheat of a negro woman and her children.
C. O. 138, 12, pp. 245-252; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1065; VI, § 193.
- April 28. Settling of the Palatines on the Hudson River.
C. O. 324, 9, pp. 177-180; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1062.
- May 19. Regarding the trade and fishery of Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 5, pp. 34-43; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1063.
- June 15. Escheat case in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 12, pp. 265-272; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1059.
- June 22. Weak defense of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 11, pp. 256-258; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1054.
- June 28. Petitions for office of attorney and advocate general, New York.
C. O. 5, 1121, pp. 274-281; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, V, 49.
- July 8. Complaints of A. Skene, secretary of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 11, pp. 272-280; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1082; VI, § 197.
- Nov. 8. Addresses and memorials from New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 913, pp. 9-14; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1074; VI, § 205.
- Dec. 1. Memorial of Samuel Vetch, with a scheme for driving the French out of North America.
C. O. 324, 9, pp. 269-279.
- Dec. 3. Petition of Mr. Pindar relating to passes for four ships to trade for negroes between Barbadoes and New Spain.
C. O. 29, 11, pp. 333-336.
- Dec. 3. Complaints against Gov. Crowe, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 11, pp. 338-340; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, §§ 1075, 1076; VI, § 211.

1709.

- Jan. 7. Relating to the patenting of lands in Virginia and the boundaries between Virginia and Carolina.
C. O. 5, 1362, pp. 329-335, 341-348; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1079.
- Jan. 19. Petition of Mr. Pilgrim praying to be restored to an estate in Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 11, pp. 372-373; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, p. 577-578; cf. VI, § 211.
- Jan. 19. Necessaries wanting at Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 5, pp. 72-75; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1078.
- Jan. 27. Long account of the state of the trade to Africa, with references to the plantations (House of Commons).
C. O. 390, 12, pp. 172-239, with papers to 282.
- Feb. 2. Distressed state of the Bahamas.
C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 92-95; 23, 12 (bundle), 4 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 551; cf. VI, §§ 208, 212.
- Feb. 11. Gov. Crowe's answer to the councilors.
C. O. 29, 11, pp. 410-415; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 576.
- Feb. 14. Complaints of Mrs. Bowden against Gov. Parke.
C. O. 153, 10, pp. 305-307; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1058; VI, § 214.
- Feb. 18. Petition of Mr. Skene, secretary of Barbadoes, relative to complaints against him.
C. O. 29, 11, pp. 403-409, 444-447 (April 18); *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1082; VI, § 216.
- March 14. Commission for settling the boundaries between Virginia and Carolina.
C. O. 5, 1362, pp. 358-360; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 588.
- March 24. Petition of George Gordon, provost marshal of Barbadoes, complaining of acts of assembly.
C. O. 29, 11, pp. 428-434, 458-459 (June 3); *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1093.
- June 2. State of H. M. pretensions to places in the West Indies now in the hands of the French, and of those places taken on either side during the late war.
C. O. 324, 9, pp. 294-305, and with appendices, to 399.
- July 8. Complaints against Gov. Parke.
C. O. 153, 10, pp. 363-364.
- Aug. 2. Petition of Mr. Bentley, relative to a lawsuit in Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 11, pp. 480-482; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1099.
- Aug. 19. Complaints against Gov. Crowe.
C. O. 29, 12, pp. 13-19; 319, 1, pp. 101-104; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 577.
- Aug. 25. *Id.*, petition of John Sober.
C. O. 29, 12, pp. 20-22; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1101.
- Aug. 30. Proposing the settling of poor Palatines in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 12, pp. 440-445; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1126.
- Sept. 2. Assumption by Ingoldesby of the government of New York on the death of Lovelace.
C. O. 5, 1121, pp. 398-399; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 226.
- Sept. 6. Seizure of goods in Carolina, belonging to some Indian traders of Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1362, pp. 415-419; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1106.
- Nov. 9. Upon settling Palatines in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 13, pp. 16-29.
- Nov. 9. Petition of Lieut-Gov. Hamilton to be appointed lieutenant general of the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 10, pp. 383-385; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1143.
- Dec. 5. Gov. Hunter's proposals for settling Palatines in New York.
C. O. 5, 1121, p. 473; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1136.
- Dec. 19. Draft of an act for preservation of mast trees in New Hampshire.
C. O. 324, 9, pp. 416-417; 5, 3 (bundle), 2 pp. (copy of the same annexed to a letter of a year later, Nov. 10, 1710, as they fear it has been neglected).

Dec. 19. Relating to the trade with Africa (indicates the number of negroes to each plantation since 1698 or 1699).

C. O. 389, 21, pp. 7-16.

1710.

Feb. 14. On the pitch and tar trade to Sweden, and advising their manufacture in the plantations.

C. O. 5, 3 (bundle), 11 pp. (copy), 12 pp.; 389, 21, pp. 61-71.

Feb. 15. On complaints (from Whitehaven) of illegal trade in tobacco carried on by the Isle of Man.

C. O. 389, 21, pp. 71-74.

Feb. 23. Present state of Newfoundland.

C. O. 195, 5, pp. 133-139.

March 14. On illegal trade (West Indies) by flags of truce, Pouch and Gashet.

C. O. 153, 11, pp. 4-9; *A. P. C. Col.*, § 1110.

March 14. Hardships of Sir Thomas Lawrence as secretary of Maryland.

C. O. 5, 727, pp. 171-175; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1130.

June 15. Capt. Edward Cowley and the intended settlement of Tobago.

C. O. 29, 12, pp. 107-109; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1117.

Sept. 26. Relating to the resettlement and fortifying of the Bahamas.

C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 220-222; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 551.

Oct. 26. On patentees seating their lands in New York within three years.

C. O. 5, 1122, pp. 193-194, 200-201; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1125.

Oct. 31. Relating to escheats found for her Majesty in Jamaica in 1709.

C. O. 138, 13, pp. 296-297; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1126; VI, § 235.

Dec. 18. State of defense and trade of Newfoundland.

C. O. 195, 5, pp. 177-190.

1711.

Jan. 26. On the manufacture of steel and iron in the kingdom; advise that no drawback be allowed on the reexportation.

C. O. 5, 4, fo. 3, 2 pp.

Feb. 1. On the African trade, the Company *v.* the separate traders, with reference to Barbadoes and Jamaica.

C. O. 389, 21, pp. 442-457.

Feb. 8. Production of naval stores, and settlement of Palatines in New York.

C. O. 5, 1122, pp. 268-276; *A. P. C. Col.* II, § 1136.

Feb. 12. James Campbell's losses in Newfoundland.

C. O. 195, 5, pp. 193-201; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1089.

Feb. 13. Penn's memorial relating to his surrender of the government of the province.

C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 255-261; *S. P. Dom. Entry Book*, 245, pp. 237-242; cf. *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 382.

Feb. 16. Settlement of a revenue at New York.

C. O. 5, 1122, pp. 278-286; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 642.

Feb. 22. Mr. Craven as governor of Carolina.

C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 265-266.

Feb. 22. Boundaries between Virginia and Carolina.

C. O. 5, 1363, pp. 252-261; 1335, no page, 12 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 588.

March 1. Disputes at St. Christopher.

C. O. 153, 11, pp. 109-114.

March 15. Draft of a revenue bill, New York.

C. O. 5, 1122, pp. 299-300; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V, 197.

March 21. Papers relating to sloop *St. James*, Barbadoes.

C. O. 38, 7, p. 5; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1133.

March 21. Naval stores and Palatines.

C. O. 324, 9, pp. 455-480; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1136.

April 13. Trade instructions for Carolina.

C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 273-274.

- April 17. Government of the Virgin Islands.
C. O. 153, 11, pp. 285-289; 314, 1, fos. 36-38; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1152.
- April 19. Complaint of Edward Buncombe, Montserrat.
C. O. 153, 11, pp. 289-293; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1141.
- May 8. Address from council and assembly of Maryland against governor as custodian of the seal.
C. O. 5, 727, pp. 251-255; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 633.
- May 8. *Id.*, gauge for tobacco hogsheads.
C. O. 5, 727, pp. 245-250; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 630.
- July 12. Edward Hyde as governor of North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 313-315; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1145.
- July 19. Petition from son of Gov. Seymour, Maryland.
C. O. 5, 727, pp. 278-280; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1148.
- July 26. Petition from Lord Baltimore about the nomination of governors for Maryland.
C. O. 5, 727, pp. 291-293.
- Nov. 13. Refusal of assembly of New York to raise money for the support of the government.
C. O. 5, 1122, pp. 452-456; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 642.
- Nov. 29. That the governor of the Leeward Islands be admitted into the councils of each.
C. O. 153, 11, p. 407.
- Dec. 3. Debentures for the sufferers at Nevis and St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 11, pp. 408-410; 10 Anne, c. 34; *Guide*, I, 217-218; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1069.

1712.

- Feb. 15. Relating to the want of a fund for supplying the plantations with stores of war.
C. O. 324, 10, pp. 1-2.
- Feb. 21. Petition of Simpson and Gandy; unjust prosecution by the collector at Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 13, pp. 386-390; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1153.
- Feb. 28. Complaints against Jones, secretary of Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 7, pp. 34-35; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1205.
- March 12. Proposing Tobias Bowles as governor of Maryland.
C. O. 5, 727, pp. 312-313.
- March 15. Settlement of the African trade—negroes for the plantations.
C. O. 389, 22, pp. 447-451.
- Nov. 7. Petition of Mr. Onslow and others, merchants of Jamaica, regarding a debt due to them from the factors of the Asiento.
C. O. 138, 13, pp. 404-407; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1177.
- Nov. 20. Dispute between Gov. Lowther and Secretary Skene of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 12, pp. 444-449; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1163.
- Nov. 25. Upon a representation from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel regarding hardships of T. Poyer, New York.
C. O. 5, 1123, pp. 60-62; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1168.
- Dec. 19. Hardships of Virginia Indian traders.
C. O. 5, 1363, pp. 437-439; 1335 (bundle), 3½ pp.

1713.

- May 7. Nomination of Robert Johnson, governor of South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 1292, p. 379.
- May 18. *Id.*, Charles Eden, North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 382-383.
- May 28. Privileges of members of the assembly of Jamaica, Saunders's case.
C. O. 138, 13, pp. 428-430; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1184.

1714.

- Jan. 15. New England complaints against Spanish seizures of ships at Tortudas.
C. O. 5, 913, pp. 464-467.
- Feb. 9. Trade complained of between New England and Surinam, as it affects the sugar plantations.
C. O. 5, 913, pp. 469-471; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1200.
- March 12. Recommending pardon of John Fryday, under sentence of death in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 14, pp. 94-95.
- March 12. Reconsidering case of Simpson and Gandy.
C. O. 138, 14, pp. 92-93.
- May 5. Settling the late French part of St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 12, pp. 118-126, 183-186 (Feb. 24, 1715); *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1210.
- Aug. 6. Submitting draft for proclaiming King George in the plantations.
C. O. 324, 10, pp. 51-52; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 253.
- Sept. 2. Upon the making of temporary laws in the plantations, so as to evade the King's prerogative.
C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 418-421; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 616.

1715.

- March 4. Lord Baltimore and the appointment of Gov. Hart of Maryland.
C. O. 5, 727, pp. 444-445.
- March 17. How Nova Scotia may be made of use and advantage to this kingdom.
C. O. 218, 1, pp. 171-183.
- April 25. Instructions for Gov. Hamilton of Jamaica, with a state of the island.
C. O. 138, 14, pp. 221-229; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1224.
- May 3. Settlement and disposal of the late French part of St. Christopher.
C. O. 239, 1, fos. 78-81; 153, 12, pp. 192-199; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1210.
- May 4. Claims of French Protestants in St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 12, pp. 200-210; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1210.
- July 6. Taking off duties on timber imported from America, with tables annexed.
C. O. 5, 4, fo. 46; 914, pp. 56-60.
- Sept. 2. Address from council and burgesses of Virginia on decrease of two shillings per hogshead revenue and praying for relief out of the quit-rents.
C. O. 5, 1364, pp. 239-244; 1335, no page, 4 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1234.
- Sept. 9. Settlement of Virgin Islands.
C. O. 153, 12, pp. 335-337; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 656.
- Sept. 16. Cargo of *Three Sisters* seized at Antigua.
C. O. 153, 12, pp. 347-350; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1241.
- Dec. 14. State of the Bahamas.
C. O. 5, 1292, pp. 492-503; 23, 12 (bundle), 7½ pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1232.

1716.

- March 2. Abuses committed in the trade and fishery of Newfoundland with proposals.
C. O. 195, 6, pp. 242-261.
- May 15. More about the Virgin Islands.
C. O. 153, 12, pp. 384-388; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 656.
- June 22. Stores of war for the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 12, pp. 419-420; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1255.
- July 28. Case of Page and Arlington against Gov. Hamilton of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 14, pp. 457-458; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1260.

- Aug. 16. Petition of Col. Partridge relative to a grant of land and a settlement to the eastward of New England.
C. O. 5, 915, pp. 6-11; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1259.
- Aug. 17. Petition, Liddale and Clayton, about lands in the French part of St. Christopher.
C. O. 239, 1, fo. 91, 2 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 684.
- Oct. 16. Appointment of William Keith deputy governor of Pennsylvania.
C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 29-30; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 803.
- Nov. 22. *Id.*, Robert Johnson, South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 34-36; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 794.
- Nov. 22. Upon an order in Council relating to petition of Mr. Thompson in behalf of Gov. Hamilton of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 15, pp. 47-49; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1261.
- Dec. 14. Ordnance stores in Leeward Islands and four and a half per cent. in Barbadoes.
C. O. 153, 12, pp. 470-474; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1255; VI, § 273.
- Dec. 17. Instructions for Gov. Keith of Pennsylvania (sent to Mr. Penn).
C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 53-54.
- Dec. 20. Duport's petition, lands in St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 12, pp. 475-479; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1235; cf. VI, § 275 (Thauvett's case).

1717.

- March 28. Naval stores from the plantations, with accounts annexed.
C. O. 5, 4, no. 69, 16 and 5 pp.; 389, 26, pp. 72-86; 390, 12, pp. 85-108.
- May 6. Complaint of irregularities at Newfoundland, by Weston and Cleaves, fishing admirals at St. Peters.
C. O. 195, 6, pp. 316-321; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1265.
- July 26. Proposals of Capt. Woodes Rogers relative to the Bahamas.
C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 108-112; 23, 12 (bundle), fo. 105.
- Aug. 9. Right to the Virgin Islands against claim by Danish envoy.
C. O. 153, 13, pp. 67-75; 314, 1, fos. 64-67.
- Aug. 16. Memorial of Gov. Hamilton relative to money advanced, etc.
C. O. 138, 15, pp. 289-291.
- Sept. 18. Propose renewal of commissions for trying pirates.
C. O. 324, 10, pp. 136-137; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1276.
- Sept. 25. Relative to cutting logwood at Campeachy.
C. O. 389, 26, pp. 145-168.
- Oct. 17. On petition of the agents of Barbadoes complaining of an attempt by William Gordon, clerk, to erect an ecclesiastical court there by virtue of a commission from the Bishop of London (Secretary of State).
C. O. 29, 13, p. 391; cf. 390, 12, pp. 316-328; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1310.
- Dec. 21. Petition of the South Sea Company against a Jamaica act laying a duty on negroes exported from Jamaica, which included those landed only for refreshment.
C. O. 138, 16, pp. 32-43; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1278.

1718.

- Jan. 23. Petition of William Cockburne against a decree of the court of chancery in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 16, pp. 60-61; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1286.
- Jan. 24. Petition of Christopher Stoddard to be reinstated in his plantation in St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 13, pp. 206-211; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1281.
- Feb. 10. Various commissions for trying pirates.
C. O. 324, 9, pp. 161-185.
- Feb. 20. That there must be a commission under the great seal in order to try pirates, an instruction will not do.
C. O. 324, 10, p. 190.

- March 3. William Byrd's petition relative to judges in the court of oyer and terminer in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1365, pp. 52-57; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1282.
- April 9. Proposals of Sir Robert Montgomery to settle families in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 145-147; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1285.
- April 23. Mulford's complaints against Gov. Hunter, New York, about the whale fishery.
C. O. 5, 1124, p. 22; 1079, 1 p.; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1222.
- May 21. Petition of disbanded soldiers and officers for land in Maine and Nova Scotia.
C. O. 5, 915, pp. 115-118; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1217.
- May 30. Memorial of Gov. Philips of Nova Scotia regarding settlement, fortification, and the fishery.
C. O. 218, 1, pp. 362-375; see A. P. C. Col., II, pp. 764-765.
- June 18. Petition of traders to New Jersey in connection with an act allowing Quaker affirmations.
C. O. 5, 995, pp. 440-441; see A. P. C. Col., II, § 1291.
- July 13. Observations on a memorial from the Danish envoy in answer to the claim of Denmark to St. John's and Crabb islands, Virgin Islands.
C. O. 153, 13, pp. 353-363; 314, 1, fos. 78-81 (Oct. 1, 1724, six years later).
- Dec. 19. Relative to the trade and fishery of Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 6, pp. 416-464; A. P. C. Col., VI, § 277.
- Dec. 24. Heads of a bill for redressing the grievances in the Newfoundland trade and fishery.
C. O. 195, 6, p. 464.

1719.

- March 4. Leave of absence for Gov. Hart, Maryland.
C. O. 5, 727, fo. 489; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1309.
- June 4. On a petition of merchants trading to New York against an act passed there in 1717 about debts.
C. O. 5, 1124, pp. 93-107; 1079, 21 pp.; N. Y. Col. Docs., V, 522.
- June 4. Instruction for Gov. Philips, Nova Scotia, and other proposals.
C. O. 218, 1, pp. 409-410; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1320.
- June 4. Petitions for lands in Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 1, pp. 404-408; A. P. C. Col., II, § 1299.
- June 5. Memorial from M. Herriberrie or Hirriberrie as to the seizure of his and other French effects at Canso by Capt. Smart of H. M. S. *Squirrel*.
C. O. 218, 1, pp. 411-415, 479-481 (Oct. 6, 1720); see A. P. C. Col., II, § 1314; VI, §§ 286, 295, 298.
- June 19. Remarks on the commission and instructions for Gov. Philips of Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 1, pp. 417-421.
- July 21. Approving action of Gov. Keith in refusing to act by a new commission from Mr. Penn and continuing to act by his old one approved by the King.
C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 217-219.
- Aug. 26. Commission and instructions submitted for Col. Bladen to treat with the French commissioners.
C. O. 391, 117, pp. 123-126.
- Sept. 11. Papers relating to the claim of the state of Guipuscoa to fish at Newfoundland. (A copy of this paper was sent with Pitt's letter to the Earl of Bristol, Aug. 1, 1758, in connection with the Spanish claim of that date to fish in these waters.)
C. O. 195, 6, pp. 512-517.

- Oct. 2. King's title to St. Lucia, as against the design of the French to settle there.
C. O. 29, 14, pp. 14-20; 253, 1 (two copies); 260, 3 (bundle).
 Dec. 5. Memorial of Gov. Hamilton, late governor of Jamaica, relating to money advanced.
C. O. 138, 16, pp. 244-247.

1720.

- June 24. Trade instructions for Gov. Calvert of Maryland.
C. O. 5, 727, pp. 493-494.
 July 2. Complaints from the Admiralty of encroachments on the jurisdiction of their courts in the plantations.
C. O. 324, 10, pp. 280-281.
 July 25. Petition of Lord Craven relative to his title to the Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 36-45.
 July 29. As to the government of Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 1, pp. 467-470.
 Aug. 4. Complaint from Gov. Shute upon the refusal of the governor of Canada to release captives taken in the late war.
C. O. 5, 915, p. 313.
 Aug. 11. Additional instructions to governors about bills of credit.
C. O. 324, 10, p. 286.
 Aug. 30. Instructions for the same, with comment on the defense of Carolina and Nova Scotia, frontier provinces.
C. O. 5, 400, pp. 31-40; 331, p. 9, 17 pp.; see *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1336; VI, § 296.
 Sept. 9. On the state of the Bahamas, with suggestions for security.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 49-53; see *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1232.
 Sept. 15. King's title to the island of Canso and dispute with the French about the fishery there.
C. O. 218, 1, pp. 474-476, 484-485 (Oct. 18); see *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1314.
 Sept. 23. Affairs in South Carolina, fortification, settlement, Indian trade, etc.
C. O. 5, 400, pp. 126-133; 318, p. 29; see *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1336.
 Oct. 27. Commission for trying pirates, South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 400, pp. 135-136.
 Nov. 3. Complaints from Gov. Lawes of Jamaica regarding depredations committed by the Spaniards.
C. O. 138, 16, pp. 270-271.

1721.

- March 30. Complaints against Samuel Cox, president of the council of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 14, pp. 101-105; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1328; VI, § 299.
 June 13. Commission for Philip Livingston to succeed his father in New York.
C. O. 5, 1124, pp. 259-261; 1079, 3½ pp.
 June 30. Petition of the copartners for settling the Bahamas for a charter of incorporation.
C. O. 23, 12, fo. 133; 24, 1, pp. 58-64; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1232.
 June 30. Relating to desire of Gov. Bellhaven of Barbadoes to receive presents from the assembly.
C. O. 29, 14, pp. 124-128; see *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 238.
 Aug. 15. Against a proposal by the Spanish minister to open a trade from the Canary Islands directly to the British plantations.
C. O. 389, 23, pp. 43-45.
 Sept. 1. Petition of Capt. Charles Gookin for a grant of islands in the Delaware River.
C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 238-241; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1332.

- Sept. 8. Long account of the state of the plantations.
C. O. 324, 10, pp. 296-430; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V, 591-630.
- Sept. 8. Suggestions how to encourage the importation of timber, naval stores, and mineral ores from the plantations.
C. O. 324, 10, pp. 433-435.
- Sept. 8. Enumerating the alterations made in the instructions of Gov. Hart of the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 14, pp. 75-81; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 19.

1722.

- Feb. 1. Petition of the Duke of Montagu for a grant of St. Lucia and St. Vincent.
C. O. 29, 14, pp. 286-290.
- March 28. Memorial of the Duke of Portland, governor of Jamaica, relative to the expiration of some laws there.
C. O. 138, 16, pp. 411-415; cf. p. 417 (April 13).
- June 14. Upon Capt. Charles Gookin's petition.
C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 248-252; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1332; VI, §§ 306, 311.
- Aug. 29. Petition of Col. Moody regarding lands claimed by him at Placentia upon which forts had been built.
C. O. 195, 7, pp. 84-85; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1331.
- Sept. 26. Relative to exorbitant grants in New York.
C. O. 5, 1124, pp. 295-313; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V, 650.
- Dec. 20. Complaint of the Spanish ambassador as to the new fort built on the Altamaha, South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 400, pp. 159-160; 381, p. 3.

1723.

- Jan. 10. Upon an order of the committee of council of Nov. 9, 1722, relative to a petition of several pirates to be pardoned.
C. O. 324, 11, pp. 3-6; see *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 34; VI, § 319.
- March 22. Boundaries between Connecticut and Rhode Island, with maps annexed (map printed, *A. P. Col.*, III, appendix V).
C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 280-296; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 4.
- March 29. Additional instructions to the governors relative to passing private acts.
C. O. 324, 11, pp. 6-7.
- May 30. Trade instructions for proprietaries of North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 297-298.
- Aug. 6. Petition of Conrad Weiser in behalf of several Palatines at New York.
C. O. 5, 1124, pp. 326-327; 1079, 5 pp.
- Sept. 3. Memorial of Gov. Shute of Massachusetts complaining of the assembly assuming powers not warranted by the charter.
C. O. 5, 915, pp. 378-389; see *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 75.
- Sept. 3. Petition of the agents relating to Gov. Shute's complaint.
C. O. 5, 915, pp. 389-391; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 75.
- Sept. 4. Petition of Col. Vetch and others for lands in Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 2, pp. 35-38; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1325.
- Nov. 14. Regarding maladministration in office by Thomas Brook, collector and receiver, Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 8, pp. 5-6; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, §§ 16, 49.
- Nov. 26. Delafaye's complaint that two French vessels had been chased from their fishing at Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 7, p. 99.
- Dec. 17. Memorial of Henry Newman relative to military stores for New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 915, pp. 398-400.

- Dec. 20. Petition of Quakers against two acts of Massachusetts Bay for apportioning taxes, etc.
C. O. 5, 915, pp. 393-396; cf. pp. 400-402 (May 6, 1724); *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 51.

1724.

- July 14. Petition of merchants against a New York act about Indian trade.
C. O. 5, 1124, pp. 346-352; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, V, 707; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 63.
 July 21. Conditions and restrictions proper in grants of land in Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 2, pp. 43-48.
 July 24. Relative to the sugar and tobacco trades, with particulars of the totals of both trades, from 1702.
C. O. 389, 28, pp. 175-219; cf. pp. 226-227 (Sept. 15); *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 62.

1725.

- Jan. 13. Regarding a plantation in the late French part of St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 14, pp. 178-184; see *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 78.
 Jan. 28. Complaint of shipwrights of London against shipbuilding in New England.
C. O. 5, 915, pp. 431-433.
 Feb. 19. Upon several laws of Jamaica relative to the settlement of a revenue there.
C. O. 138, 17, pp. 1-23; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 68.
 March 2. Upon the petition of Dr. Berkeley and others for erecting a college in Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 8, pp. 27-28.
 March 19. Upon a petition of Henry Roost for a grant of one of the Bermuda islands.
C. O. 38, 8, pp. 30-32.
 April 16. Trade instructions for the proprietaries of North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 1293, p. 344.
 April 27. Petition of Col. Fry, suspended as councilor, Montserrat.
C. O. 153, 14, pp. 187-189.
 May 27. Additional instructions to the governor of Jamaica—revenue laws.
C. O. 138, 17, pp. 38-40.
 June 2. Petition of Mr. Toshack complaining that his house at Placentia had been taken into the fortifications.
C. O. 195, 7, pp. 137-139.
 June 16. Seizure of St. John's, Virgin Islands, by Danish governor of St. Thomas.
C. O. 153, 14, p. 192.
 June 16. On the New York Indian trade acts.
C. O. 5, 1124, pp. 366-379; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, V, 760; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 336.
 July 28. Memorial of Richard Fitzwilliam, surveyor general of customs, to be of the councils in his district, Virginia, South Carolina, and Jamaica.
C. O. 324, 11, pp. 29-31; 5, 4, fo. 96.
 Aug. 5. Petition of merchants against Gov. Hart, Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 14, pp. 193-196; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 86.
 Oct. 8. Address of general assembly, Massachusetts Bay, for assistance from neighboring colonies against the Indians.
C. O. 5, 752, p. 138; 915, pp. 438-445.
 Dec. 22. Petition of Miranda and Da Costa relative to indigo seized at Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 17, pp. 52-54; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 26.

1726.

- Jan. 25. Boundaries between Connecticut and Rhode Island.
C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 346-351; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 11; VI, § 344.
 Feb. 25. Relative to a plantation in St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 14, pp. 206-207; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 112.

March 30. As to the salary of Gov. Shute.

C. O. 5, 915, pp. 450-452; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 104.

April 15. Trade instructions for the proprietaries of Pennsylvania.

C. O. 5, 1293, pp. 362-363.

May 4. Draft of a bill to be passed in Jamaica relative to the settlement of the revenue.

C. O. 138, 17, pp. 60-67; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 68.

May 19. Petition of Wavell Smith and Savil Cust, secretaries of the Leeward Islands.

C. O. 153, 14, pp. 211-214; see *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 145.

July 28. Additional instruction to the governors about suspending execution of judgment in cases of appeal.

C. O. 324, 11, pp. 32-33.

July 28. Salary of Gov. Shute.

C. O. 5, 915, pp. 458-461; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 104; VI, § 349.

Aug. 31. Boundaries between Virginia and North Carolina.

C. O. 5, 1365, pp. 299-301; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 108.

Nov. 10. On the state of the Bahamas—necessity of an assembly, etc.

C. O. 24, 1, pp. 85-87; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 151.

Nov. 10. Petition of Henry Newman, relative to boundaries between New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay, the preservation of the woods, granting of lands, etc.

C. O. 5, 915, pp. 478-482; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 102; VI, § 357.

1727.

March 16. Petition of English merchants complaining of Gov. Gledhill and Placentia.

C. O. 105, 7, pp. 148-150; see *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 221-222.

March 17. Memorial and papers from the Royal African Company—trade in negroes to the plantations.

C. O. 389, 28, pp. 305-312.

May 12. Petition of Gov. Spotswood relative to lands taken up in Virginia and Spottsylvania.

C. O. 5, 1365, pp. 325-335; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 129; VI, § 380.

May 31. Petitions of the South Sea Company and others against duties laid on negroes and flour imported and exported at Jamaica.

C. O. 138, 17, pp. 136-145; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 163-165; VI, § 384.

June 6. Instructions to the governors relative to laws about blasphemy, profaneness, etc.

C. O. 324, 11, pp. 40-41.

June 7. Relative to the civil government, peopling, and preservation of woods etc., of Nova Scotia.

C. O. 218, 2, pp. 57-71; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 116.

Nov. 8. Additional instruction to governors of Jamaica, New York, New Jersey, relative to rights of admiralty, etc.

C. O. 324, 11, p. 52; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 130, p. 819.

Dec. 1. Upon the possession of a fort on the Altamaha River, South Carolina.

C. O. 5, 400, pp. 233-237.

Dec. 6. Against the partition act passed in New York.

C. O. 5, 1125, pp. 108-111; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, V, 843.

1728.

Feb. 27. Petition of the Duke of Montagu for a grant of Tobago.

C. O. 29, 14, pp. 434-438, 441-447; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 150; VI, § 401.

March 20. Draft of a bill for encouraging the importation of naval stores.

C. O. 324, 11, pp. 65-80; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 143; VI, § 399.

March 29. Case of negroes detained in West Indies, stated in letter from M. Maurepas to Count Broglie.

C. O. 153, 14, pp. 318-320.

- April 5. Behavior of Col. Gledhill, of Placentia.
C. O. 195, 7, pp. 152-154; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 221-222, 269-270.
- April 5. Additional instructions to the governors of the northern colonies to assist the surveyor general of the woods.
C. O. 324, 11, pp. 97-98; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 184, 189.
- April 10. Gov. Mathew of Leeward Islands to be accountable for money given for fortifications in St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 14, pp. 325-327; 239, 1, fos. 122-123.
- April 12. Submitting and explaining instructions for the Earl of Londonderry of the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 14, pp. 328-332; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 817.
- May 23. Petition of John Elliot setting forth his services.
C. O. 218, 2, pp. 74-75; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 128.
- May 31. Petition of Gov. Philips of Nova Scotia, with a state of that province.
C. O. 218, 2, pp. 77-79; see *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 143 *passim*.
- June 20. Relating to a petition of Francis Whitworth, secretary of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 23-24; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 154.
- June 20. State of British possessions in America disputed by the King of Spain and account of injuries done by Spaniards, with list of ships seized.
C. O. 389, 28, pp. 347-361, 364-365 (additional schedule); see *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 151.
- Aug. 28. Letter from Mr. Donovan, agent for the contractors for victualling royal ships at Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 17, pp. 251-254.
- Oct. 1. Complaints against Gov. Phenney, Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 98-101; 23, 12, fo. 231.
- Nov. 6. Commissions for trying pirates.
C. O. 324, 11, pp. 111-133; cf. 133-134 (Nov. 14); *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 158; VI, § 413.
- Nov. 29. Commission for Capt. Woodes Rogers of the Bahamas, and advisability of purchasing these islands from the proprietaries.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 103-104; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 196.
- Dec. 5. Concerning the silk, linen, and woollen manufactures in the plantations.
C. O. 324, 11, pp. 136-142; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 161; VI, § 414.
- Dec. 20. Relating to the trade and fishery of Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 7, pp. 158-175; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, §§ 168, 195.

1729.

- Jan. 15. Papers from the Admiralty, Navy Commissioners, and the contractors for New England masts.
C. O. 5, 916, pp. 175-177; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, p. 184, § 168.
- Feb. 12. Richard Fitzwilliam to be of the councils of Virginia, South Carolina, and Jamaica.
C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 12-13; 324, 11, pp. 144-145.
- March 21. Memorial of Col. David Dunbar about settling Irish families and Palatines in Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 2, pp. 124-129; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 184, 187.
- March 27. Salary of Gov. Burnet, Massachusetts.
C. O. 5, 916, pp. 184-189, 190-191 (March 27); 752, p. 157; see *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 260.
- May 13. General and trade instructions for Gov. Woodes Rogers.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 125-127; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 204-205.
- May 14. Petition of Col. Dunbar, as above.
C. O. 5, 4, p. 72; 5, 916, pp. 192-197; 218, 2, pp. 130-139.
- May 27. Judge of the supreme court to be of the council, Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 17, pp. 271-272.
- July 8. Petition of Lord Viscount Micklethwaite relative to money due him as secretary of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 110-111; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, § 1264.

- July 31. Advising appointment of a governor to remedy the great confusion in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 400, pp. 243-244; 381, p. 91; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 176.
- Aug. 14. Relating to twenty acres on Lynch's Island, near Jamaica, for naval base.
C. O. 138, 17, pp. 276-279; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 220.
- Aug. 14. Exemption of purchase rights and quit-rents to grantees in Brunswick and Spottsylvania, Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 38-47; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, §§ 129, 181.
- Sept. 2. Complaints of council of South Carolina against Dep.-Gov. Everard.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 5-7; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, §§ 182, 186.
- Sept. 7. Complaint of Joseph Browne, judge of vice-admiralty court, Pennsylvania.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 12-15; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 217; VI, §§ 430, 433.
- Sept. 8. Complaints against Gov. Burnet of Massachusetts.
A. P. C. Col., III, 190.
- Sept. 23. Additional instructions to governor of Leeward Islands, relative to fortifying English harbor, Antigua.
C. O. 153, 15, pp. 31-33; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 185.
- Dec. 4. Further accounts from Col. Dunbar.
C. O. 5, 4, fo. 158; 218, 2, pp. 158-165; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 188.

1730.

- Jan. 27. Additional instructions to Gov. Philips and Col. Dunbar relative to the settlement of families between the Penobscot and the St. Croix.
C. O. 218, 2, p. 168, 178-179 (amended, March 25); *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 189, § 209.
- Feb. 5. Additional instructions to governors relative to their claims on the produce of whales.
C. O. 324, 11, pp. 160-161; see *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 197.
- Feb. 17. English vessel plundered and carried away by a French ship-of-war from Santa Cruz.
C. O. 153, 15, pp. 45-46.
- March 20. Indicating alterations made in general instructions to Gov. Belcher.
C. O. 5, 916, pp. 268-275; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 196.
- March 25. Title of Great Britain to St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica, and the disputes with the French at Santa Cruz.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 130-132.
- April 7. Proposals for furnishing naval stores from the plantations, and also on the establishments of the governors and governments there (House of Lords).
C. O. 324, 11, pp. 167-174.
- April 28. Commission for trying of pirates in North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 323, pp. 27-29; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 212.
- May 11. Instructions to governors concerning admiralty courts.
C. O. 324, 11, p. 236; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 205.
- May 23. Regarding the eighth share of Lord Carteret in the soil of South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 400, pp. 277-279; 381, p. 103; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 199.
- May 26. Salary of governor of Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 15, pp. 53-56; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 226.
- June 10. Alterations in instructions for Gov. Johnson of South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 400, pp. 283-291; 381, p. 109.
- June 12. On the conduct of Gov. Osborn, Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 7, pp. 251-253.
- June 25. Additional instructions to Gov. Belcher and Col. Dunbar.
C. O. 5, 916, p. 388; cf. *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 224.
- July 9. King's title to St. Lucia, with thirty-six appendices.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 139-176; 253, 1, 37½ fos. or 85 pp.

- July 23. Purry's plan for settling 600 Swiss Protestants in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 400, pp. 378-381; 381, p. 129; A. P. C. Col., III, § 219.
- July 30. Amendments to instructions for Gov. Johnson.
C. O. 5, 400, p. 382; 381, p. 125; A. P. C. Col., III, § 219.
- Aug. 11. Lord Carteret's answer regarding his eighth part of South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 400, p. 383; 381, p. 137; A. P. C. Col., III, 268.
- Aug. 13. Additional instructions to the governors relative to naval stores.
C. O. 324, 11, pp. 237-238.
- Aug. 26. King's title to St. Vincent.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 179-192; 260, 3 (bundle), 23 pp.
- Sept. 7. King's title to Dominica.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 197-205; 71, 2 (bundle), 16 pp.
- Sept. 8. Consideration of what sum may be given for the Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 190-194; A. P. C. Col., III, 197.
- Nov. 26. Evacuation of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 217-221.
- Dec. 10. Complaint of Richard Bradley, attorney general of New York, regarding non-payment of salary.
C. O. 5, 1125, pp. 148-155; A. P. C. Col., III, § 203.
- Dec. 17. Petition of Lord Percival and others for establishing a charitable colony in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 8-14; 15-16 (Jan. 14, 1731); A. P. C. Col., III, § 223.
- Dec. 31. Petition of Belcher and Dummer in behalf of the inhabitants of Connecticut about securing to them their estates (intestacy question).
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 24-28; A. P. C. Col., III, § 208; VI, § 431.

1731.

- Feb. 9. Alterations in instructions to Gov. Philips and Col. Dunbar with regard to the setting out of woodlands for the navy before granting lands to private persons.
C. O. 218, 2, pp. 224-226, 247 (April 22); A. P. C. Col., III, § 229.
- March 29. Petition of Sir Joseph Eyles and others for a tract of land in New York called the Equivalent Land.
C. O. 5, 1125, pp. 156-158; Guide, II, 233; A. P. C. Col., III, § 231.
- May 11. Complaint of Gov. Pitt of Bermuda of losses incurred by the withdrawal of licenses for whale fishing.
C. O. 38, 8, pp. 156-158; A. P. C. Col., III, 265.
- June 8. Petition of Anthony Rutgers for a tract of land called the Swamp, near New York City.
C. O. 5, 1125, pp. 166-168; A. P. C. Col., III, § 227.
- June 9. Memorial of Gov. Phenney regarding his losses.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 196-201; A. P. C. Col., III, § 234.
- June 10. Alteration in the commission for Col. Cosby relative to the devolution of government in case of death or absence of the governor.
C. O. 153, 15, pp. 107-109; A. P. C. Col., III, § 237.
- June 10. Letters from Gov. Belcher regarding support for the governor in Massachusetts.
C. O. 5, 916, pp. 415-418; 897, 1, 9 pp.; A. P. C. Col., III, § 240.
- July 15. Regarding two regiments lately sent to Jamaica to reduce rebellious negroes.
C. O. 138, 17, pp. 322-326, 337-343 (Aug. 11).
- Aug. 10. Petition from Jonathan Belcher, son of Gov. Belcher of Massachusetts regarding salary question.
C. O. 5, 916, pp. 426-428; 897, 21, 4 pp.; A. P. C. Col., III, 262-263.
- Aug. 25. Petitions of English merchants against an act passed in Jamaica, laying a duty on negroes and convicts.
C. O. 138, 17, pp. 344-349; A. P. C. Col., III, 161.

- Aug. 31. Fortifying a harbor in Antigua for the use of H. M. ships-of-war.
C. O. 153, 15, pp. 111-113; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 250-251.
- Sept. 21. Regarding an offer to sell Tobago to Sweden.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 234-236.
- Nov. 2. Lieutenant governor in New Hampshire always to be the first of the council.
C. O. 5, 916, p. 434; 897, 31, 2½ pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 256.
- Nov. 4. Dispute between Gov. Belcher and Lieut.-Gov. Dunbar of New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 752, p. 275; 896, 39; 917, pp. 1-6; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 252.
- Nov. 4. Address of House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay on paper currency, etc.
C. O. 5, 917, pp. 9-12; 897, p. 35; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 326-327.
- Dec. 8. Return of the Independent Company to Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 8, pp. 163-165; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 248.
- Dec. 10. Proposing Capt. Phenney, surveyor general of customs, to be a councilor in Virginia and South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 1366, p. 81; cf. *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 277.
- Dec. 22. Western boundary to new settlements in South Carolina petitioned for by Lord Percival.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 23-24; 381, 177, 3 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 304.
- Dec. 22. Stores of war for St. Christopher.
C. O. 153, 15, pp. 122-124; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 255.

1732.

- Jan. 21. On the want of laws in the plantations for the recovery of debts.
C. O. 324, 11, pp. 248-253; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 247.
- Jan. 28. Petition of merchants, planters, and traders to Jamaica relative to encouragement for raising coffee.
C. O. 138, 17, pp. 355-356; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 257.
- Feb. 15. On the laws made, manufactures set up, and trade carried on in the plantations (House of Commons).
C. O. 324, 11, pp. 253-302.
- March 9. Purchase of the Bahamas by the crown.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 209-212; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 197.
- April 6. Disorders at Newfoundland, etc.
C. O. 195, 7, pp. 263-266; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 195.
- April 6. Petition of Gov. Belcher against Atkinson as councilor of New Hampshire not to be granted.
C. O. 5, 896, 50, 3 pp.; 917, pp. 34-35; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 256.
- April 6. French encroachments on New York.
C. O. 5, 1125, pp. 208-210; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, V, 932.
- April 18. Additional instructions for the governors, against passing laws whereby natives of plantations may be put on a more advantageous footing than those of Great Britain.
C. O. 324, 11, pp. 303-304; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 348.
- May 5. Case of Brown, judge of vice-admiralty in Pennsylvania.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 47-48; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 217; VI, § 435.
- May 25. Petition of Micklethwaite and Whitworth for arrears due as secretaries of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 286-291; *A. P. C. Col.*, II, 719.
- May 26. Grant in South Carolina for Swiss settlers.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 32-40; 381, 187, 14 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 219.
- June 6. Petitions of Samuel Waldo for land between the Kennebec and St. Croix rivers.
C. O. 5, 897, p. 65, 42 pp., rough draft; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 209; VI, § 434.
- June 13. Memorial of Worsley, late governor of Barbadoes, for arrears of additional salary.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 293-299; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 235.

- June 27. Regarding case of Brown, Pennsylvania.
C. O. 5, 1294, p. 55; A. P. C. Col., III, § 217.
- July 20. Petition of Sir William Keith and others for land westward of Great Mountains in Virginia. Lord Baltimore claims that the land desired is in Maryland. Commissioner to be appointed.
C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 86-88; 1344 (bundle), 4 pp.
- Aug. 24. Memorial of Anne Jones relative to a silver mine in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 90-91; 1344 (bundle), 3 pp.
- Aug. 31. Petition of Col. Hart for lands on the Bay of Fundy.
C. O. 218, 2, pp. 256-260; A. P. C. Col., III, § 264.
- Sept. 5. Address of governor of Rhode Island against an act relative to bills of credit.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 57-62; 1302, 21, 14 pp., fo.
- Sept. 6. Relative to Jamaica act laying duties on negroes.
C. O. 138, 17, pp. 374-378; A. P. C. Col., III, 163.
- Nov. 29. Instructions for Gov. Howe.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 305-306, 414 (Dec. 12); A. P. C. Col., III, 238.
- Dec. 26. Memorial of Jonathan Belcher, jr., regarding his father's salary.
C. O. 5, 917, pp. 76-77; 897, 123, 4 pp.; A. P. C. Col., III, 261, 262; cf. 5, 917, pp. 78, 91.

1733.

- Feb. 1. On the state of the colonies—laws made, manufactures set up, trade carried on, etc.; also the instructions to governors about money, forts, etc. (House of Commons).
C. O. 5, 5, fos. 1-24 (48 pp.); 324, 11, pp. 313-370.
- March 7. On certain proposals of Gov. Fitzwilliam of the Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 215-221; A. P. C. Col., III, § 271.
- April 3. Alteration in the commission for Gov. Mathew, Leeward Islands.
C. O. 5, 195, pp. 457-458; 153, 15, p. 139.
- April 25. Complaints against Wavell Smith.
C. O. 153, 15, p. 225; A. P. C. Col., III, § 280.
- May 2. Petition of Sir J. Eyles and others relative to a tract of land granted to them in New York being erected into a county or united to some counties adjacent.
C. O. 5, 1125, pp. 297-298; A. P. C. Col., III, § 231.
- May 31. Instruction to Gov. Cosby to annex the Equivalent Land to some county in that province.
C. O. 5, 1125, p. 299; A. P. C. Col., III, 315.
- June 8. Surveyor general of customs in Barbadoes to be a councilor.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 416-417; A. P. C. Col., III, § 277.
- June 27. Relative to the pretended sale by the French of the island of Santa Cruz to the Danish West India Company.
C. O. 153, 15, p. 228; 389, 29, pp. 76-78; see A. P. C. Col., III, § 326.
- July 19. Petition of Robert Thorpe, relative to a claim of lands in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 71-73; 381, p. 259; A. P. C. Col., III, § 274.
- Aug. 8. Memorial from Gov. Fitzwilliam relative to a fortification at New Providence, Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 293-294; A. P. C. Col., III, 375-376.
- Oct. 16. Advising that commissioners be appointed to settle Lord Fairfax's lands in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 110-113; A. P. C. Col., III, § 281.
- Oct. 23. Petition of Agatha Campbell relative to claim to certain inhabited lands in Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 2, pp. 273-292; A. P. C. Col., III, § 262.
- Dec. 11. Want of cannon shot at Antigua.
C. O. 153, 15, pp. 236-238; A. P. C. Col., III, § 288.

1734.

- Jan. 23. On the laws made and manufactures set up and trade carried on in the British plantations in America (House of Lords).
C. O. 324, 12, pp. 7-72; 5, 5, fos. 55-76; printed; extract in *Caribbeana*, II, 62-64.
- Feb. 15. Petition of Col. Horsey for a tract of land in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 87-90; 381, p. 275; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 289.
- Feb. 15. Petition of Thomas Cooper and others against a South Carolina act.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 85-86; 381, p. 271; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 286.
- March 8. Upon the state of defense of the Bahamas.
C. O. 29, 15, pp. 428-430; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 376.
- April 11. Stores of war for the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 15, pp. 251-252; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 408.
- April 19. Arrears due late Gov. Parke, Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 15, pp. 254-256; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 290.
- July 24. Want of stores of war in the Caribbee Islands.
C. O. 29, 16, pp. 1-11; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 409.
- Aug. 29. Memorial of Jonathan Belcher, jr., on behalf of his father, governor of Massachusetts Bay, regarding bill, June, 1732, for raising a sum of money for his support.
C. O. 5, 917, pp. 98-100, 103 (Nov. 4); 897, pp. 159, 167; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 262-263.
- Sept. 5. Petition of Col. Purry relative to settlement of Swiss in Purrysburgh.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 105-113; 381, 327; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 293, 394.
- Nov. 19. Petition of Richard Shelton for confirmation of a grant of land in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 114-115; 381, p. 341; see *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 317.
- Dec. 19. Complaints of inhabitants of South Carolina against the governor for obstructing grants of land.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 118-126; 381, p. 357.

1735.

- Jan. 14. State of the British islands in America, their trade, strength, and fortifications (House of Lords).
C. O. 5, 5, fos. 102-123; 324, 12, pp. 79-120.
- Jan. 16. Lord Baltimore's petition for a new grant of Maryland.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 71-78; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 336; VI, § 441.
- Feb. 4. Upon the treaty lately concluded between the French governor of Martinique and the Dutch governor of St. Martin's.
C. O. 153, 15, pp. 279-285.
- Feb. 21. Advising granting petition of the minister and congregation of a German Lutheran church in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 120-121; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 332.
- April 22. Title of the Crown to Santa Cruz.
C. O. 153, 15, pp. 300-314; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 326.
- May 7. Address from Massachusetts Bay for cannon and stores of war.
C. O. 5, 917, pp. 113-116; 897, p. 175; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 311.
- June 5. Settlement of boundary line between Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island.
C. O. 5, 917, pp. 117-123; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 323.
- June 12. Ordnance stores for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 18, pp. 18-20; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 315.
- June 12. Hemp seed for New England.
C. O. 5, 879 (part of *C.*, 3, 2 pp.); 917, pp. 123-124; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 335.
- June 13. Petition of Robert Wright, chief justice of South Carolina, for his salary.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 137-139; 381, p. 377; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 339.
- June 26. Petition of Thomas Rutherford for land in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 141-143; 381, p. 385; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 342.

- July 4. Mr. Partridge's petition for cannon and other stores for a fort at Newport, Rhode Island.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 80-81; A. P. C. Col., III, § 338.
- July 9. Heads of a bill for the better peopling the island of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 18, pp. 26-27, 39-40 (July 24); A. P. C. Col., III, § 346.
- July 11. Consideration of petitions of merchants on an act of South Carolina for appropriating a sum of money for the public debts.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 143-147; 381, p. 389.
- July 25. Ordnance and stores for Montserrat.
C. O. 153, 6, p. 4; A. P. C. Col., III, § 333.
- Aug. 26. In favor of Gov. Belcher's request to receive his salary from the assembly annually.
C. O. 5, 896, p. 66; 917, pp. 130-132, 148 (Oct. 31); A. P. C. Col., III, 264.
- Aug. 27. Recommending that Maj. Mascerene be sent to Boston as an engineer.
C. O. 5, 917, pp. 133-134; 897, p. 193; A. P. C. Col., III, § 351.
- Aug. 27. Relative to high duties laid on English manufactures in Sweden and proposing to encourage importation of bar iron from America.
C. O. 389, 29, pp. 199-205.
- Aug. 27. Stores of war for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 18, p. 49; A. P. C. Col., III, 425.
- Sept. 4. Hemp seed and instructors for New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 879 (part of Cc 3); 896, p. 68; 917, pp. 135-136; A. P. C. Col., III, § 335.
- Sept. 16. Fortifications and stores for the Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 305-308; A. P. C. Col., III, 376.
- Nov. 26. Petition of Mr. Morley, provost marshal of South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 162-163; 381, p. 413; A. P. C. Col., III, § 354.
- Nov. 28. Petition of Mr. Hodgson for lands in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 164-165; 381, p. 417; A. P. C. Col., III, § 353.

1736.

- Feb. 6. Opinion of the attorney general and solicitor general upon governor's sitting and voting in council.
C. O. 5, 1126, p. 22; N. Y. Col. Docs., VI, 40; A. P. C. Col., III, § 371.
- March 2. Henry McCulloh's petition for land in North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 323, pp. 227-231; A. P. C. Col., III, § 368.
- March 18. Relative to heavy taxes being laid on the Jews in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 8, pp. 64-66; A. P. C. Col., III, § 366.
- April 1. Commissioners for settling the boundaries between Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 897, p. 211; 917, pp. 164-165; A. P. C. Col., III, 128.
- May 7. Proposals offered by Swiss Protestants for a settlement in North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 323, pp. 233-239; A. P. C. Col., III, § 376.
- June 10. Complaint of the Mohegan Indians against Connecticut.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 86-95; A. P. C. Col., III, § 392.
- June 18. Papers relative to the suspension of Rip van Dam from the council of New York.
C. O. 5, 1126, pp. 29-31; A. P. C. Col., III, § 352.
- June 29. Petition of several merchants complaining of hardships in their trade.
C. O. 138, 18, pp. 73-89; A. P. C. Col., III, § 367.
- Aug. 5. Petition of New Jersey for a separate government.
C. O. 5, 996, pp. 390-391; A. P. C. Col., III, § 377.
- Oct. 28. Petition of Storke and Livingston for a grant of land in Albany.
C. O. 5, 1126, pp. 33-35; A. P. C. Col., III, 461.
- Nov. 24. Petition of Crymble and Huey for lands for settlement of Swiss Protestants, North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 323, pp. 247-251, 254-256 (April 20, 1737); A. P. C. Col., III, § 379.

- Nov. 24. Petition of Samuel and Joseph Wragg for lands in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 186-189; 381, p. 449; A. P. C. Col., III, § 349.
- Dec. 8. Boundaries between Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 897, p. 227; 917, pp. 175-183; A. P. C. Col., III, 130.

1737.

- Feb. 9. On the state of the paper currency in the several colonies of New England.
C. O. 5, 897, p. 243; 917 pp. 189-202; A. P. C. Col., III, 507.
- March 8. Complaint by the Dutch envoy of Dutch vessels captured in the West Indies and damage done to inhabitants of St. Eustatius.
C. O. 153, 16, pp. 78-93; A. P. C. Col., III, 543-544.
- March 15. Petition of six officials of South Carolina against act for ascertaining public officers' fees.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 205-207; 381, p. 477; A. P. C. Col., III, § 396.
- March 24. Commission of review for settling boundaries between Connecticut and the Mohegan Indians.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 99-101; A. P. C. Col., III, 532-533.
- April 1. Several papers relating to the distressed state of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 18, pp. 102-106.
- April 21. Paper delivered by M. Maurepas to Lord Waldegrave relative to captures, with proposals for preventing like irregularities in the future.
C. O. 153, 16, pp. 99-114; 318, 3, fos. 143-149; A. P. C. Col., III, 544.
- April 22. Petition of Thomas Coram and others for settlements in Nova Scotia and on Cat Island, one of the Bahamas.
C. O. 218, 2, pp. 337-341; A. P. C. Col., III, § 405.
- May 5. Petition of Mr. Zouberbuhler for land for a settlement of foreign Protestants in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 209-216; 381, p. 483; A. P. C. Col., III, 548.
- May 19. Mr. Shirley's petition for a fixed salary as attorney general.
C. O. 5, 752, p. 282; 897, p. 283; 917 pp. 219-223.
- June 14. Payment of commissioners for settling the boundaries between North and South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 217-219; 381, p. 495; A. P. C. Col., III, 567; VI, § 447.
- June 30. Upon the proposal of the French minister to Lord Waldegrave in Paris for terminating the disputes in America.
C. O. 5, 5, fos. 131-132; 153, 16, pp. 116-120; A. P. C. Col., III, 545.
- Sept. 1. Upon Mr. Zouberbuhler's petition.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 221-223; 381, p. 499; A. P. C. Col., III, 548.
- Sept. 4. Dispute between South Carolina and Georgia about the Indian trade.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 224-233; 381, p. 503; A. P. C. Col., III, 512.
- Nov. 17. Upon John Hamilton's petition for land in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 241-244; 381, p. 515; A. P. C. Col., III, § 413.
- Dec. 3. Proposal from M. Amelot to Lord Waldegrave for adjusting disputes in the West Indies.
C. O. 153, 16, pp. 130-132; 318, fos. 153-154.
- Dec. 8. Supply of stores for Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 8, pp. 210-211; A. P. C. Col., III, § 424.

1738.

- Jan. 20. Petition of Mr. Zouberbuhler for more land in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 245-247; 381, p. 519; A. P. C. Col., III, 549.
- Feb. 7. That an ordinance passed in South Carolina in 1736, for ascertaining and maintaining the rights and privileges of the inhabitants should "lye by."
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 251-252; 381, p. 523; see A. P. C. Col., III, 512.

- March 2. Complaints of Chaloner Jackson, collector of customs in the Bahamas, against Gov. Fitzwilliam.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 320-324; A. P. C. Col., III, 510.
- April 13. Remarks on a commission and instructions submitted for Gov. Vanbrugh, Newfoundland.
C. O. 194, 21, no. 3; 195, 7, pp. 410-416; A. P. C. Col., III, § 437.
- April 21. Adhering to the report of Jan. 20, 1737, upon the petition of Mr. Zouberbuhler.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 255-258; 381, p. 537; A. P. C. Col., III, 550.
- May 10. Recommending the marking out of boundary line between Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island eastward.
C. O. 5, 896, p. 94; 917, pp. 241-244; A. P. C. Col., III, 437.
- May 11. Upon a petition of the two Johnsons of Antigua against an act attainting them.
C. O. 153, 16, pp. 134-138; A. P. C. Col., III, § 425.
- May 12. Petition of James Wimble on loss of a brigantine from the Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 1, pp. 326-327.
- June 21. Memorial of Henry McCulloh relative to quit-rents in America.
C. O. 324, 12, pp. 240-241; A. P. C. Col., III, § 439.
- June 21. Regarding Indian trade, Georgia and South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 265-266, 269-270; 381, pp. 549, 553; A. P. C. Col., III, 512-513.
- June 22. Petition of John Cartwright and others for land in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 272-278; 381, p. 559; A. P. C. Col., III, § 440.
- July 4. Petition of David Dunbar for reimbursement of expenses in building forts, etc., in Maine and Nova Scotia.
C. O. 5, 10 (part of no. 53); 896, p. 98; 917, pp. 248-252; A. P. C. Col., III, § 441.
- July 13. Instructions to Gov. Horsey, South Carolina, showing alterations from previous ones.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 292-296; 381, p. 577; A. P. C. Col., III, 607.
- July 13. Petition of merchants of London and others against a bill passed in South Carolina, bills of credit.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 285-290; 381, p. 583; A. P. C. Col., III, § 399.
- July 25. Proposing erection of a court of exchequer in South Carolina, especially for the recovery of quit-rents.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 297-298; 381, p. 596; A. P. C. Col., III, 607-608.
- July 25. Proposing a supply of stores for South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 401, pp. 298-300; 381, p. 591; A. P. C. Col., III, 602.
- Dec. 20. Settling dividing line between Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island eastward.
C. O. 5, 897, p. 299; 917, pp. 257-259; A. P. C. Col., III, 439.

1739.

- Feb. 9. Ordinance for Montserrat.
C. O. 153, 16, pp. 155-157; A. P. C. Col., III, 623.
- April 11. Upon a bill passed in Massachusetts Bay for the emission of bills of credit, which seems to affect British trade.
C. O. 5, 897, p. 303; 917, pp. 259-268; A. P. C. Col., III, 562; VI, § 452.
- July 27. Dispute about boundaries of Lord Fairfax's lands in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 301-322; 1335, 22 pp.; A. P. C. Col., III, 388.
- Aug. 3. Petition of Andrew Lessly and others against Antigua act for lessening the rate of interest.
C. O. 5, 153, 16, pp. 161-162; A. P. C. Col., III, § 464.
- Aug. 10. Memorial of Gov. Glen, South Carolina, praying some alteration in his instructions.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 1-4; A. P. C. Col., III, § 458.
- Aug. 10. Concerning a separate governor for New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 881 (part of Dd, 30); 896, p. 100; 917, pp. 281-283; A. P. C. Col., III, 637.

- Aug. 30. Petition of Henry McCulloh relative to his office of inspector of quit-rents, North and South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 4-6; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 462.
- Aug. 30. Petition of John Hammerton, regarding his office of register of South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 7-11; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 444.
- Oct. 17. Further consideration of a separate governor for New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 917, pp. 290-296; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 637-638.
- Nov. 23. No maps in Plantation Office ancient enough to show bounds of Lord Fairfax's grant in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1366, p. 328; 1335, 1 p.; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 388.
- Nov. 27. Stores of war for Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 16, pp. 167-170; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 623-624.
- Dec. 5. Regarding the Independent Company of Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 8, pp. 310-311; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 654.
- Dec. 6. Stores of war for Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 8, pp. 312-315; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 654.
- Dec. 20. Presents for the Six Nations.
C. O. 5, 1126, pp. 90-95; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 156.

1740.

- March 5. Defenseless state of Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 7, pp. 481-485; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 658-661.
- March 25. Petition of John Mason, trustee for the Mohegan Indians.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 127-131; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 534-536.
- March 27. Upon paper currency and the value of gold and silver coin in America.
C. O. 324, 12, pp. 245-248, 251-253; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 496.
- June 17. Commission for settling the Rhode Island boundaries.
C. O. 5, 917, pp. 306-314; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 444.
- June 18. Petition of New England merchants desiring fortifications at Canso.
C. O. 5, 897, pp. 329-332; 218, 2, pp. 348-351; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 651.
- June 25. Upon the disorderly condition of the Virgin Islands.
C. O. 153, 16, pp. 155 bis-159 bis; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 498.
- Aug. 7. Difficulties likely to arise by conflicting instructions over colors to be worn by letters of marque.
C. O. 29, 16, pp. 211-213; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 636-637.
- Aug. 8. Commission of review—the Mohegan case.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 141-143, 143-145 (Dec. 29); *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 536.
- Nov. 13. Petition of merchants against proposed land bank, Boston.
C. O. 5, 917, pp. 329-331; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, § 504.
- Dec. 19. Approving petition of merchants and others in New Hampshire for a separate governor.
C. O. 5, 917, pp. 335-337; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 638.

1741.

- Jan. 21. Regarding bills of credit in the plantations.
C. O. 324, 12, pp. 269-273; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 677.
- March 25. Account of what duties of gunpowder are laid on shipping in the plantations.
C. O. 153, 16, pp. 194-197; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 689.
- June 12. About salary to the governor of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 16, pp. 218-220.
- June 12. Against petition of Thomas Hutchinson to have several townships in New Hampshire reunited to Massachusetts Bay.
C. O. 5, 917, pp. 360-363; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 600.

1742.

- Jan. 28. Reconsideration of Virginia act for docking entails—case of Philip Lightfoot (many other similar cases not entered in this list).
C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 343–344 (Dec. 2, 1741), 344–345.
- Feb. 2. Petition of William Livingstone and others for lands in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 49–52; A. P. C. Col., III, § 523.
- March 2. Approving Gov. Shirley's veto of act emitting bills of credit, and enjoining him to discourage the land bank.
C. O. 5, 918, pp. 64–70; A. P. C. Col., III, 684.
- July 8. Petitions of merchants of Pennsylvania relative to the security and defense of the province.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 210–217; A. P. C. Col., III, § 532.
- Nov. 2. Recommend lessening the quit-rents in Georgia.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 62–66; A. P. C. Col., III, § 549.
- Dec. 2. Commissioners for trial of pirates, South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 67–68; A. P. C. Col., III, § 551.

1743.

- April 29. Extract of letters from Gov. Shirley about bills of credit.
C. O. 5, 918, pp. 85–88; A. P. C. Col., III, § 530.
- Aug. 23. Present state and condition of Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 2, pp. 361–371.
- Sept. 28. Address from Bermuda asking for an alteration in an article (73) of the governor's instructions.
C. O. 38, 8, pp. 344–346; A. P. C. Col., III, § 572.

1744.

- April 12. Petition of George Evans for lands in New York.
C. O. 5, 1126, pp. 265–268.
- May 3. Memorial from Gov. Trelawny, Jamaica, proposing an Independent Company for the Mosquito Shore.
C. O. 324, 12, pp. 284–285; A. P. C. Col., III, § 575.
- May 3. Upon proposed settlements on the island of Rattan and on Belize River, Honduras.
C. O. 324, 12, pp. 287–292, 293–295; A. P. C. Col., III, § 579.
- June 27. Upon the petition of several planters in Leeward Islands against acts passed there laying taxes on absentees.
C. O. 153, 16, pp. 245–246; A. P. C. Col., III, § 557; IV, § 48; VI, §§ 457, 461, 465, 471.
- Aug. 28. On New Hampshire's neglect to provide for Fort Dummer.
C. O. 5, 918, pp. 133–135; A. P. C. Col., III, 787–788.
- Nov. 7. What the legislature of Pennsylvania has to do for security against a foreign enemy.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 221–222; A. P. C. Col., III, 712–713.

1745.

- Feb. 28. Memorial of Capt. Gorham praying for a grant of the Isle of Sables, Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 2, pp. 379–382; A. P. C. Col., III, § 611; VI, § 466.
- July 11. Memorial of Gov. Clinton complaining of a mistake by which Moore has obtained precedence in the council over Warren and Murry.
C. O. 5, 1126, pp. 292–295; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 7.
- Aug. 15. Petition of Phillip and Perrin for a grant of royal mines in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 19, pp. 25–33; A. P. C. Col., III, § 560.

1746.

- March 20. Complaint against Barbadoes act of 1720. Do not advise either repeal of act or granting an appeal from the decree of chancery there.
C. O. 29, 16, pp. 346-351.
- Dec. 12. Letter from governor of Jamaica that he has removed two assistant judges from their seats.
C. O. 138, 19, p. 55; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 38.

1747.

- Jan. 15. Address from council and assembly of Jamaica requesting a commission to hold a court of chancery.
C. O. 138, 19, pp. 61-62.
- Jan. 21. That Edward Legge, commanding H. M. ships at Barbadoes, should be temporary councilor there.
C. O. 29, 16, pp. 435-437; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 47.
- March 6. Petition of Thomas Lowndes for land in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 123-125; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 39.
- April 7. Petition of council of Massachusetts Bay to be reimbursed for its expenses in the Cape Breton expedition.
C. O. 5, 918, pp. 176-197; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 13.
- April 7. Petition of merchants for the encouraging the production of Madeira wines in Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 8, pp. 450-453; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 26.
- April 29. Petition of Richard Partridge on behalf of the governor of New Jersey.
C. O. 5, 997, pp. 153-157; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 32.
- May 1. Petition of Jamaica planters, residing in England, against an act passed there taxing absentees.
C. O. 138, 19, pp. 63-67; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 48.
- May 12. Claim by Rhode Island for reimbursement of expenses incurred in expedition to Cape Breton.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 240-249; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 13.
- May 12. *Id.*, Connecticut.
C. O. 5, 1294, pp. 249-251; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 13.
- May 21. Petition of Gov. Belcher, New Jersey, salary question.
C. O. 5, 997, pp. 157-159, 162-164 (May 28); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, §§ 53, 54.
- Aug. 7. Memorial of Parke Pepper praying a governor for Belize River, Honduras.
C. O. 324, 12, pp. 297-301; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 55.
- Aug. 13. Proposal from Gov. Glen relative to the building of an Indian fort in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 134-135; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 65.
- Nov. 20. Claim of New Hampshire, Cape Breton expedition.
C. O. 5, 941, pp. 182-192; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 13.

1748.

- March 25. On the refusal of New Hampshire to admit representatives of certain towns.
C. O. 5, 941, pp. 194-200.
- May 24. Regarding the want of civil officers for the administration of justice in Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 8, pp. 179-181; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 74.
- May 24. Memorial of Rev. J. Woodside relative to a garrison built by him at the head of Casco Bay.
C. O. 5, 918, pp. 207-209; *A. P. C. Col.*, III, 789-790; VI, § 477.

- June 10. Address of the assembly of Bermuda relative to the allowance to the governor in lieu of profits from the whale fishery.
C. O. 38, 8, pp. 459-465, 478-479.
- Aug. 30. Petition of the Palatines for repossession of lands in North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 323, pp. 318-324; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 63.
- Sept. 2. Gov. Gooch's letter regarding applications for grants of land on the western side of the Great Mountain, Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 411-417; 1355, 9½ pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 75.
- Oct. 2. Letter from Gov. Glen, South Carolina, stating his refusal to assent to bill for emitting bills of credit to meet the expense of two sloops.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 171-173.
- Dec. 14. Petition of John Hamilton for land in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 181-184; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 79.

1749.

- Feb. 23. Petition of John Hanbury and others for grant of land in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 427-433; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 55-56.
- May 11. On a Massachusetts act for drawing in bills of credit, etc.
C. O. 5, 897, p. 337; 918, pp. 216-224; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 113.
- June 2. Petition of Mr. Reimersperger (Mersperger) regarding Wurtembergers desiring to settle in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 195-206; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 105.
- Aug. 2. Petition of Richard Partridge, agent of New Jersey about acts.
C. O. 5, 897, pp. 196-206; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 25.
- Aug. 3. Regarding Fort Dummer.
C. O. 5, 897, p. 349, 20 pp.; 913, pp. 225-241; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 25.

1750.

- Feb. 28. Statement of expenses incurred by the New England colonies for the intended expedition to Canada, 1746-1747 (Treasury).
Treas. 64, 44, fos. 1-92; *C. O.* 324, 13, pp. 1-236.
- June 1. Upon the present state of the province of New Jersey.
C. O. 5, 997, pp. 208-345; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 79; VI, §§ 485, 494, p. 310.
- Oct. 23. Relative to the powers of collating benefices granting licenses for marriages in the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 17, pp. 89-90; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 141.

1751.

- Feb. 1. Relative to the court of chancery in Antigua.
C. O. 153, 17, pp. 99-103; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 139.
- April 2. Upon the state of the province of New York.
C. O. 5, 1127, pp. 44-492; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 488; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, VI, 614-703; cf. *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 209.
- May 8. Draining morasses in the island of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 19, pp. 138-145; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 148.
- Aug. 6. Upon a memorial of the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 286-291, 292-302; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 149.

1752.

- March 12. On consideration of a memorial of the Georgia Trustees, have taken the opinion of the attorney and solicitor general which is herewith laid before [the committee of the Privy Council] for information and direction.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 305-307; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 125-126.

- March 12. Complaining of the improper publication in New Jersey of an order of the Council.
C. O. 5, 997, pp. 365-370.
- March 17. Remittance of a fine on a youth under age in Virginia for assault.
C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 510-511; 1344, 2 pp.
- June 24. Memorial from the Trustees of Georgia particularly as to the culture of silk.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 311-315; 657, 48, 10 fos.; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 149.
- July 9. Considerations upon the same.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 315-328; 657, 52, 32 fos.; A. P. C. Col., IV, 177.
- July 9. On disputes between Gov. Wentworth and the assembly of New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 941, pp. 267-281; A. P. C. Col., IV, 32.
- July 9. Disordered state of affairs in New Jersey.
C. O. 5, 997, p. 374; A. P. C. Col., IV, 80-81.
- July 23. Proposals for settlement and trade in Labrador.
C. O. 5, 6 (bundle), fos. 38-54.
- July 23. Report from the attorney general and solicitor general about affairs in New Jersey.
C. O. 5, 997, pp. 375-379; see A. P. C. Col., IV, 80.
- July 23. Papers from Gov. Belcher about the same.
C. O. 5, 997, pp. 379-380.
- Nov. 7. Complaint of Peter Wraxall against Gov. Clinton.
C. O. 5, 1128, pp. 18-24; N. Y. Col. Docs., VI, 768.
- Nov. 10. Address of the House of Burgesses in Virginia relative to laws lately repealed, and a representation of the judges of the general court that salaries may be enlarged.
C. O. 5, 1366, pp. 514-515; A. P. C. Col., IV, §§ 186, 187.
- Nov. 17. Petition of the guardians of Lord Baltimore relative to the deferring of Penn's petition till the February following.
C. O. 5, 1295, pp. 20-23; A. P. C. Col., IV, 168.
- Nov. 21. Dispute between Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire regarding maintenance of Fort Dummer.
C. O. 5, 918, pp. 280-282; A. P. C. Col., IV, 17.
- Nov. 29. Extract of a letter from Gov. Wentworth on the action of the assembly, New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 941, pp. 284-285; A. P. C. Col., IV, 32-33.
- Nov. 29. Extract of letter from Gov. Belcher and journals of the New Jersey assembly relative to riots.
C. O. 5, 997, p. 381.
- Dec. 20. Civil government and encouragement of the silk industry in Georgia.
C. O. 5, 672, pp. 6-11; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 188.
- Dec. 22. Gov. Wentworth and the assembly of New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 941, pp. 293-294.

1753.

- Jan. 17. Urging plan of government for Georgia.
C. O. 5, 672, pp. 16-25; A. P. C. Col., IV, 177-178.
- Feb. 2. Disputes in New Hampshire over propriety of lands—Mason's claim, etc.
C. O. 5, 941, pp. 299-346; N. H. Province Papers, VI, 896; see A. P. C. Col., IV, § 202.
- Feb. 8. Address of council and representatives of Jamaica relative to trade and fortifications.
C. O. 138, 19, pp. 377-378; see A. P. C. Col., IV, § 201.
- Feb. 13. Ordnance stores for Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 19, pp. 382-383; see A. P. C. Col., IV, § 199.
- Feb. 13. Petition of judges of the general court, Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 10-18.

- Feb. 14. Address of the council and House of Burgesses of Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 13-19.
- Feb. 22. State of the island of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 19, pp. 388-452; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 201.
- March 6. As to the utility of building forts on the Ohio River.
C. O. 5, 1367, p. 23; 1344, p. 66; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 207.
- March 16. Money wherewith to buy goods for a present to the Twightwee Indians.
C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 24-26; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 206.
- April 18. Complaint (Spencer Phips) that assembly of Massachusetts will not regard additional instruction for revising the laws.
C. O. 5, 918, p. 284; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 210.
- May 10. Cannon and ordnance required for forts in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 211, pp. 1-3, 5-8; 1367, pp. 31-34; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 207.
- June 6. Upon a South Carolina act regarding bills of credit (1746), with general consideration of the same subject.
C. O. 5, 402, pp. 347-426; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 213.
- June 7. On the plan of civil government for Georgia.
C. O. 5, 672 pp. 34-41; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 188.
- July 12. Instruction relative to appeals, prepared by the attorney and solicitor general, to be sent to all governors.
C. O. 324, 15, pp. 335-336; A. P. C. Col., IV, 185, 775.
- Aug. 16. Designs of the French upon the Ohio.
C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 44-47; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 233; cf. 1344, fo. 81 (original).
- Nov. 28. Complaint from the Ordnance Board against the governor of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 19, pp. 502-503; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 199.
- Dec. 5. Relative to appeals in the plantations in cases of error.
C. O. 324, 15, pp. 340-341; A. P. C. Col., IV, 775.
- Dec. 7. Proceedings of the French at St. John's.
C. O. 218, 4, p. 495.

1754.

- Feb. 20. Memorial from Gov. Popple, relative to disputes with the assembly of Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 9, pp. 22-26; A. P. C. Col., IV, 230.
- March 14. Observations and opinions upon a body of laws transmitted from North Carolina relative to the royal prerogative and state of the province.
C. O. 5, 323 (end of book, not paged), 102½ pp.
- March 14. Memorial of Gov. Dobbs regarding salary.
C. O. 5, 323, 3½ pp.; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 230.
- March 18. Petition of New Jersey house of representatives about issuing bills of credit.
C. O. 5, 997, pp. 411-420; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 224.
- April 4. Battery for Halifax harbor, Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 5, pp. 45-46; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 234.
- April 4. Address from the general assembly of New York.
C. O. 5, 1128, pp. 332-335; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 235; N. Y. Col. Docs., VI, 614.
- May 22. Petition of Jamaica merchants relative to removing the seat of government.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 20-22; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 236.
- May 22. Remission of fine imposed upon Kennedy for sending a challenge to one Hog.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 24-25; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 242.
- May 22. Address of thanks from council of Massachusetts Bay for supply of ordnance.
C. O. 5, 918, p. 291; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 208.
- May 23. Petition of Lord Baltimore claiming a tract of land in Newfoundland called Avalon.
C. O. 195, 8, pp. 329-332; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 217.

- May 24. Renewal of commission for holding courts of admiralty for trying pirates at Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 27-28; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 243.
- May 24. Supply of cannon for the Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 2, pp. 49-51; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 160.
- May 28. Money due Henry McCulloh as comptroller of quit-rents, South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 323, 2½ pp.; 402, pp. 434-436; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 245.
- June 18. Proposing Jonathan Belcher to be chief justice of Nova Scotia (many other similar appointments follow).
C. O. 218, 5, pp. 49-50, 51 (June 21); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 240.
- June 20. Address of House of Burgesses of Virginia praying indulgence for settlers westward of the Great Mountains.
C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 69-75; 116-117 (Aug. 6); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 229.
- June 25. Upon petition of the Ohio Company for an enlargement of their grant.
C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 76-87; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 233.
- June 27. Petition of Virginia merchants for repeal of clause in an act of 1744 for executions in cases of debt.
C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 88-92.
- June 27. Grant to Georgia for presents for Indians.
C. O. 5, 672, pp. 52-58; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 244.
- July 24. Defense of the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 18, pp. 12-13; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 249.
- Aug. 9. Plan of general concert for the colonies.
C. O. 5, 6, fos. 86-89 (original, sealed), 91-94; 324, 15, pp. 369-379; *N. Y. Colonial Docs.*, VI, 901.
- Oct. 15. Disputes between Gov. Knowles and the assembly and courts of justice in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 41-75, 81; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 252; VI, § 501.
- Oct. 15. Remission of the fine upon one Fornichon, a Frenchman in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 20, p. 82; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 251.
- Oct. 15. Removal of seat of government in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 83, 84, 98-101 (Dec. 13), 101-103 (Dec. 19); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 236; VI, §§ 499, 507.
- Oct. 29. Proceedings of the commissioners at Albany.
C. O. 5, 6, fos. 104-111 (original, sealed), 219; 324, 15, pp. 402-417; *N. Y. Colonial Docs.*, VI, 916.
- Nov. 20. Ordnance for Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 5, pp. 89-90, 106-107 (Dec. 17); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 246.
- Nov. 27. Regarding proposed act of Parliament giving Maryland liberty to import salt.
C. O. 5, 1295, pp. 161-162; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 254.

1755.

- Jan. 15. Relative to conduct of Chief Justice Fuller and Judge Morse in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 104-105; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 252.
- Jan. 23. Ordnance for Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 17, pp. 124-125, 131-134 (March 19); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 279.
- March 12. *Id.*, Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 5, pp. 112-113; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 246.
- March 19. Petition of house of representatives of New Jersey for approval of an act concerning bills of credit.
C. O. 5, 997, pp. 437-442; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 224.
- March 20. Defenseless state of Georgia.
C. O. 5, 672, p. 328; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 268.
- March 20. Civil government for the Virgin Islands.
C. O. 153, 18, pp. 33-41; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 267.

- April 10. Defenseless state of North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 324, pp. 163-164; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 204-205.
- April 24. Ordinance for North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 324, p. 176, 2½ pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 205.
- May 2. Petition of William Bolland, Massachusetts Bay.
C. O. 5, 941, pp. 356-357; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 253.
- May 9. Remonstrance of house of representatives of Georgia against regulations as to clearing lands.
C. O. 5, 672, pp. 335-336; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 276.
- May 9. Regarding the southern boundary of Georgia.
C. O. 5, 672, p. 337; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 277.
- May 30. Address from Pennsylvania regarding the governor's refusal to pass an act for bills of credit.
C. O. 5, 1295, pp. 163-181; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 269.
- May 30. Expediency of augmenting the regiments in the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 18, pp. 42-62; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 265.
- July 1. Remonstrance of the council and assembly of Georgia against the governor's proclamation about cultivation of lands.
C. O. 5, 672, pp. 350-356; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 276.
- July 3. Regarding removal of the seat of government in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 113-127; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 249-251.
- July 8. Petition of Rev. Timothy Walker of New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 941, pp. 357-360; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 202.
- July 15. On a petition of the inhabitants of Number Four, in New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 941, pp. 360-363; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 278.
- July 29. Gov. Dobbs's proposal to build a fort at Cape Lookout, North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 324, pp. 183-184; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 205.
- Aug. 6. Remonstrance of assembly of Georgia against (1) vesting power of settling fees in governor and council only, and (2) qualifications of electors.
C. O. 5, 672, pp. 360, 361, 369-372 (Nov. 12); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, §§ 284, 285.
- Aug. 6. Return of barrack-bedding wanted for troops in Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 5, p. 132; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 505.
- Aug. 29. Detailed account of the number of white inhabitants of North America.
C. O. 5, 7 (bundle), fo. 7; 324, 15, p. 423.
- Sept. 18. For packet boats to America.
C. O. 5, 7, 3 fos.; 344, 15, pp. 427-428.
- Oct. 8. Defenseless state of the Leeward Islands.
C. O. 153, 18, p. 67; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 266-267.
- Nov. 4. Wish of Gov. Knowles of Jamaica to resign his government.
C. O. 138, 20, p. 137; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 273.
- Nov. 6. Grants of land in North Carolina upon easier terms of cultivation.
C. O. 5, 324, pp. 198-199; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 272.
- Dec. 11. Thomas Penn's proposal to grant lands in Pennsylvania to officers and soldiers in the public service.
C. O. 5, 7, 24 fos.; 1295, pp. 185-196.

1756.

- Jan. 21. Petition of several members of the assembly of Jamaica relative to illegal proceedings there.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 150-153; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 250-251.
- Feb. 4. Cannon for the Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 2, pp. 51-52; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 147-148.
- Feb. 4. Relative to a permanent revenue for support of the government in New York.
C. O. 5, 1129, pp. 48-53; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 32.

- March 3. Petition from Pennsylvania praying for relief and help in matters of defense.
C. O. 5, 1295, pp. 197-211; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 304.
- March 12. Stores of war for the Virgin Islands.
C. O. 153, 18, pp. 74-75; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 309.
- April 15. Petition of Dr. Cadwallader Evans for a grant of islands in the Delaware.
C. O. 5, 1295, pp. 224-227; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 296.
- May 11. Present state of defense of several colonies in America (also see below).
C. O. 324, 16, pp. 41-90; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 311.
- May 25. Suggestions regarding preventing correspondence with the French.
C. O. 324, 16, pp. 94-95; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 312.
- July 1. Papers relating to the ill-behavior of Judge Fairchild of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 17, pp. 301-303.
- July 20. Present state of defense in Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina and Bermuda.
C. O. 324, 16, pp. 104-119.
- July 29. Present state of Georgia and conduct of Gov. Reynolds.
C. O. 5, 657, 74 fos.; 653, 48 pp.; 672, pp. 388-425.
- Oct. 9. Petition of Henry McCulloh for arrears of salary, North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 324, pp. 215-220; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 260-261.
- Oct. 9. Small arms and powder for Georgia.
C. O. 5, 672, pp. 437-440; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 323.
- Nov. 18. Augmentation of regiment in Antigua.
C. O. 153, 18, pp. 84-91.
- Dec. 7. Fortifications and ordnance for New York.
C. O. 5, 1129, pp. 99-100; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 325.
- Dec. 16. Address of assembly of Jamaica relative to the seat of government.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 177, 178 (Dec. 28), 183 (Jan. 25, 1757); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 252.
- Dec. 24. Apprehensions in South Carolina and Georgia of an Indian war.
C. O. 5, 7, 31 fos.; 403, pp. 177-192; 653, 15 pp.

1757.

- Jan. 27. Boundary between New Jersey and New York.
C. O. 5, 998, pp. 8-15.
- Feb. 3. Ordnance stores for Halifax.
C. O. 218, 5, p. 298; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 328.
- Feb. 9. Upon Gov. Hardy's desire to resign his government, New York.
C. O. 5, 1129, pp. 103-104; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 330.
- March 9. Petition of the inhabitants of Number Four, New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 941, pp. 387-388, 395-396 (March 30); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 300.
- April 22. Proceedings of the council and assembly in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 204-205; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 332.
- May 25. Boundary line between New York and Massachusetts Bay to be settled and expense shared.
C. O. 5, 1129, pp. 119-127; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 223; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 335.
- May 25. Seat of government in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 208-215.
- June 15. Principal harbors of Bermuda.
C. O. 38, 9, pp. 160-161, 183-189 (June 29, 1758).
- July 12. On the defense of the Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 2, pp. 55-57; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 148.
- July 13. Petition of William Bollan; ordnance for Massachusetts.
C. O. 5, 918, pp. 442-446; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 333.
- Nov. 6. Bad state of the fortifications of the Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 2, p. 58; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, p. 148, § 336.

- Nov. 6. Petition from members of the council in North Carolina, praying for allowances as councillors and judges.
C. O. 5, 324, pp. 247-248, 256-259 (Dec. 22) ; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 342.
- Nov. 6. Boundary line between New York and Massachusetts.
C. O. 5, 1129, pp. 127-132; 918, pp. 454-457 (Dec. 20) ; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 352.
- Nov. 9. Skilful engineer or two in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 403, pp. 209-212; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 340.
- Dec. 8. Plan for the division of Jamaica into three districts.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 228-236; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 509.

1758.

- Jan. 27. Weak and defenseless condition of South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 403, pp. 222-234; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 344.
- Feb. 10. Petition of Hutchinson Mure for license to carry negroes to the West Indies and to bring thence indigo.
C. O. 318, 3, 8½ pp.
- Feb. 16. Payment of arrears due Henry McCulloh.
C. O. 5, 324, pp. 260-263; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 262.
- Feb. 16. Reinforcement of regular troops in Jamaica.
C. O. 318, 20, pp. 264-269; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 367-369.
- Feb. 21. Petition from the agent of New Jersey regarding bills of credit.
C. O. 5, 998, pp. 55-63, 250-256 (June 9) ; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 343.
- April 28. Complaint of Antony Balaguier regarding injustice done him in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 397-403; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 352.
- May 12. Defenseless state of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 20, pp. 403-406; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 369.
- May 12. Boundary between New York and Massachusetts.
C. O. 5, 918, pp. 462-463; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 352.
- July 12. Memorials of Bristol and London merchants regarding injury to trade from two Virginia acts.
C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 332-341; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 390.
- July 12. Fortifications of the Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 2, pp. 61-65; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 148-149.
- July 12. Petition from the assembly of Maryland complaining of an act of Parliament prohibiting the exportation of grain, etc.
C. O. 5, 1295, pp. 252-258; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 355.
- Nov. 1. Salaries of the justices of the superior court in New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 941, p. 398, 408-409 (Nov. 24) ; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 364.
- Dec. 6. Memorial of Causaponakeesa (Mrs. Bosomworth) praying reimbursement for her services, Georgia.
C. O. 5, 673, pp. 195-206; see *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 287.

1759.

- Jan. 16. Address of the assembly of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 20, p. 411; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 399.
- May 16. Alteration in instructions (1st article) of Gov. Ellis of Georgia.
C. O. 5, 673, pp. 233-238, 238-239 (June 21).
- May 24. Congratulatory address of general assembly of Jamaica on success of the King's arms.
C. O. 138, 20, p. 420.
- June 1. Petition of Benjamin Franklin, agent for Pennsylvania, relative to differences between the inhabitants and the Indians.
C. O. 5, 1295, pp. 259-288; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 376.
- July 4. Memorial of the clergy of Virginia concerning a recent act affecting their salaries.
C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 373-381; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 394.

July 11. Question of the validity of the commission of the lieutenant governor of Jamaica.

C. O. 138, 20, pp. 428-429; cf. 435-445 (Aug. 1); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 400.

July 31. Petition of London merchants trading to Virginia against an act of 1758.

C. O. 5, 1367, pp. 382-383.

Aug. 31. Should the trade and commerce of Guadeloupe be subject to certain regulations and limitations?

C. O. 153, 18, pp. 155-164; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 428-429.

Aug. 31. Upon several vessels belonging to North America being taken and carried into Jamaica by *H. M. S. Assistance*.

C. O. 138, 20, pp. 447-457; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 417.

Nov. 16. Bad state of the fortifications in Jamaica.

C. O. 138, 20, p. 461; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 409.

Dec. 11. Memorial of Edward Dismore, deputy postmaster general of Jamaica.

C. O. 138, 20, pp. 466-469; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 381.

Dec. 12. Address of assembly of Massachusetts.

C. O. 5, 919, pp. 50-51.

Dec. 18. Two inquisitions in New York respecting some lands escheated to the crown.

C. O. 5, 1129, pp. 156-157; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 410.

Dec. 20. Several papers relating to the terms and conditions proposed to several inhabitants of the colonies who wish to settle on lands vacated by the French in Nova Scotia.

C. O. 218, 5, pp. 381-392; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 414.

1760.

March 12. On a bill prepared by Massachusetts concerning bankrupts and creditors.

C. O. 5, 919, pp. 61-65.

June 13. Applications for grants of unpatented lands in New York.

C. O. 5, 1129, pp. 172-175; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 424.

July 31. Petition of Peter Farrell of Jamaica, merchant.

C. O. 138, 21, 5 pp.

July 31. Petition of the Earl of Stirling for land in New England called the county of Canada.

C. O. 5, 919, pp. 67-75; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 423.

Aug. 1. Petition of Reuben Cognetew, a Mohegan Indian, for himself and the tribe of South Shore Indians, as to encroachments on their lands.

C. O. 5, 919, pp. 76-81; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 427.

Nov. 12. Letter from the governor of Jamaica regarding a pernicious trade carried on with the French.

C. O. 324, 17, pp. 33-34; cf. *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 438.

Nov. 12. Illicit trade in the Bahamas.

C. O. 24, 2, pp. 189-190.

Dec. 2. On the suspension of Francis Corbin, North Carolina.

C. O. 5, 325, p. 2; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 433.

1761.

Feb. 11. Should not Canadian trade be subject to the same regulations as those prescribed for other colonies.

C. O. 324, 17, pp. 51-53.

Feb. 24. Request from governor of Georgia for swivel guns and shot for forts and block houses.

C. O. 5, 674, pp. 11-12.

March 5. Proposals of Alexander McNutt for introducing settlers into Nova Scotia.

C. O. 218, 6, pp. 59-64; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 476; VI, § 520.

- April 1. Insufficiency of troops in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 22, p. 44; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 521.
- April 17. Dispute between Jones and Morris for the office of chief justice of New Jersey.
C. O. 5, 999, pp. 34-35; *N. J. Arch.*, IX, 264.
- May 20. Address of general assembly of Virginia concerning acts disallowed by the King.
C. O. 5, 1368, pp. 179-185.
- June 16. Commissioners for trying pirates.
C. O. 324, 17, pp. 73-121; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 451.
- Sept. 10. Complaints of Reuben Cognetew, as above.
C. O. 5, 920, pp. 124-125; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 461.
- Nov. 11. Letters and papers from New York relative to lands and judges' commissions.
C. O. 324, 17, pp. 129-148; 323, 15, 7 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 460; VI, § 530.
- Nov. 18. Upon the further proceedings of the assembly of New York for making judges' commissions during good behavior.
C. O. 324, 17, pp. 160-161; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, VII, 471.

1762.

- Feb. 17. On a New York act of 1760 regarding seamen in the merchant service.
C. O. 5, 325, pp. 189-193; 1130, pp. 174-177.
- March 10. Suggesting that a bill be brought into Parliament for the trial and punishment in the plantations of cases of murder committed there under the admiral's jurisdiction.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 178-180; 324, 17, pp. 176-179; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 474.
- March 27. For the removal of Gov. Hardy from New Jersey.
C. O. 5, 999, pp. 135-138; *N. J. Arch.*, IX, 361.
- March 27. Trade carried on to Monte Cristi.
C. O. 138, 22, p. 240; see also *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 417; VI, §§ 513, 536.
- April 8. Alexander McNutt's proposals to send settlers to Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 153-160; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 476; VI, § 537.
- May 19. Governor of Nova Scotia to permit settlers from Ireland under the conditions laid down by the Board of Trade, March 5, 1761.
C. O. 218, 6, p. 161; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 533-534.
- June 10. Petition of French Protestant refugees to be settled in the British colonies in America.
C. O. 324, 17, pp. 187-190; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 481.
- June 3. Petition of merchants of Albany against grants of land at Niagara.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 191-193; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, VII, 502.
- June 11. Proceedings of assembly of New York relative to the tenure of judges.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 200-207; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, VII, 505; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 538.
- Nov. 24. Letter from Benjamin Pratt, chief justice of New York, regarding salary and tenure.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 207-208; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 550-551.
- Nov. 24. Regarding a prisoner of war in the West Indies.
C. O. 138, 22, pp. 253-255; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 512.
- Dec. 22. Boundary dispute between North and South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 404, pp. 175-184; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 496; VI, § 542.
- Dec. 24. Letter from Gov. Dobbs relative to lands and quit-rents in North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 325, p. 223; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 497.

1763.

- Jan. 14. Complaint made by the Delaware Indians against the proprietaries of Pennsylvania.
C. O. 5, 1296, p. 11, 4½ pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 499; VI, § 544.

- Jan. 21. Second memorial of Alexander McNutt regarding settlers from Ireland for Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 188-190, 198-201 (April 27); cf. *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 534; VI, § 546.
- Jan. 25. Upon draft of a bill for the punishment in the plantations of persons guilty of murder within the admiral's jurisdiction.
C. O. 324, 17, p. 197; 21, 1½ pp.
- Jan. 31. Upon a petition from Adm. Knowles, late governor of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 22, pp. 256-260; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 498.
- Feb. 17. Papers relative to resolutions of the assembly of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 22, pp. 261-262; cf. *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 550.
- March 15. Relating to necessary alterations in instructions to the governor of Newfoundland in consequence of the treaty (5th and 6th articles).
C. O. 195, 9, pp. 85-91, 93-95 (March 21); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 778; VI, § 554.
- April 27. Two letters from Secretary Egremont to the governors of Virginia and Connecticut.
C. O. 5, 1296, p. 15, 3 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 556.
- May 6. Letter from Gov. Dobbs submitting an alteration in his instructions.
C. O. 5, 325, pp. 226-227; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 497.
- June 8. Measures to secure the advantages of the cessions of the late treaty.
C. O. 5, 65, p. 127, 41 pp.; 324, 17, p. 212, 49½ pp.; 21, 44 pp.; 325, 1, VIII.
- Aug. 5. Concerning the western country acquired at the peace, question of civil government, etc.
C. O. 324, 17, p. 263, 9½ pp.; 21, 12½ pp.
- Aug. 30. Memorial of Sieur de Stumpel for a grant of lands in Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 218-220, 254-258 (Dec. 15); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 527.
- Oct. 10. On annexing certain lands south of Georgia.
C. O. 5, 674, p. 251, 1½ pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 521.
- Oct. 26. Letter from Gov. Lyttelton, relating to some proceedings of the assembly of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 22, pp. 276-277; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 592; VI, § 573.
- Nov. 3. Upon the most reasonable and frugal method for peopling and settling new governments in America (the Floridas).
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 121-126; cf. *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, §§ 522, 526.
- Nov. 3. Upon the method of disposing of lands in Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 121-172; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 525.
- Nov. 18. Memorial for the settlement of French Protestants in South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 404, pp. 200-202; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 539.
- Nov. 18. Address from the chapter of Quebec praying for the appointment of a Roman Catholic bishop.
C. O. 43, 1, p. 139; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 598.
- Nov. 25. Memorial of Capt. Richard Gridley for a grant of the islands of Madalaine (Magdalene) in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 253-254; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 494.
- Dec. 20. On Capt. Holland's proposals for a survey of North America.
C. O. 324, 17, p. 317; 21, 3½ pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 537.
- Dec. 20. Memorial of John Marteilhe for a grant of land in Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 259-261; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 611.
- Dec. 20. Memorial of several officers for confirmation of lands near St. John's River, Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 262-265; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 532.
- Dec. 20. Memorial of Price and Knuttan for grant of land in Quebec.
C. O. 43, 1, pp. 143-147; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 820.
- Dec. 24. On the letters and papers concerning the *Ordonnance* lately published by the French in the West Indies.
C. O. 324, 17, p. 328, 8 pp.; 21, 9 pp.

1764.

- Jan. 2. Claim of Sieur de la Fontaine to the island of Mingan on the coast of Labrador.
C. O. 43, 1, pp. 149-158.
- Jan. 31. Ships of war to be sent to Tobago to accommodate the lieutenant governor till his habitation is ready.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 182-183.
- Feb. 9. Memorials of merchants, bounties on hemp, American trade.
C. O. 5, 65, p. 399, 19 pp.; 324, 17, p. 343, 90 fos.; *N. J. Arch.*, IX, 405; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 538.
- Feb. 13. Memorial of the Earl of Egmont praying for a grant of the island of St. John.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 268-273, 394-405 (March 23); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 542.
- Feb. 23. Settlements in East Florida.
C. O. 5, 563, p. 130, 3½ pp.
- March 1. Conduct of Rev. Thomas Bernard, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 18, pp. 150-151, 156-157 (Dec. 11).
- March 1. Plan and proclamation respecting the disposal of lands in Grenada.
C. O. 102, 1, p. 184.
- March 6. Proposals of the French court respecting the Newfoundland fishery.
C. O. 195, 9, pp. 232-235.
- March 6. Petition of the planters of Jamaica against double taxation of absentees.
C. O. 138, 22, pp. 281-285; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 454; VI, §§ 465, 473, 479, 588.
- March 23. Transports to convey ordnance, stores, and Indian presents to West Florida.
C. O. 5, 599, pp. 163-164; *Adm.* 1, 5166; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 545; VI, § 593.
- March 23. Northern boundary of West Florida.
C. O. 5, 599, pp. 165-166; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 551.
- March 23. Survey of Nova Scotia.
C. O. 324, 17, p. 398.
- April 20. Memorial of the French ambassador relating to the situation of Pointe Riche.
C. O. 195, 9, pp. 330-356.
- May 1. Appointment of four ministers of the Gospel in East and West Florida.
C. O. 5, 563, p. 146; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 597.
- May 4. Two hulks to be stationed at Tobago.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 244-245; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 535.
- May 8. Quit-rents in East and West Florida.
C. O. 5, 563, p. 148; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 552.
- May 8. Application for lands in the same.
C. O. 5, 563, p. 151, 4 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 552.
- May 15. Memorial of the Duke of Richmond praying for a grant of Cape Breton.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 414-416; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 660.
- May 15. Governor of East Florida not to grant lands frequented by the sea-cow.
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 156-157, 161-162 (May 28); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 555.
- May 18. Memorial of the French ambassador relating to certain lands and a fishery in Phillippeaux Bay belonging to French subjects.
C. O. 195, 9, pp. 358-359.
- May 18. Memorial of Philip Skene for land in New York.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 225-229; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 817.
- May 18. *Id.*, Lieut. Donald Campbell.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 230-233; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 818.
- May 18. *Id.*, James Napier.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 234-237; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 817.
- June 5. Memorial of the governor of Bermuda for increase of salary.
C. O. 38, 10, pp. 307-308; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 553.

- June 5. Grants of land in West Florida.
C. O. 5, 599, pp. 180-181, 182-183 (June 18); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 813-815.
- June 5. *Id.*, Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 422-425; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 815-817.
- June 19. Respecting the Acadians remaining in Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 428-430, 456 (July 16); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 556.
- July 10. Proposals for working coal mines in Cape Breton.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 435-440; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 543; VI, § 590.
- July 10. Grants of lands in East Florida.
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 173-174; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 813-815.
- July 10. Boundary between New Hampshire and New York.
C. O. 5, 942, pp. 284-302; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 559.
- July 10. *Id.*, between New York and New Jersey.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 237-240; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 571.
- July 10. Grant of land in New York to Lord Holland.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 242-243; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 818.
- July 10. *Id.*, Earl of Ilchester and Clotworthy Upton.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 243-244, 245-246; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 818.
- July 10. *Id.*, Lieut. James Macdonald.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 247-248; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 818.
- July 10. *Id.*, Nova Scotia, Col. Archibald Montgomery.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 443-444; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 816.
- July 10. *Id.*, other military officers.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 445-446; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 816-817.
- July 16. Memorial of Hon. William Howe and associates for a tract of land on Cape Breton.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 453-455; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 543.
- July 16. Petition of assembly of South Carolina against Gov. Boone's action relating to state oaths.
C. O. 5, 404, pp. 226-229; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 529.
- July 16. Petition of James Duncan and others, Massachusetts Bay; *id.*, Gov. Bernard.
C. O. 5, 920, pp. 174-186; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 533; VI, § 616.
- July 20. Commission for settling boundary between New York and New Jersey.
C. O. 5, 1088, p. 94; 1135, p. 255; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 687.
- July 23. About King's College.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 259-263; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 645; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 563.
- Aug. 15. State of his Majesty's rights to Turks Island.
C. O. 24, 3, pp. 184-190; 325, 2, V.
- Nov. 29. Memorials of Lieut.-Col. Charles Lee and Capt. Walter Patterson, New York.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 266-267, 268-269; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 815, 818.
- Dec. 11. Letters from Gov. Palliser, Newfoundland, relative to the proceedings of the French at St. Pierre and Miquelon and the defenseless state of the island.
C. O. 195, 9, pp. 360-364.
- Dec. 11. Attitude of Massachusetts Bay and New York toward Great Britain.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 270-274; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 678; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 578; see also *C. O.* 5, 897, pp. 485-489; 920, pp. 187-189 (Dec. 12).

1765.

- Jan. 9. Memorial of the French inhabitants of Canada and other papers relative to the presentment of the grand jury (case of Thomas Walker).
C. O. 43, 1, p. 179, 181-182 (April 29), 199-207 (June 26), 209-211 (Sept. 2); *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 606.
- Jan. 17. On certain votes of the assembly of New York.
C. O. 5, 1080, pp. 81-82; 1130, pp. 275-276.

- March 1. Objections put forward by France to the validity of the treaty of 1686.
C. O. 5, 66, pp. 21-23; 324, 17, pp. 451-453.
- March 1. Some proceedings of the assembly of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 22, pp. 295-296; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 594.
- March 18. Petition of Hutchinson Mure and others for land in the island of St. John.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 468-470; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 595; VI, § 639.
- April 16. Complaints and proposals of the French regarding the French fishery, Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 9, pp. 369-393; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 647.
- April 29. Upon the state of Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 9, pp. 397-424; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 604.
- May 1. Losses on the surrender of St. Pierre to the French.
C. O. 195, 9, pp. 427-429; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 602.
- May 21. Petition of Nicholas Herbert, Andrew Stone, and John Pownall, secretary, register in chancery, and naval officer, Jamaica; fees.
C. O. 138, 22, pp. 307-314; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 592.
- May 30. Address of the chapter of Quebec, with plan for the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion under certain restrictions.
C. O. 43, 1, pp. 183-186; *Brit. Mus., Add MSS.*, 35914, fos. 8^b-9; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 598; VI, §§ 654, 779.
- June 1. Grant of lands to John De Berniere, New York.
C. O. 5, 1080, pp. 89-91; 1130, pp. 279-280; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, 390.
- June 6. General recommendation regarding land grants.
C. O. 324, 17, pp. 458-461, with annexed list to 464.
- June 17. Gov. Lyttelton on proceedings of the new assembly of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 22, pp. 314-316; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 709; VI, § 659.
- Aug. 27. Letters from the governor of Virginia regarding disturbances in that colony (Stamp Act).
C. O. 5, 1336, pp. 113-119; 1368, pp. 261-270; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 621.
- Aug. 29. Proposal of Sir William Johnson to hold a general meeting of the Indians.
C. O. 5, 66, pp. 119-121; 324, 17, pp. 471-472.
- Aug. 30. Memorial of Robert Trail for land in New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 896, pp. 111-112; 942, pp. 308-309; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 817.
- Sept. 2. Calling an assembly at Quebec, and complaints against the governor there.
C. O. 43, 1, pp. 215-219; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 586.
- Sept. 2. Courts of judicature, Quebec.
C. O. 43, 1, pp. 220-259; 42, 87, pp. 81-128; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 697.
- Sept. 3. Address of assembly and merchants of Bermuda relative to ports of entry and clearance.
C. O. 38, 10, pp. 324-327; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 623.
- Sept. 13. Memorial of Robert Rogers with reference to a northwest passage to China.
C. O. 324, 17, pp. 475-476; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 627; VI, § 675.
- Sept. 24. Complaint against Rev. Thomas Bernard of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 18, pp. 164-166; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, §§ 541, 632; VI, 624A, 640.
- Sept. 24. Upon several ordinances of the governor and council of Quebec.
C. O. 43, 1, pp. 263-280; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 696.
- Sept. 27. Affairs in Massachusetts Bay.
C. O. 5, 897, pp. 491-493; 920, pp. 190-191.
- Sept. 27. Further news from Virginia, attack on the Cherokee Indians, etc.
C. O. 5, 1336, pp. 125-127; 1368, pp. 275-277; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 620.
- Oct. 1. Proceedings of the assembly of Massachusetts Bay.
C. O. 5, 897, pp. 495-511; 920, pp. 192-202; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 621; VI, § 671.

- Oct. 1. Pardon for two persons condemned for murder in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1838, pp. 133-134; 1845, pp. 173-174; 1868, pp. 277-279.
- Oct. 2. Military stores for Bermuda.
C. O. 88, 10, p. 318; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 628.
- Oct. 2. Further information in the case of Walker, Quebec.
C. O. 43, 1, pp. 281-282; A. P. C. Col., IV, 720.
- Oct. 10. Regarding riots in Boston.
C. O. 5, 897, pp. 515-517; 920, pp. 203-204; A. P. C. Col., IV, 733; VI, 408.
- Oct. 17. The same.
C. O. 5, 897, pp. 519-520; 920, pp. 205-206; A. P. C. Col., IV, 733; VI, 410.
- Nov. 8. Gov. Knowles's reasons for dissolving the assembly of Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 22, pp. 317-318.
- Nov. 8. Petition of Acadians in Pennsylvania and Maryland to be allowed to return to Nova Scotia.
C. O. 5, 66, pp. 157-164; 218, 6, pp. 480-489.
- Nov. 19. Regarding the misconduct of Rev. Thomas Harris of St. Lucy's, Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 18, pp. 168-171; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 632.
- Nov. 19. Petition of reduced officers for land in the back part of New York.
C. O. 5, 1080, pp. 109-115; 1130, pp. 347-352; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 590.
- Nov. 22. Alteration of 32d article of Gov. Moore's instructions.
C. O. 5, 1080, p. 117; 1130, p. 353; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 629.
- Nov. 26. Memorial of Capt. Joseph Smith Speer, expenses at the Mosquito Shore.
C. O. 138, 22, pp. 320-322.
- Dec. 10. Measures to be taken in the Bahamas to counteract the French trading activities at St. Domingo.
C. O. 24, 3, pp. 194-200; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 640; VI, § 687.
- Dec. 10. For an assembly in Grenada.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 252-256, 258 (Feb. 27, 1766); A. P. C. Col., IV, § 636.
- Dec. 17. Letter from Gov. Bernard concerning the Stamp Act.
C. O. 5, 897, p. 527; 920, pp. 207-208; see A. P. C. Col., IV, 733; VI, 412.

1766.

- Jan. 24. Memorial from Gov. Boone, South Carolina, recommending additional instruction for new governor, Lord C. G. Montagu.
C. O. 5, 404, pp. 360-362, 364; 381, p. 637, 5 fos., 641, 2 fos.; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 637.
- Feb. 14. General rules for grants of land in America.
C. O. 324, 17, pp. 501-503, with list to 506.
- March 25. Memorial of the governor of the Bahamas with regard to his salary.
C. O. 24, 2, pp. 201-205; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 642; VI, § 702.
- March 27. Trade and defense of Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 9, pp. 440-456; A. P. C. Col., IV, 718; V, 183; VI, § 704.
- March 27. Andrew Symmer's memorial relating to the present state of the Bahamas and Turks Island.
C. O. 24, 3, pp. 206-207; A. P. C. Col., IV, 746; VI, § 703.
- April 23. Grants of land in East Florida and Quebec.
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 194-195; A. P. C. Col., IV, 815, 820.
- April 23. With regard to duties on liquors in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1368, pp. 299-303; A. P. C. Col., IV, § 641.
- May 8. Extraordinary proceedings of the late assembly of Jamaica with regard to their privileges.
C. O. 138, 22, pp. 331-332; A. P. C. Col., IV, 711.
- May 8. Upon an order in Council, May 9, 1764, concerning grants of land in St. John and Newfoundland, according to surveys made by Capt. Holland.
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 7-10; A. P. C. Col., IV, 659.

- May 13. Memorial of the proprietors and occupiers of fishing posts in Labrador.
C. O. 195, 9, pp. 470-495; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 659.
- May 15. Proposals of Alexander McNutt regarding settlers in Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 6, pp. 496-504; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 647.
- May 16. On bills of credit.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 357-360; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, VII, 827; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 646; VI, § 709.
- July 4. Petition of Lieut. Donald Campbell for land, New York.
C. O. 5, 1080, p. 141; 1130, p. 365; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 820; V, § 5.
- July 11. Upon Gov. Bull's refusal to suspend Dougal Campbell as clerk of common pleas.
C. O. 5, 404, pp. 370-371; 381, pp. 653-655; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 662.
- July 29. Lands to be granted in the Floridas, Nova Scotia, and Quebec.
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 14-18.
- Aug. 1. Dispute between the governor of West Florida and the commanding officer there.
C. O. 5, 583, pp. 157-160; 599, pp. 216-218.
- Aug. 1. Papers relative to the assembly of Grenada.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 269-272; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 3.
- Aug. 1. Governor of Jamaica and the new assembly.
C. O. 138, 22, pp. 339-341; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, 712; V, § 4.
- Aug. 29. On the New Hampshire grants.
C. O. 5, 896, p. 119; 942, p. 344.
- Aug. 30. On the case of the Wappinger Indians.
C. O. 5, 66, pp. 307-317; 324, 18, pp. 23-31; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, VII, 868.
- Aug. 30. Salary for Andrew Symmer.
C. O. 24, 3, pp. 209-210.
- Sept. 3. Relative to an establishment of government on the Illinois.
C. O. 5, 66, pp. 367-368; 324, 18, pp. 33-34.
- Sept. 3. Land grants in East Florida.
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 217-220; 323, 19, p. 9; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 624; VI, §§ 715, 725.
- Sept. 3. *Id.*, case of John Gordon.
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 210-216; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 624.
- Nov. 18. Instructions for Andrew Symmer, agent for Turks Island.
C. O. 24, 3, pp. 212-213.

1767.

- Jan. 2. Alterations, etc., made in instructions to governors and proprietaries.
C. O. 5, 1296, pp. 131-133; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 4.
- Jan. 23. Claim of Madame La Marquise de Rigaud de Vaudreuil to part of the fort at La Baye de Puan on Lake Michigan.
C. O. 43, 1, pp. 332-343.
- Feb. 10. Memorial of Sir William Johnson.
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 73-86; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, VII, 896; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 643.
- April 16. Statement of the establishment of the salaries of the governors, judges, and other officials in America (Secretary of State).
C. O. 5, 67, pp. 575-591; 216, pp. 21-29; 324, 18, 148-170.
- May 8. Land grants in East Florida.
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 230-238; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 590.
- May 8. *Id.*, West Florida.
C. O. 5, 599, pp. 223-226; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 593.
- May 26. For better settling and strengthening the province of Georgia.
C. O. 5, 674, p. 311, 10 pp.
- May 28. Upon the petition of the inhabitants of Louisburg complaining of discouragements.
C. O. 218, 7, pp. 193-197; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 71.
- May 28. Petition of Maj. Hamilton for himself and others—grant of land in Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 7, pp. 198-203; also 204-209.

- June 2. Petition of the S. P. G. for lands in New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 896, pp. 123-128; 942, pp. 491-495; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 31; VI, § 740.
- June 2. Petition of Anthony Merry and others regarding trade in Canada.
C. O. 43, 1, pp. 351-355; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 18; VI, §§ 734, 759.
- June 3. Commissioners to run boundary between New Jersey and New York.
C. O. 5, 1051, pp. 196-197; *N. J. Arch.*, IX, 623; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 17.
- June 26. Upon Gov. Hutchinson's letter regarding a Massachusetts act repealing two acts concerning debtors and creditors.
C. O. 5, 920, pp. 223-230.
- June 26. Grant of land to Sir William Johnson.
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 171-173; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 942; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 643.
- June 26. Petition of Col. George Mercer on behalf of the Ohio Company.
C. O. 5, 24, pp. 291-295; 1368, pp. 324-328; 1336, p. 207; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 612; V, § 52.
- July 8. On the rights of townships in Massachusetts Bay to send representatives to the general assembly.
C. O. 5, 920, pp. 231-238; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 32-34.
- July 10. Concerning the Presbyterian Church, New York.
C. O. 5, 1080, pp. 201-205; 1130, pp. 398-401; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 943; *A. P. C. Col.*, IV, § 651; VI, §§ 699, 768.
- July 13. Petition of F. and H. Mounier, praying for land in Quebec.
C. O. 43, 1, pp. 356-360; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 600-601.
- July 16. Grants of land in East Florida (Sir Edward Hawke and others).
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 238-239, 240-246; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 599.
- July 24. Regarding the preservation of white pine trees.
C. O. 5, 920, pp. 242-267; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 11.
- July 29. Distribution of land in the island of St. John.
C. O. 218, 7, pp. 216-218; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 28.
- Nov. 20. Upon the address of the new subjects in Grenada.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 285-288.
- Nov. 27. Memorial, Lieut. John Pigott, for land in Georgia.
C. O. 5, 674, pp. 330-331; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 595.
- Dec. 21. Separate government for Dominica.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 289-297, 299-302; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 12.
- Dec. 24. On a Virginia act of 1766 for giving a salary to the speaker of the House of Burgesses.
C. O. 5, 1368, pp. 332-333; 1375, p. 7; 1336, p. 221; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 60.

1768.

- Jan. 29. Relative to the absence of several members of the council of Barbadoes.
C. O. 29, 18, pp. 401-403.
- Feb. 4. On the expediency of keeping up the office of baron of the exchequer in North Carolina.
C. O. 5, 311, pp. 17-20; 305, p. 65; 325, pp. 420-422; 328, pp. 31-34.
- Feb. 4. On the right of Massachusetts Bay to choose an agent.
C. O. 5, 757, pp. 13-16; 766, pp. 80-85; 920, pp. 269-272; 325, 1, XI; see *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 264.
- Feb. 4. On disputed claims to lands between Quebec and New York near Lake Champlain.
C. O. 5, 1099, pp. 53-54; 1130, pp. 412-413; 1137, pp. 87-89; 1080, p. 227; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 22-23.
- Feb. 4. Grants of land in East Florida (Johnson).
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 249-250; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 592.
- Feb. 25. Upon the ordinance for establishing an assembly in Dominica.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 303-314; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 7-15.
- Feb. 25. Petition of Isaac Levy against Thomas Bosomworth for loss of lands in Georgia.
C. O. 5, 674, pp. 333-341; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 45.

- March 3. Claims of Cugnet and Tacket to lands and fishing posts in Labrador.
C. O. 42, 28, pp. 113-117; 195, 9, pp. 498-503; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 119.
- March 7. Indian affairs; also question of establishing three new governments.
C. O. 5, 69, p. 119, 53 pp., and appendix, 30 pp. Also in 226, 1088, 324, 18, 21;
N. Y. Col. Docts., VIII, 19-34, with part of the appendix; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, 513.
- March 7. Officers' petition for land in St. John.
C. O. 218, 7, pp. 227-231.
- April 21. Petition of Lieut. MacDougal for grant of Hog Island, three miles from Detroit.
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 209-212; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 53.
- May 4. State and trade of Turks Island.
C. O. 24, 3, pp. 374-381.
- May 7. Complaints against Thomas Atwood, assistant judge of the supreme court in Dominica.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 340-353.
- May 7. Petition, Henry Bostwick, and others, for grant of mines near Lake Superior.
C. O. 5, 69, pp. 305-308; 226, pp. 188-190; 324, 18, pp. 267-270, 270-273; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 65.
- May 7. On acts and proceedings of New York.
C. O. 5, 1080, pp. 243, 18 fos.; 1130, pp. 414-419; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, VIII, 63.
- May 7. Petition of John Tabor Kempe for increase of salary as attorney general of New York.
C. O. 5, 1099, pp. 175-177; 1130, pp. 421-423; 1137, pp. 172-174; 1090, p. 237.
- June 10. Upon an ordinance of the governor of Grenada establishing a general council in Tobago.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 354-359; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 11-12.
- June 10. As to the expediency of permitting settlements to be made on lands to the westward of the Great Mountains.
C. O. 5, 1346, pp. 29-36; 1368, pp. 345-354; 1372, pp. 27-33; 1336, p. 249; see *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 124.
- June 10. Address of the Virginia House of Burgesses for issuing paper money.
C. O. 5, 1346, pp. 21-24; 1368, pp. 356-359; 1372, pp. 35-37; 1336, 261.
- July 21. Petition of George Croghan for land in New York.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 424-425; 1080, p. 257; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 596.
- July 21. Petition of Jamaica planters for confirmation of an act dividing the island into three counties.
C. O. 138, 23, pp. 77-80; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 797.
- Aug. 3. Proposed division of New Hampshire into five counties.
C. O. 5, 935, pp. 159-160; 942, p. 495; 945, p. 58; 896, p. 127.
- Aug. 3. Memorial of Gen. Gage for lands on the Mohawk River.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 426-427; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 596.
- Aug. 3. Petition of Daniel Coxe of New Jersey. Grant of lands to be given him in New Jersey on condition he surrenders all title to the tract called Carolana.
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 273-276; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 68.
- Aug. 3. Boundary line between New York and Quebec.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 428-430; 1080, pp. 261-263; see *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 70.
- Aug. 4. As to appropriating quit-rents in New Hampshire toward repairing roads and encouraging agriculture.
C. O. 5, 896, pp. 129-132; 942, pp. 505-507; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 77; VI, § 802.
- Aug. 6. Petition, Edward Mease, for land in West Florida.
C. O. 5, 599, pp. 467-468; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 594.
- Nov. 11. Jurisdiction in cases of murder committed by seamen on board H. M. ships.
C. O. 138, 23, pp. 96-99.
- Nov. 11. Land grant, John Maurice, in East Florida.
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 251-253; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 591.

- Nov. 11. Petition of proprietaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania.
C. O. 5, 1296, pp. 215-216; A. P. C. Col., V, § 35.
- Nov. 17. Friedenburg's petition for lands in New York.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 433-435; 1080, pp. 271-273.
- Nov. 22. With regard to a question raised by the governor of New York about consenting to acts in cases where neither confirmation nor disallowance has been received. The board refers to its previous report of May 20, 1761, for Virginia, and think that the governors' instructions should stand.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 436-438; 1080, pp. 275-277.
- Dec. 22. Land grant in Nova Scotia (Hale).
C. O. 218, 7, pp. 241-242; A. P. C. Col., V, 598.
- Petition from members of the council of North Carolina for allowances for their services. Endorsed "This representation was not signed."
C. O. 5, 305, p. 29, 11 fos.

1769.

- Feb. 11. Grants of land in East Florida (Haven).
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 254-256; A. P. C. Col., V, 592.
- Feb. 15. *Id.*, West Florida (Comyn).
C. O. 5, 599, pp. 472-474; A. P. C. Col., V, 594.
- Feb. 15. Moravian mission in Labrador.
C. O. 195, 9, pp. 509-516; A. P. C. Col., V, § 103.
- Feb. 15. Land grant in New York (Pryce).
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 440-442; 1080, pp. 283-286; A. P. C. Col., V, 596.
- Feb. 15. Question as to passing acts whereby slaves may be declared "chattels personal."
C. O. 5, 694, p. 339, 7 fos.; A. P. C. Col., V, § 97; VI, § 807.
- March 7. Governors not to assent to any act raising money by lottery.
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 281-284; A. P. C. Col., V, 187-188.
- March 7. Grant of a township in Nova Scotia (Mayne).
C. O. 218, 7, pp. 256-259; A. P. C. Col., V, 599.
- March 7. Land grant in Quebec (Dutens and others).
C. O. 43, 2, pp. 62-66; A. P. C. Col., V, 601.
- April 10. Memorial of Sir Jeffrey Amherst for a grant of land in New York.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 444-446; 1080, pp. 291-293; A. P. C. Col., V, 596.
- April 11. Land grants in East Florida (Bowman).
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 258-259; A. P. C. Col., V, 592.
- April 25. On the boundaries of Indian lands.
C. O. 5, 70, p. 375, 22 pp.; 227, p. 100, 21 pp.; 324, 18, pp. 317-344; N. Y. Col. Docs., VIII, 158.
- May 4. Land grants in East Florida (Strachey, Astle, Cusack, Wynn).
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 260-261, 262-264, 265-267, 268-270 (May 11); A. P. C. Col., V, 592.
- May 9. Petition of Gen. James Murray about lands.
C. O. 5, 1130, pp. 447-451; 1080, p. 295; A. P. C. Col., V, 144-145.
- May 11. Upon the Dominica treasury bill.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 382-387; A. P. C. Col., V, § 120.
- May 11. Memorial of Gen. Phineas Lyman, for himself, officers, and soldiers, to settle a colony on the Ohio.
C. O. 5, 1369, pp. 18-21; 1336, pp. 327-329; A. P. C. Col., V, § 67.
- May 30. Separate government for the island of St. John.
C. O. 218, 7, pp. 260-270; A. P. C. Col., V, 80, 82-85.
- July 10. Petition of Capt. Jonathan Carver.
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 350-355; 21, 5½ pp.; A. P. C. Col., V, § 115; VI, § 816.
- July 10. Upon the state of Quebec, referring to order in council of Sept. 28, 1768 (not in *A. P. C. Col.*).
C. O. 43, 2, pp. 67-152; A. P. C. Col., V, 97.
- July 17. Land grant in West Florida (Taite).
C. O. 5, 599, pp. 475-477; A. P. C. Col., V, 594.

- July 17. Petition of Henry Bostwick further considered (see ante, May 7, 1768).
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 356-361; 21, 5 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 130-131.
- Dec. 20. Petition and address from New York to emit bills of credit.
C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 34-38; 1080, p. 325, 9 fos.; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 130.
- Dec. 21. Action of the house of representatives, New York.
C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 39-41; 1080, p. 331, 3 pp.; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, VIII, 194.
- Dec. 22. John Stuart, superintendent of Indian Affairs, to be extra member of several councils.
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 362-364; 21, 2 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 139.

1770.

- Feb. 7. Land grant in East Florida (Thornton, Cornwall, Humphreys).
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 271-273, 274-276, 278-279; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 593.
- Feb. 7. *Id.*, West Florida (Wildman, Lyman, Timberlake).
C. O. 5, 600, pp. 29-31, 210-211, 214-215; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 594.
- Feb. 7. *Id.*, Nova Scotia (Greeve, Baillie).
C. O. 218, 7, pp. 273-275, 279-281; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 599.
- Feb. 8. On the New York act for emitting bills of credit.
C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 42-45; 1080, p. 335, 5½ pp.; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, VIII, 202.
- Feb. 15. Land grant in Georgia (Yonge).
C. O. 5, 674, pp. 344-345; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 595.
- Feb. 15. Letter from Gov. Hutchinson with one from the American Board of Customs Commissioners at Boston, complaining of being required to pay the province tax.
C. O. 5, 759, pp. 49-51; 765, pp. 77-78; 897, pp. 535-537; 920, pp. 278-280; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 264-265.
- Feb. 23. On the constitution of South Carolina and the usage with respect to raising and issuing money.
C. O. 5, 404, pp. 406-424; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 140.
- March 1. Separate government for Dominica.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 392-397; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 12-15; VI, § 837.
- March 2. Petition of six members of the council of Grenada complaining of their suspension by Gov. Fitzmaurice.
C. O. 5, 26, pp. 179-195; 102, 1, pp. 398-424; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 145; VI, § 838.
- March 29. Report of commissioners for sale of lands in the Ceded Islands, and need of additional military force in St. Vincent.
C. O. 102, 1, pp. 428-429; see *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 138.
- April 4. Land grants in New York (Sir John Thompson, Martin).
C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 47, 52-53; 1080, pp. 347, 359; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 596.
- May 4. Consideration of a memorial delivered by the French ambassador complaining of obstructions in their concurrent Newfoundland fishery.
C. O. 195, 10, pp. 108-117; 12, pp. 88-93; *S. P. Foreign, France*, 280.
- May 4. Petition from Gov. Bernard for confirmation of lands granted him in Massachusetts.
C. O. 5, 897, pp. 543-548; 920, pp. 304-308; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 135; VI, § 843.
- May 21. Memorial of Edward Bell for lands on the Ohio.
C. O. 5, 1369, pp. 28-29; 1336, pp. 369-370; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 595.
- June 7. Petition of Sir Jeffrey Amherst for grant of the estates belonging to the Jesuits in Canada.
C. O. 43, 2, pp. 159-161; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 150.
- June 7. On the proclamation of the governor of New Hampshire respecting gold and silver coin.
C. O. 5, 896, pp. 144-146; 943, pp. 8-10; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 122.
- June 15. Papers regarding the proceedings of the assembly in Jamaica.
C. O. 138, 23, pp. 111-115; *A. P. C. Col.*, VI, § 851.

July 13. Claim of Connecticut to the Mohegan lands.

C. O. 5, 1296, pp. 350-353; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 133.

Dec. 5. Petition of freeholders in Bermuda regarding the whale fishery.

C. O. 38, 10, pp. 336-340; see *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 554.

Dec. 5. Grant in East Florida of land to Earl of Dartmouth and others.

C. O. 5, 563, pp. 280-282; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 593.

Dec. 6. Commissions for trial of pirates in Grenada and Dominica.

C. O. 102, 1, pp. 435-438, 439-446 (Dec. 19); *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 174.

1771.

Feb. 8. Land grant in East Florida (Martin).

C. O. 5, 563, pp. 285-286; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 593.

Feb. 22. Petition of Frederick Philipse of New York for lease of a mine.

C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 419-424; 1080, p. 401, 7 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 186.

March 8. Land grant in Georgia (Mackinnen).

C. O. 5, 674, pp. 356-357; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 595.

March 17. Refusal of request from South Carolina that additional instruction to governor be withdrawn.

C. O. 5, 404, pp. 439-442; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 235.

April 10. Land grant in New York (Markham).

C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 430-431; 1080, p. 419; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 596.

April 12. *Id.* (Howard).

C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 432-433; 1080, p. 423; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 596.

April 24. Commissioners to mark the final boundary between North and South Carolina.

C. O. 5, 404, pp. 443-446; 381, p. 731; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 123.

April 24. Alteration in the mode of granting lands in Quebec.

C. O. 43, 2, pp. 162-164; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 600-601.

May 31. Irregularity of the conduct of Andrew Symmer, agent for Turks Island.

C. O. 24, 3, pp. 383-392.

May 31. Land grant in New York (Lieut. Campbell).

C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 440-442; 1080, p. 443; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 596.

May 31. Petition of Samuel Crooke against the court of errors in St. Christopher.

C. O. 153, 20, pp. 44-47; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 177.

June 6. Upon certain proceedings of council and assembly at St. Christopher.

C. O. 153, 20, pp. 48-51; cf. *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 160.

June 6. New Hampshire grants.

C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 443-455; 1080, p. 447, 25 pp.; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VIII, 272; *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, IV, 435; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 157.

June 21. Refusal of petition of certain persons in the Isle of Skye for land in North Carolina, because such emigration lessens the strength of the kingdom and prejudices the landed interest.

C. O. 5, 326, pp. 183-186; 305, p. 123, 4 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 346, see also p. 340.

June 27. Against the late practice in Georgia of passing laws under the name of ordinances for the appointment of persons to executive offices.

C. O. 5, 674, pp. 364-367; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 206.

June 27. Reconsideration of Bostwick petition.

C. O. 324, 18, pp. 388-391; 21, 5½ pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 131-132; VI, § 857.

Dec. 18. Petition of Lewis Dumesnil de St. Pierre on behalf of certain emigrants and himself—lands in South Carolina.

C. O. 5, 407, pp. 457-460; 381, p. 753, 6 fos.; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 595.

1772.

Feb. 1. Petition of George Milner, merchant, relating to losses in Newfoundland.

C. O. 195, 10, pp. 118-120; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 75.

- Feb. 1. Memorial of Henry Remsen and associates about Indian lands purchased near Albany.
C. O. 5, 1080, pp. 479-481; 1131, pp. 457-460; A. P. C. Col., V, § 210.
- Feb. 26. Memorial of John Wadman for grant in Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1369, pp. 245-248; 1336, p. 495; A. P. C. Col., V, § 208.
- March 16. On a memorial from the court of France, asserting a right to fish in the canal which separates St. Pierre and Miquelon from Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 10, pp. 137-150; S. P. Foreign, France, 284.
- March 17. Maj. Robert Rogers's proposal about a northwest passage.
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 409-413; 21, 4 pp.; A. P. C. Col., V, § 199; VI, § 883.
- April 13. Petition of certain landholders of Georgia stating that they are too poor to defend their titles.
C. O. 5, 674, pp. 376-379; A. P. C. Col., V, § 182.
- April 29. On the memorial of Thomas Walpole.
C. O. 5, 1369, pp. 251-295; 501, 68 pp.; A. P. C. Col., V, § 124; VI, § 887, p. 556; printed, 1772, report, observations, and answers; also in Franklin's Works, V, 1-75.
- May 12. Land grant in East Florida to Swiss Protestants (Roux).
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 290-293; A. P. C. Col., V, 593.
- May 12. Petition of Bishop of Chester and others for land in New York.
C. O. 5, 1131, p. 473; 1080, p. 491; A. P. C. Col., V, 597.
- May 17. Petition from the Earl of Rochford for islands, grounds, and shoals in Delaware River.
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 414-424; A. P. C. Col., V, § 220.
- May 21. Petition of the rector and inhabitants, New York City, for remission of quit-rents on a tract of land in Gloucester County.
C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 466-468; 1080, p. 495; N. Y. Col. Docts., VIII, 271; A. P. C. Col., VI, § 888.
- May 29. Petition of John Wadman (above Feb. 26).
C. O. 5, 1369, pp. 297-299; 1363, p. 571; A. P. C. Col., V, § 208.
- June 2. Address from the college of New York.
C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 469-472; 1080, p. 499; N. Y. Col. Docts., VIII, 296.
- June 14. Land grant in West Florida (Grossett).
C. O. 5, 600, pp. 241-245; A. P. C. Col., V, 594.
- June 16. Land grants in Dominica.
C. O. 102, 2, pp. 217-219; A. P. C. Col., V, § 230.
- June 16. Late proceedings of general assembly of New York.
C. O. 5, 1131, p. 475; 1080, p. 507; A. P. C. Col., V, § 231.
- June 24. Paper drawn up by the merchants of Great Britain relative to the case of the proprietors of the seal fisheries on the coast of Labrador under grants from the governor of Quebec.
C. O. 195, 10, pp. 222-231, 247-250 (March 2); A. P. C. Col., V, § 232.
- Nov. 9. Memorial of Gov. Wright of Georgia on the state of the province.
 Long appendix.
C. O. 5, 661, p. 327, 16 pp. and 85 pp.; 674, pp. 380-394; 679, pp. 29-41.
- Nov. 30. Land grant in New York (Howard).
C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 483-486; 1080, p. 517; A. P. C. Col., V, 596.
- Nov. 30. Claim of M. Hocquart (Michel Chartier de Lotbinière), late intendant of Canada, to a fishing post at Gros Mecatinat.
C. O. 195, 10, pp. 232-239; see A. P. C. Col., V, § 70, p. 348.
- Dec. 3. The New Hampshire grants.
C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 487-515; 1080, p. 523; N. Y. Col. Docts., VIII, 330; Doc. Hist. N. Y., III, 803 (IV, 488); Force's Archives, 4th ser., IV, 704; A. P. C. Col., V, 267-276.

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- Jan. 22. Papers desired by the House of Commons relating to the Caribbee Indians.
C. O. 102, 2, pp. 243-246.

- Jan. 22. Petition of the Earl of Eglington and others to establish a colony on the Mississippi.
C. O. 324, 18, p. 432; 21, 12½ pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 176.
- Feb. 18. Petition of Henry Remsen (above Feb. 1, 1772).
C. O. 5, 1131, pp. 523-526; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 210.
- March 1. Petition of William Bollan, in behalf of Massachusetts Bay.
C. O. 5, 897, pp. 589-591; 920, pp. 415-417; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 236.
- March 2. Memorials: George Cartwright—grant of land between Cape Charles and Cape St. Lewis; North and Pinson—sealing posts in Labrador.
C. O. 194, 28, 4 pp.; 195, 10, pp. 242-246; 12, pp. 148-151; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 232.
- April 8. Letter of Gov. Hutchinson in connection with the controversy in Massachusetts.
C. O. 5, 897, pp. 493-496; 920, pp. 419-421.
- May 6. Petition of Thomas Walpole.
C. O. 5, 1369, pp. 326-355; 1336, p. 575, 28 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 210; VI, § 911, p. 556; *Franklin's Works*, X, 364.
- May 10. Complaint of Peter Livius, chief justice of Quebec, against Gov. Wentworth of New Hampshire.
C. O. 5, 943, pp. 26-36; 945, p. 247, 8½ pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 255; VI, 531.
- June 3. Petition of John Agnew and others for grant of all mines, minerals, etc., in Newfoundland.
C. O. 195, 10, pp. 251-256; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 253; VI, § 912.
- June 14. Memorial of James Montgomery, lord advocate of Scotland, for grant of island of St. John.
C. O. 227, 1, pp. 132-134; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 267.
- June 14. Land grant in East Florida (Gordon).
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 297-303, 475-481 (March 16, 1774); *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 98.
- July 1. Respecting vote of money to Gov. Wentworth by the New Hampshire assembly.
C. O. 5, 943, pp. 37-39; 947, pp. 74-76; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 259.
- July 1. Petition of Gen. John Bradstreet for confirmation of lands purchased of the Indians.
C. O. 5, 1132, pp. 9-13; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, VIII, 378; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 242; VI, § 905.
- July 1. On certain votes of the House of Burgesses of Virginia.
C. O. 5, 1369, pp. 356-360; 1336, p. 607; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 258.
- July 16. Settlement of boundary between New York and Massachusetts Bay.
C. O. 5, 1132, pp. 14-15; 1080, p. 595; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 257.

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- Feb. 14. Memorial of the Moravians, Labrador.
C. O. 195, 10, pp. 259-261; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 184.
- Feb. 14. Memorial of merchants and traders praying removal of the custom house, Newfoundland.
C. O. 5, 247, pp. 183-184; 195, 10, pp. 257-258.
- March 10. Memorial of William Gerard de Brahm for a vessel.
C. O. 324, 18, pp. 480-481; 21, 2 pp.; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 289.
- March 21. Petition of George Clarke against Gov. Tryon.
C. O. 5, 1132, pp. 21-25; *N. Y. Col. Docts.*, VIII, 413; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 20.
- June 20. Land grant in West Florida (Daniel Cox).
C. O. 5, 600, pp. 252-255; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 142.
- June 20. Land grant, Virginia (Lord Dunmore and Capt. Foy).
C. O. 5, 1369, pp. 365-366; 1366, p. 619; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 595.
- Dec. 12. Petition of Henry Flower and two others about Indian lands, New York.
C. O. 5, 1132, pp. 33-34; cf. *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 40.
- Dec. 19. Memorial of London, Bristol, and Liverpool merchants against Jamaica act imposing additional duty on negroes.
C. O. 138, 23, pp. 342-350, 351; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 313.

1775.

- May 25. Petition of officers for lands in New York.
C. O. 5, 1132, pp. 38-43; N. Y. Col. Docts., VIII, 575.
- May 25. Petition and claims of M. Hocquart (de Lotbinière).
C. O. 5, 1132, pp. 44-50; N. Y. Col. Docts., VIII, 577; A. P. C. Col., V, 147; VI, § 942.
- June 1. Suspension of Chief Justice Drayton by Gov. Bull of South Carolina.
C. O. 5, 405, pp. 147-148; A. P. C. Col., V, § 317; VI, § 943; cf. C. O. 5, 556, p. 221; 563, pp. 483-490.
- June 1. Relative to the boundaries of Pennsylvania.
C. O. 5, 1297, pp. 61-63; cf. A. P. C. Col., VI, § 908.

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- Jan. 30. Petition of Thomas Desbrisay for islands adjacent to St. John.
C. O. 227, 1, pp. 139-141; A. P. C. Col., V, 382.
- Feb. 13. Case of M. de Lotbinière.
C. O. 5, 1132, pp. 53-55; N. Y. Col. Docts., VIII, 669; A. P. C. Col., VI, § 946.
- June 3. Two memorials from the inhabitants of the Mosquito Shore.
C. O. 5, 248, pp. 317-319; 324, 18, pp. 494-496; 21, 3½ pp.
- June 20. Concerning the island of St. John (Prince Edward Island).
C. O. 227, 1, pp. 144-152; A. P. C. Col., V, § 332.
- July 25. Charges against Francis Legge, governor of Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 7, pp. 475-489.
- Aug. —. Petition for lands in West Florida (Milne and Humphreys).
C. O. 5, 580, pp. 35-36; A. P. C. Col., V, 594.

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- March 11. Petition from refugees in East Florida.
C. O. 5, 563, pp. 492-504.
- May 6. Petition of Bruno Largarite, a free mulatto, and others against Domini-can act relating to the manumission of slaves.
C. O. 72, 1, pp. 405-408, 411-415 (May 6, 1778); A. P. C. Col., V, § 346.
- June 3. Land grant in West Florida (Col. Douglas).
C. O. 5, 600, pp. 259-261; A. P. C. Col., V, 594.
- June 12. *Id.* (William Roberts).
C. O. 5, 600, pp. 262-264; A. P. C. Col., V, 594-595.
- Dec. 9. Memorial of seven members of the council of St. Vincent against Gov. Morris's proceedings in relation to grants of land.
C. O. 261, 1, pp. 152-155; A. P. C. Col., V, § 340; VI, § 964.

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- March 2. Memorial of Peter Livius, complaining of his removal from office as chief justice of Quebec.
C. O. 43, 2, pp. 399-426; A. P. C. Col., V, 463, 464; VI, § 979.
- May 18. Land grant in West Florida (Gordon).
C. O. 5, 600, pp. 279-280; cf. A. P. C. Col., VI, § 940.
- July 1. Memorial of Rev. Peter de la Roche, relating to land grants in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia.
C. O. 218, 7, pp. 503-504; A. P. C. Col., V, § 374.
- Aug. 6. Complaints against Gov. Browne of the Bahamas.
C. O. 24, 4, pp. 5-15, 177-197 (Jan. 29, 1781); A. P. C. Col., V, § 390.

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- Feb. 13. Memorial of Andrew Symmer, agent of Turks Island, enclosing regulations as to salt there.
C. O. 24, 4, pp. 198-204; A. P. C. Col., V, § 392.

- March 9. Petition of four assistant justices of the supreme court of judicature in Jamaica, recently removed from office.
C. O. 138, 24, pp. 1-6; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 396.
- April 10. Upon two ordinances passed in Quebec in March, 1780, relating to exportation of wheat and to persons deemed forestallers.
C. O. 43, 2, pp. 474-479, 480-490; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, § 401.
- May 8. Commerce of Canada.
A. P. C. Col., VI, § 1001.
- June 14. Recommends for confirmation an act of Georgia for granting his Majesty certain duties, etc.
C. O. 5, 674, pp. 418-419; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 578.
- June 20. On an act passed in St. John in July, 1780, for altering the name to New Ireland.
C. O. 227, 1, pp. 166-167; *A. P. C. Col.*, V, 583; VI, 583.

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- Feb. 22. Considerations upon a memorial by the province of Nova Scotia against passing a bill exempting from duty rum and molasses for the use of the troops.
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- April 16. Papers containing a complaint against Gov. Cunninghame of Barbadoes.
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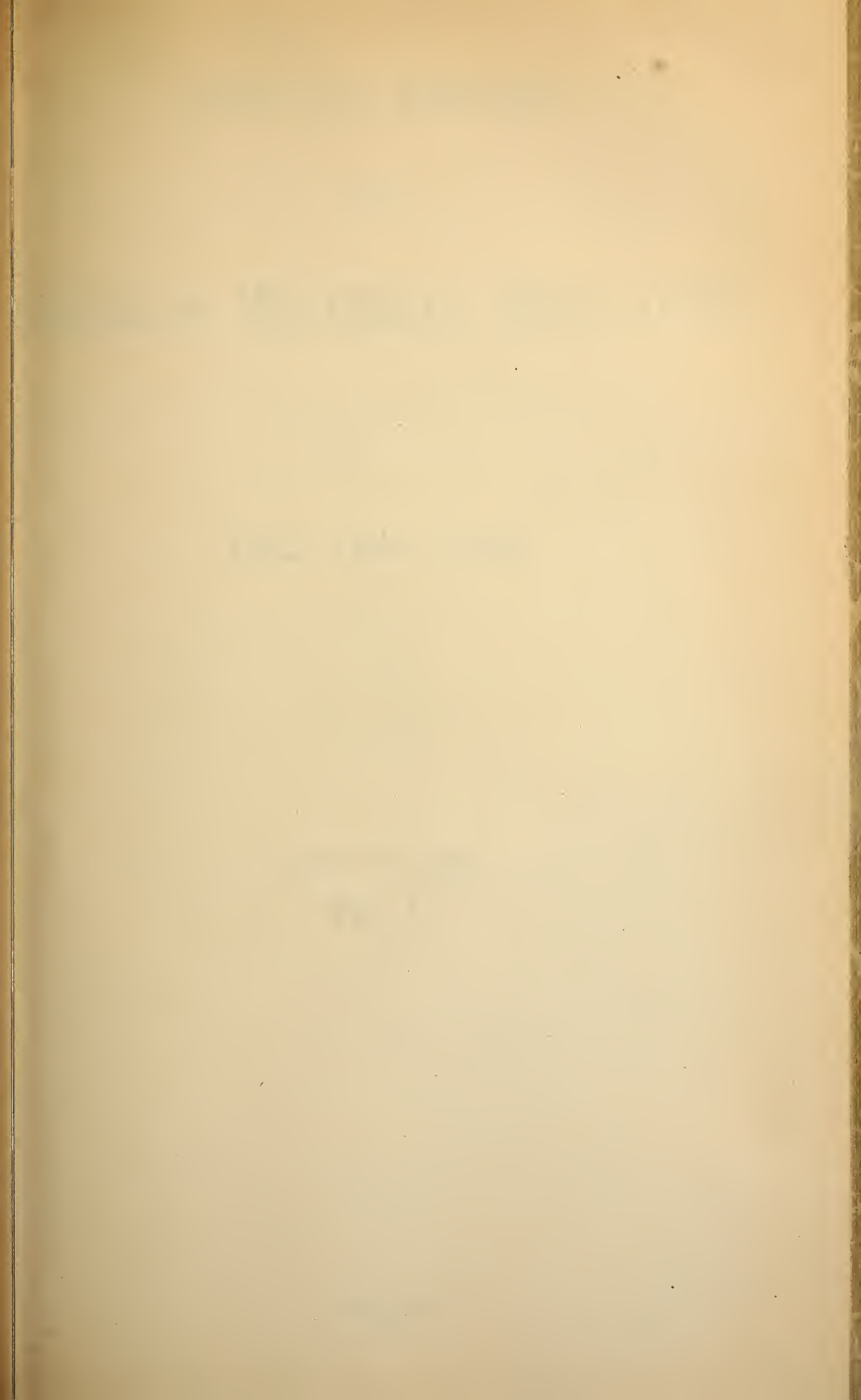
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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1914

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

WASHINGTON
1916



LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

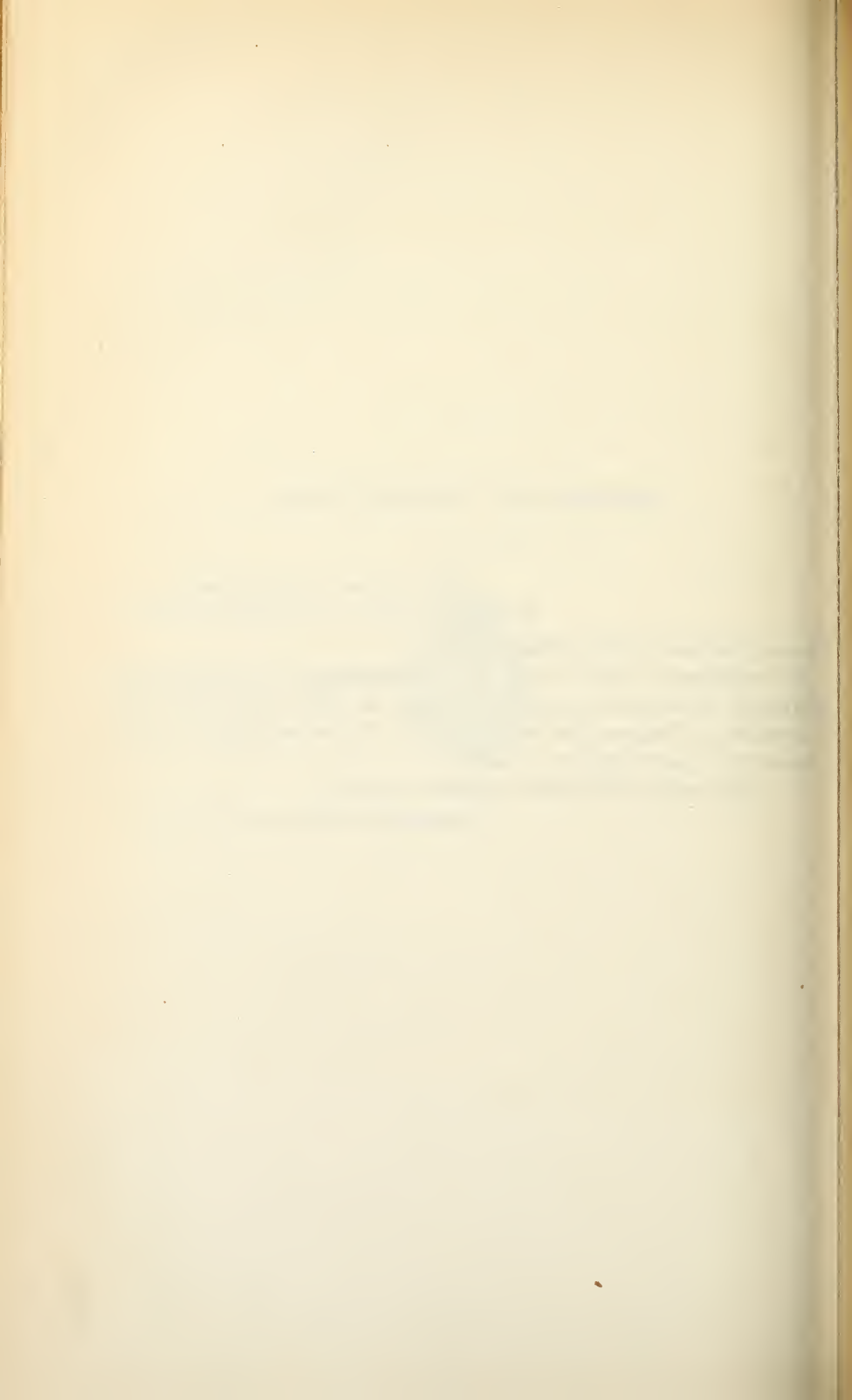
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., February 25, 1916.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1914. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES D. WALCOTT, *Secretary.*



ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars, to adopt a constitution, and make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such reports, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,

Washington, D. C., February 17, 1916.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, as provided for by law, volume I of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1914. This report will be in two volumes. The first volume contains the proceedings of the association during 1914, together with a number of the more important papers read at its last annual meeting.

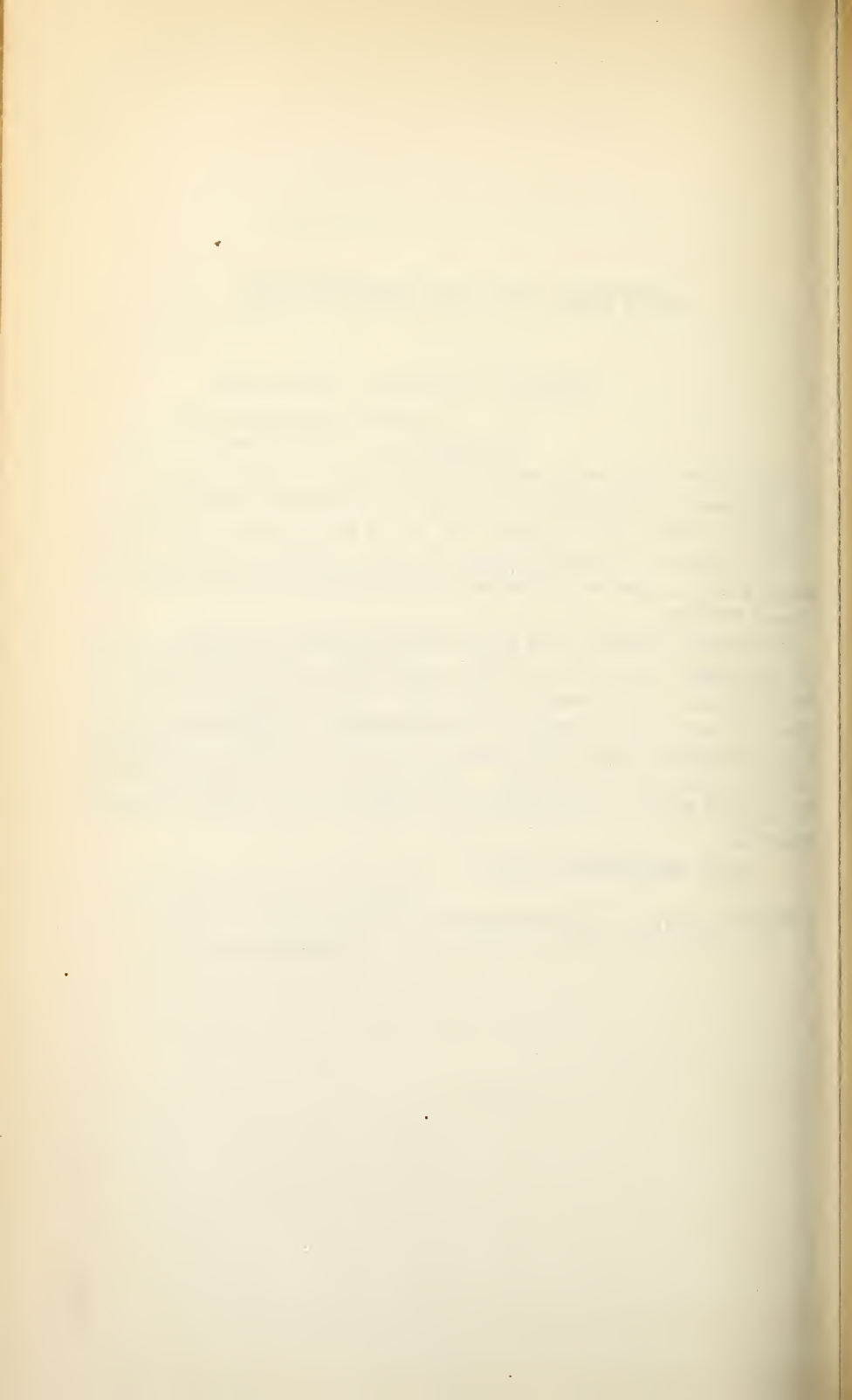
The second volume of the report will comprise a cumulative index of the papers and reports of this association published during the first 30 years of its existence, 1884-1914. It has long been felt that these volumes, which contain so much material of importance to the historical student, should be made more usable and their exceedingly varied contents more accessible. This service will be performed by the present index. It is proposed to continue this index at suitable intervals.

Very respectfully, yours,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

The SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,

Washington, D. C.



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VOLUME II.

Index to papers and reports, 1884-1914.



CONSTITUTION.

I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, a treasurer, and an executive council consisting of the foregoing officers and six other members elected by the association, with the ex-presidents of the association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the association.

V.

The executive council shall have charge of the general interests of the association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.



AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress
January 4, 1889.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 30, 1914.

PRESIDENT:

H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., Litt. D.,
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New York.

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CURATOR:

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M.,
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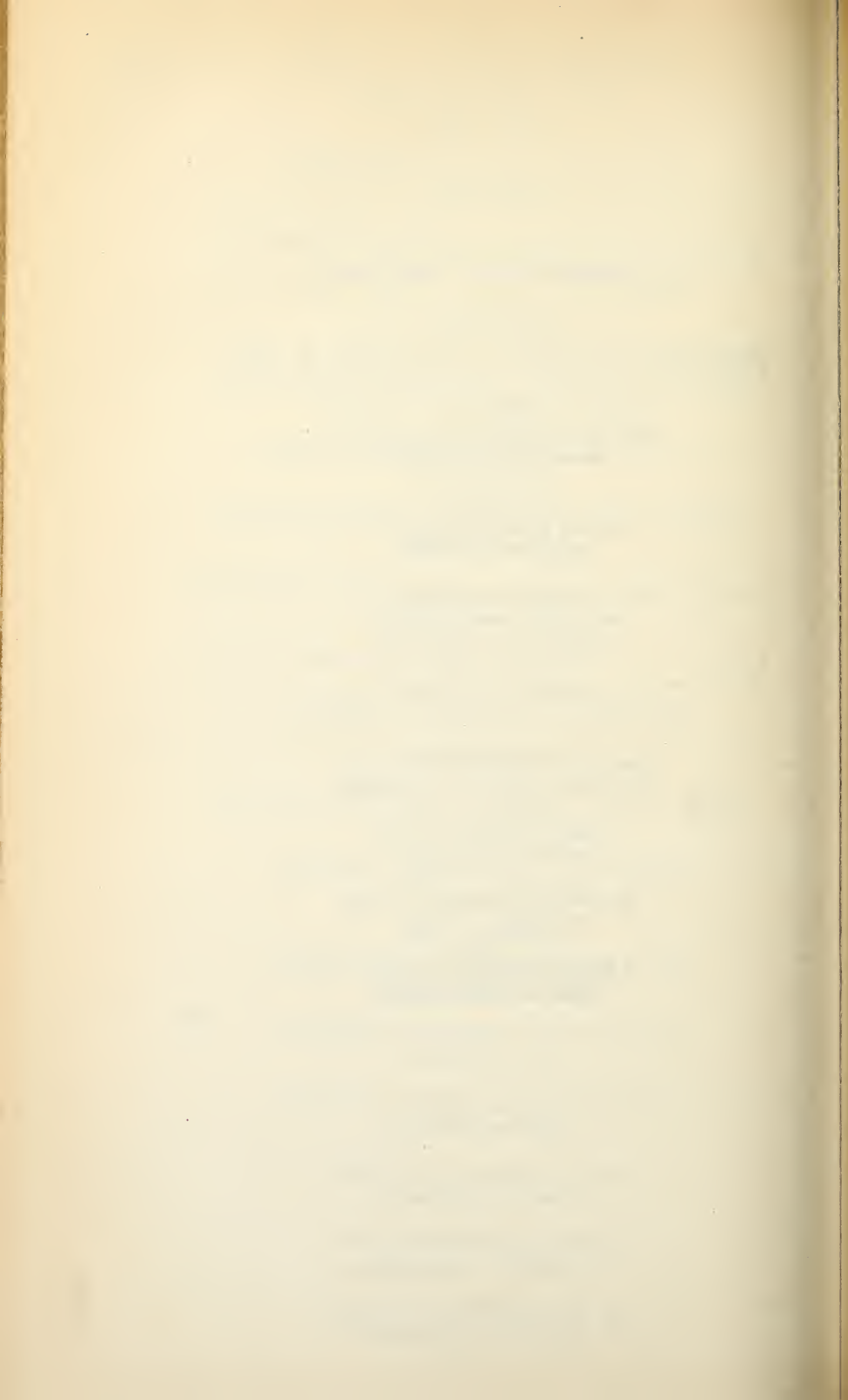
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 ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, PH. D., 1914—

COMMITTEES—1915.

Committee on program for the thirty-first annual meeting.—Prof. Charles D. Hazen, Washington, D. C., chairman; James F. Baldwin, John S. Bassett, Carl F. Huth, jr., Robert M. Johnston, John H. Latané, H. Barrett Learned, Miss Ruth Putnam.

Committee on local arrangements.—Herbert Putnam, chairman; Frederic Bancroft, Miss Frances G. Davenport, Mrs. John W. Foster, John B. Henderson, David J. Hill, H. Barrett Learned, Waldo G. Leland, Miss Ruth Putnam.

Committee on program, special meeting, San Francisco, July 21-23, 1915.—Prof. Frederic L. Thompson, Amherst College, chairman; Eugene C. Barker, Herbert E. Bolton, Max Farrand, Joseph Schafer, Arley B. Show, Frederick J. Teggart, Payson J. Treat, James F. Willard.

Committee on nominations.—Prof. Charles H. McIlwain, Harvard University, chairman; Mrs. Lois K. Mathews, Edmond S. Meany, Charles H. Rammelkamp, Alfred H. Stone.

Editors of the American Historical Review.—Prof. Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carl Becker, George L. Burr, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Frederick J. Turner.

Historical manuscripts commission.—Gaillard Hunt, Library of Congress, chairman; Charles H. Ambler, Herbert E. Bolton, Archer B. Hulbert, William O. Scroggs, Justin H. Smith.

Committee on Justin Winsor prize.—Prof. Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin, chairman; George L. Beer, Isaac J. Cox, Allen Johnson, Everett Kimball.

Committee on Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Prof. Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois, chairman; Sidney B. Fay, William R. Shepherd, Paul van Dyke, Albert B. White.

Public archives commission.—Victor H. Paltsits, Esq., New York, N. Y., chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Charles M. Andrews, Solon J. Buck, George S. Godard, Thomas M. Owen, Alexander S. Salley, jr.

Committee on bibliography.—Prof. Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Walter Lichtenstein, William W. Rockwell, William A. Slade, Bernard C. Steiner, Frederick J. Teggart.

Committee on publications.—Prof. Max Farrand, Yale University, chairman; and (*ex officio*) Carl R. Fish, Evarts B. Greene, Gaillard Hunt, J. Franklin Jameson, Laurence M. Larson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Ernest C. Richardson.

General committee.—Prof. William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Annie H. Abel, Arthur I. Andrews, William K. Boyd, James M. Callahan, Clarence E. Carter, Carlton H. Hayes, Waldo G. Leland, Robert M. McElroy, William A. Morris, Robert W. Neeser, Edmund S. Noyes, Louis Pelzer, Morgan P. Robinson, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Eugene M. Violette, Clarence M. Warner.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.—Prof. Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Conyers Read.

Committee on history in schools.—Prof. William S. Ferguson, Harvard University, chairman; Victoria Adams, Henry E. Bourne, Henry L. Cannon, Edgar Dawson, Oliver M. Dickerson, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, Margaret McGill, Robert A. Maurer, James Sullivan.

Conference of historical societies.—Lyon G. Tyler, chairman; Augustus H. Shearer, secretary.

Advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine.—Prof. Henry Johnson, Teachers College, chairman (reelected to serve three years); Fred M. Fling, George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat, James Sullivan (these four hold over), Anna B. Thompson (elected to serve three years).

Committee on military and naval history.—Prof. Robert M. Johnston, Harvard University, chairman; Capt. Arthur L. Conger, Fred M. Fling, Charles O. Paulin, Capt. Oliver L. Spaulding.

Committee on military history prize.—Capt. Arthur L. Conger, Army Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth, chairman; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, Fred M. Fling, Albert Bushnell Hart.

Committee of nine.—Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago, chairman; Ephraim D. Adams, Robert D. W. Connor, Isaac J. Cox, William A. Dunning, Max Farrand, Winfred T. Root, James Sullivan, and one member to be elected by the committee.¹

¹ Mr. Charles H. Hull, elected to fill place of Mr. James Ford Rhodes, who declined to serve.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

The American Historical Association was organized at Saratoga, N. Y., on September 10, 1884, with an enrollment of 40 members, and incorporated by act of Congress of January 4, 1889.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member. Applications for membership and nominations (by persons already members) of new members should be addressed to the secretary, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The annual dues are fixed at \$3, payable on September 1 for the year then beginning. Life membership, with exemption from annual dues, may be secured upon payment of \$50.

The publications regularly distributed to members are the American Historical Review, the Annual Report, and the Handbook. The first of these is published quarterly (October, January, April, July) under the direction of a board of editors elected by the executive council. Each number contains 200 or more pages and is composed of articles, documents, reviews of books, and notes and news. The Annual Report, printed by order of Congress, is in one or two volumes and contains the proceedings of the annual meetings, the report of the public archives commission with its appendices consisting of inventories, catalogues, etc., of materials in State and other archives, and collections of documents edited by the historical manuscripts commission. The Handbook, containing the names, addresses, and professional positions of members, is published at biennial or longer intervals. Back numbers of the American Historical Review may be obtained from the Macmillan Co., of New York. Copies of the annual reports of past years, or of separates of articles or publications appearing therein, may be obtained, so far as available, from the secretary of the association.

The prize essays of the association are published in a separate series, one volume appearing each year, and are supplied to members for \$1 each, to non-members for \$1.50.

The Study of History in Secondary Schools, being the report of the committee of seven (1899), is published by the Macmillan Co., of New York, at 50 cents.

The Study of History in Elementary Schools, being the report of the committee of eight (1909), is published by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, at 50 cents.

Original Narratives of Early American History is a series of reprints edited for the association by J. F. Jameson and published by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, at \$3 a volume.

Writings on American History is an annual bibliography compiled by Miss Grace G. Griffin. The volumes for 1912 and succeeding years are published by the Yale University Press. Previous issues can be obtained from the secretary.

The annual meetings of the association are held during the period December 27-31, in various cities. At these meetings there are sessions with formal papers, sessions partaking of the nature of round-table conferences, and conferences of archivists and of historical societies. Annual meetings of other associations, the interests of which are allied to those of the American Historical Association, are generally held at the same time and place.

Committees on archives, on historical manuscripts, on bibliography, on various phases of history teaching, as well as other committees appointed from time to time for special purposes, carry on the activities of the association throughout the year.

HISTORICAL PRIZES.

[Winsor and Adams prizes.]

For the encouragement of historical research the American Historical Association regularly offers two prizes, each of \$200—the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in European history. Each is awarded biennially (the Winsor prize in the even years and the Adams prize in the odd years) for the best unpublished monograph submitted to the committee of award on or before July 1 of the given year, e. g., by July 1, 1915, for the Adams prize in European history, and by July 1, 1916, for the Winsor prize in American history. The conditions of award are as follows:

I. The prize is intended for writers who have not yet published any considerable work or obtained an established reputation.

II. *A. For the Justin Winsor prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history, by which is meant the history of any of the British colonies in America to 1783, of other territories, continental or insular, which have since been acquired by the United States, of the United States, and of independent Latin America. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

B. For the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in European history, by which is meant the history of Europe, continental, insular, or colonial, excluding continental French America and British America before 1783. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

III. The monograph must present subject matter of more than personal or local interest, and must, as regards its conclusions, be a distinct contribution to knowledge. Its statements must be accurate and the author in his treatment of the facts collected must show originality and power of interpretation.

IV. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism.

It must be presented in scientific form.

It must contain references to all authorities.

It must be accompanied by a critical bibliography. Should the bibliography be omitted or should it consist only of a list of titles without critical comments and valuations, the monograph will not be admitted to the competition.

V. The monograph should not exceed 100,000 words in length. The manuscript should be typewritten, and must be neat, correct, and in form ready for the printer.

[In the typewriting of essays competitors are urged to use a strong, rather heavy paper, to have text and notes alike double spaced, to number the notes consecutively for each chapter, and to insert each note in the text immediately after the line in which its index number occurs, separating the note from the text by lines above and below extending across the page. In abbreviating the titles of works cited care should be taken to make the abbreviations clear and consistent. The typographical style as to capitalization, punctuation, spelling, etc., of the volumes already published in the series of Prize Essays should be followed.]

VI. In addition to text, footnotes, and bibliography, the monograph must contain nothing except the name and address of the author and a short introduction setting forth the character of the material and the purpose of the work. After the award has been made the successful competitor may add such personal allusions as are customary in a printed work.

VII. In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and especially literary form. The successful monograph must be written in good English. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

VIII. The successful monograph shall be the property of the American Historical Association, which reserves to itself all rights of publication, translation, and sale, both in the United States and in foreign countries.

IX. The manuscript of the successful essay, when finally submitted for printing, must be in such form, typographically (see Rule V) and otherwise, as to require only a reasonable degree of editing in order to prepare it for the press. Such additional editorial work as may be necessary, including any copying of the manuscript, shall be at the expense of the author.

Galley and page proof will be sent to the author for revision; but, should changes be made by him exceeding in cost an aggregate of 10 cents per page of the completed book, such excess shall be borne by him, and the amount will be deducted from the prize.

An adequate index must be provided by the author.

X. The amount of the prize, minus such deductions as may be made under Rule IX, will be paid to the author upon the publication of the essay.

XI. The author shall be entitled to receive 10 bound copies of the printed volume, and to purchase further copies at the rate of \$1 per volume. Such unbound copies, with special title-page, as may be necessary for the fulfillment of thesis requirements, will be furnished at cost, but no copies of the volume will be furnished the author for private sale.

Address all correspondence relative to the Justin Winsor prize to Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, Ann Arbor, Mich., and all correspondence relative to the Herbert Baxter Adams prize to Prof. Charles D. Hazen, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following:

1896. Herman V. Ames, "The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

1900. William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina," with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke, "Anti-slavery sentiment before 1808."

1901. Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State rights," with honorable mention of M. Louise Greene, "The struggle for religious liberty in Connecticut."

1902. Charles McCarthy, "The Anti-Masonic Party," with honorable mention of W. Roy Smith, "South Carolina as a Royal Province."

1903. Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The American colonial charter; a study of its relation to English administration, chiefly after 1688."

1904. William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound controversy," with honorable mention of C. O. Paullin, "The Navy of the American Revolution."

1906. Annie Heloise Abel, "The history of events resulting in Indian consolidation west of the Mississippi River."

1908. Clarence Edwin Carter, "Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1765-1774," with honorable mention of Charles Henry Ambler, "Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861."

1910. Edward Raymond Turner, "The Negro in Pennsylvania—slavery, servitude, freedom, 1639-1861."

1912. Arthur Charles Cole, "The Whig Party in the South."

1914. Mary Wilhelmine Williams, "Anglo-American Isthmian diplomacy, 1815-1915."

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to:

1905. David S. Muzzey, "The Spiritual Franciscans," with honorable mention of Eloise Ellery, "Jean Pierre Brissot."

1907. In equal division, Edward B. Krehbiel, "The interdict: Its history and its operation, with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III," and William S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

1909. Wallace Notestein, "A history of witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718."

1911. Louise Fargo Brown, "The political activities of the Baptists and fifth monarchy men in England during the interregnum."

1913. Violet Barbour, "Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington."

The essays of Messrs. Muzzey, Krehbiel, Carter, Notestein, Turner, Cole, Miss Brown, and Miss Barbour have been published by the association in a series of separate volumes. The earlier Winsor prize essays were printed in the Annual Reports.

A subscription made by friends of the association interested in military history enables it to offer for award in December, 1915, a prize of \$200 for the best essay in the military history of the United States. The conditions are defined as follows:

MILITARY HISTORY PRIZE.

A prize of \$200 will be awarded by the American Historical Association in 1915 for the best unpublished monograph in military history submitted to the committee before September 1, 1915.

I. The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation into some field of the military history of the United States. While the committee will receive any scholarly work on any American war, it would suggest that in the selection of topics for investigation preference be given to the Civil War. The monograph may deal with a campaign, a battle, a phase or aspect of a campaign or battle, with the fortunes of a corps or division during a battle, or with such subjects as the mobilization or organization of volunteer forces, the matériel, transportation, or food supply of an army, or strategy and military policy.

II. The monograph must be a distinct contribution to knowledge.

III. The monograph must (1) be based upon exhaustive research, (2) conform to the canons of historical criticism, (3) be presented in scientific form, (4) contain exact references to sources and secondary works, and (5) be accompanied by a full critical bibliography.

IV. The monograph should not exceed 100,000 words in length. The manuscript should be typewritten, and must be neat, correct, and in form ready for the printer.

[In the typewriting of essays competitors are urged to use a strong, rather heavy paper of letter size, to have both text and notes double spaced; to number the notes consecutively for each chapter, and to insert each note in the text immediately after the line in which its index number occurs, separating the note from the text by line above and below extending across the page. In abbreviating the titles of works care should be taken to make the abbreviations clear, consistent, and self-explanatory.]

V. In making the award the committee will consider not only research accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement and literary form. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

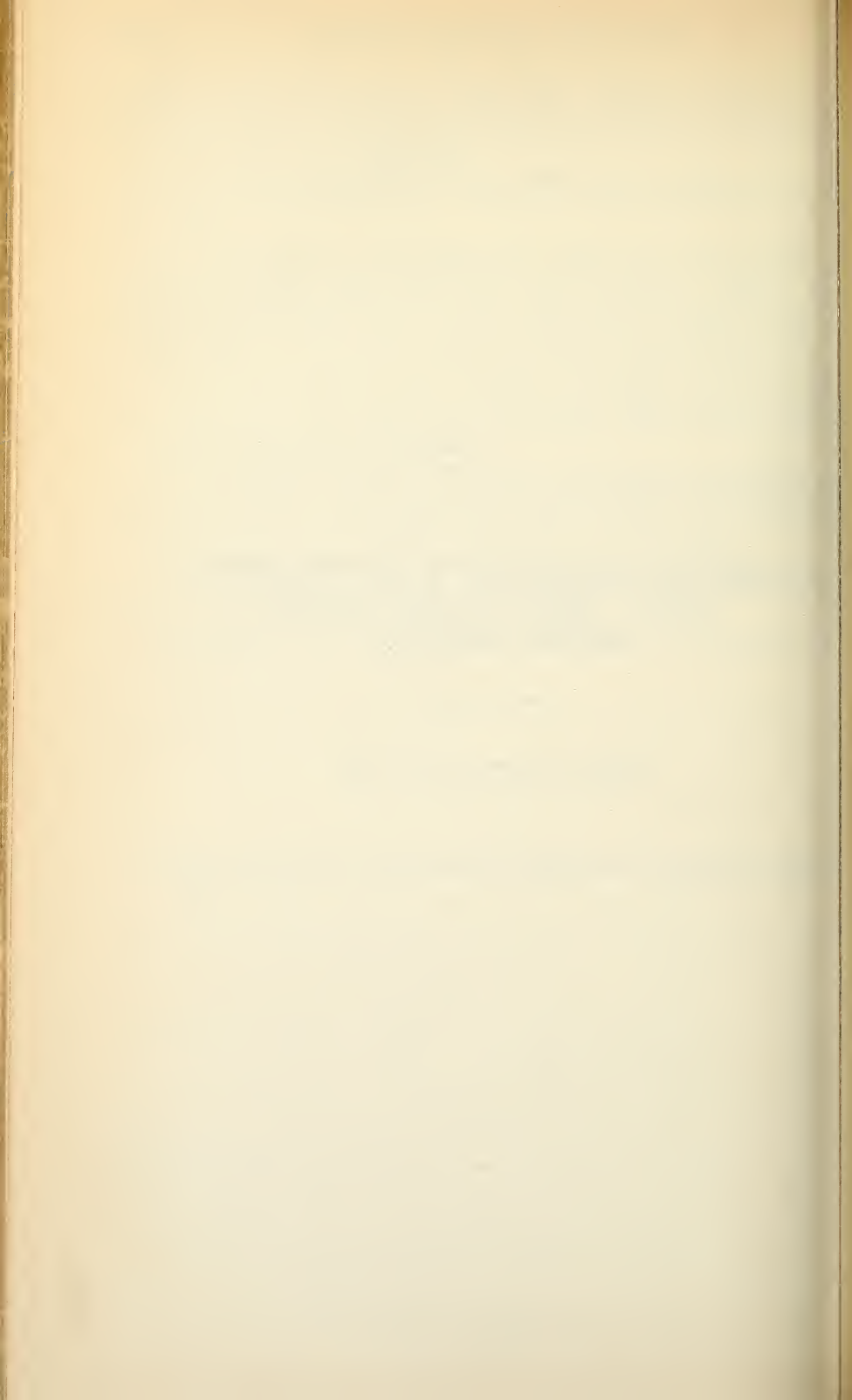
VI. The successful monograph shall remain the property of the author. The American Historical Association assumes no responsibility for publication of the prize essay, but the committee has already received offers respecting its publication which will be communicated to the winner of the prize.

VII. The monograph must be accompanied by the name and address of the author, in a sealed envelope, and a short introduction setting forth the character of the material and the purpose of the work.

Address all correspondence relative to the military history prize to Capt. A. L. Conger, Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

I. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE THE THIRTIETH
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

CHICAGO, DECEMBER 29-31, 1914.



THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION IN CHICAGO.¹

Two previous meetings of the American Historical Association had been held in Chicago. That of 1893 occurred in the summer, in connection with the great World's Fair then in progress, and was much overshadowed by that event, with whose brilliant attractions it was impossible for history to compete. That of December, 1904, opening with a blizzard which figures in the memory of those present so vividly as to obscure remembrance of the fine weather that followed, suffered from the amiable attempt toward "recognizing" various institutions by holding sessions in too many places. The committee charged with the arrangements for the sessions of December, 1914, wisely arranged that, so far as was possible, they should all be held under one roof, that of the Auditorium Hotel. Entertainments on the part of the city were wisely kept, by the committee on arrangements, to a minimum of what was offered—a luncheon on the first day, a reception on the first evening, tendered by the Art Institute of Chicago, a tea by the Chicago College Club, and a smoker by the University Club. The Caxton Club and the Chicago Literary Club threw open their rooms, the Chicago Historical Society its building; the Newberry Library gave a special exhibition of rare Americana drawn from the wonderful collection presented to it by the munificence of Mr. Edward E. Ayer.

The only sessions held outside the walls of the Auditorium Hotel and the Fine Arts Building connected with it were those of the first two evenings, when provision had to be made for larger popular audiences. These sessions were held near by, in the Fullerton Hall of the Art Institute of Chicago. On the first, there was an address of welcome by Mr. Charles L. Hutchinson, chairman of the local committee of arrangements, followed by the presidential address of Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, president of the association, under the title "American history and American democracy."² The exercises were followed by a most agreeable reception, held amid the impressive treasures of Chicago's remarkable art collection. On all these occasions, and throughout the whole

¹This account is adapted from the *American Historical Review* for April, 1915.

²Printed in the *American Historical Review*, January, 1915.

meeting, the careful forethought of the local committee of arrangements, of its chairman, and of its secretary, Prof. James A. James, of Northwestern University, were everywhere apparent.

With them should be joined, in the grateful recollection of the members, the committee on the program, and its chairman, Prof. James W. Thompson, of the University of Chicago; and first, because of the relative simplicity of the program. With one exception, made for special reasons, there was no time when more than two sessions or sections were going on simultaneously. Abundance of time, the whole of the second afternoon, was allowed for the annual business meeting, in whose proceedings the lack of time has often bred a rate of speed savoring too much of mechanism. There were sessions or sections devoted to ancient history, to medieval history, to the medieval history of England in particular, to modern English history, to the history of Napoleonic Europe, to the history of the relations between Europe and the Orient, and to American history. There was a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, devoted to western history, the usual conference of the representatives of historical societies, and the usual conference of archivists; while the second evening session was general in character, assembling several papers having especial attraction for a public audience.

The attendance upon the meeting was unusually large. The registration was recorded as 400, and has been surpassed in only two cases, that of the New York meeting in 1909, the association's twenty-fifth anniversary, and that of the Boston meeting of 1912. Naturally the attendance was chiefly from the Middle West, but not a few came from New York and the East.

The general organization of the program has already been described, and it may be as well, when considering it in detail, to proceed rather in the natural or chronological order of the papers than in the order in which they were arranged on the program. First among the papers in ancient history would come, in such an arrangement, one which did not figure in the conference or section of ancient history, but was given separately, as a brief illustrated lecture before the more public audience of the second evening, Prof. James H. Breasted's brilliant talk on the "Eastern Mediterranean and the earliest civilizations in Europe," which is printed in the present volume.

In the conference proper on ancient history the first paper read was that of Prof. Robert W. Rogers, of Drew Theological Seminary, entitled "Fresh light upon the history of the earliest Assyrian period."¹ Mr. Wallace E. Caldwell, fellow in Columbia University, discussed the "Greek attitude toward peace and war." The earlier Greek poets were in general warlike in sympathies and expression.

¹ Printed in the present volume.

With the beginning of the fifth century this attitude changed. The poets praised the glories and blessings of peace and set forth in telling phrases the horrors of war, particularly the sufferings caused by the loss of the city's finest men. A feeling for humanity and a breadth of view that sympathized with the sufferings on both sides developed during the Peloponnesian War. During the fourth century the economic arguments as to loss through interference with business and the burdens of war taxes were more prominently advanced. At the same time there came more widespread attempts to prevent war through peace conferences and arbitration, which pointed also to a growing community of interests that made peace more necessary. The modernness of the points of view of the arguments for peace and against war were made particularly evident.

Dr. William D. Gray, of Smith College, in a paper on "Hadrian and his reign,"¹ put forth the view that the cosmopolitanism of Hadrian has been exaggerated. One of his main purposes was to protect the Greco-Roman civilization of the Roman Empire from corrupting influences—particularly from the influences of northern barbarism and of orientalism—and to give to this civilization a more Roman character.

Prof. William L. Westermann, of the University of Wisconsin, in his paper on the "Decline of ancient culture,"² rejecting for various reasons six explanations currently offered for the decline of the classical civilization—slavery, depopulation, taxation, the drain of the precious metals to India, Christianity, and the entrance of the barbarians into the Roman Empire—resorted to economic considerations resting on the antithesis between two concurrent systems, not adjusted into harmony by the Romans, that of the industrial city, inherited from the Greeks, and that of the great agricultural estate, inherited from the Hellenistic rulers, and developing into the imperial domain. Decline of industrial freedom, lessened production, reversion to an economy injurious to intellectual vigor and initiative, preceded the decline of ancient culture. An advanced moment in medieval culture was dealt with in a paper by Prof. Edgar H. McNeal, of the Ohio State University, on the "Feudal noble and the church as reflected in the poems of Chrestien de Troyes."¹ Of the same period was the essay by Prof. Frederic Duncalf, of the University of Texas, on "Some effects of environment in the Kingdom of Jerusalem."¹

Under the title "Roger Bacon, 1214-1914," Prof. Earle W. Dow, of Michigan, presented a commemorative essay, apropos of the seventh centenary of Bacon's birth. In the light of Bacon's principal

¹ Printed in the present volume.

² Printed in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1915.

writings and of recent studies, he traced his intellectual formation and the main lines of his thinking, and considered the quality of his achievement. Despite the limits to that accomplishment which various students have lately pointed out, the fullness and grasp of Bacon's knowledge, the problems and suggestions he passed to others, and his appreciation of the power of observation and experiment, give him a significant part in the earlier development of modern science. And yet it may be more just to Bacon to regard his efforts and achievement as lying primarily in the human field—to enroll him chiefly among those who studied to find solutions for pressing problems in the conduct of human affairs.

To illustrate the use which may be made of the material bearing upon the papal tax on clerical incomes, Prof. Lunt, of Cornell, presented under the title "Papal finance and papal diplomacy in the thirteenth century," an account of the tax imposed by Gregory X in 1274 and the opposition to it. The tenth of England, Wales, Ireland, and perhaps Scotland, was to go to Edward I provided he undertook a crusade. This he announced in 1283 that he could not do. Later he agreed to take the cross, and asked that the tenth be granted to him. The result of the long negotiation which followed was that he received from the Pope a grant, though he did not undertake the crusade. The papacy had paid the expenses of collection, and had borne the brunt of the opposition to the tax, while the king had acquired the larger part of the revenue.

In a session devoted to medieval England, four papers were read. We summarize first that of Prof. James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, on "Reform of the exchequer under Edward I." During the first half of that reign the revenues of the Crown were received by two departments of the Government, the exchequer of receipt, or lower exchequer, and the wardrobe, the ordinary revenue flowing in general into the lower exchequer and the extraordinary revenue into the wardrobe, which normally received the greater part of the income of the crown. In 1290, under the direction of William de Marchia, the newly appointed treasurer of the exchequer, a revolution was brought about which has hitherto escaped the notice of financial historians. Thereafter the exchequer of receipt was the department of the Government into which the greater part of both the ordinary and extraordinary revenue flowed. This revolution laid the foundation for the future importance of the lower exchequer; it was accompanied by the appearance of several new series of financial records.

The second paper of the group, by Miss Bertha H. Putnam, of Mount Holyoke College, related to "Maximum wages laws for priests after the black death, 1346-1381." A large proportion of the stipendiary clergy died during the great plague; the survivors attempted

to benefit from the national calamity by obtaining increased salaries, precisely as the laboring classes were endeavoring to secure higher wages. Thereupon the great ecclesiastics framed canons specifying maximum salaries for priests, closely resembling the maximum wage laws for laborers, passed by Parliament. By means of manuscript and printed ecclesiastical sources such as the episcopal registers, Miss Putnam followed out the administrative enforcement of these regulations and the legal problems, such as those relating to conflict of jurisdiction.¹

A paper by Prof. N. M. Trenholme, of Missouri, on "Municipal aspects of the rising of 1381 in England," attempted to bring out in definite way the important part played by the towns of southeastern England, especially London, in the great popular uprising. The writer took the position that the agrarian discontent was fomented and developed by dissatisfied and radical townsmen. A second and more important matter was the cooperation of the inhabitants of the towns in the revolt, greatly increasing the popular army which advanced on London. In the case of London itself, it was pointed out how a radical element of the Victuallers' party, then in control of the city government, admitted the mob from outside, and how many of the lower elements of London society joined the rebels. Municipal disorders in outside royal boroughs and in towns under mesne lordship were briefly referred to, and the somewhat negative municipal results of the rising were commented on.

Last in this group of papers was one by Prof. James F. Baldwin, of Vassar College, on "Historic cases before the King's council." The records of the council abound in cases which are a reflection of the political and social interests of their time. As an example, the case of *Ughtred v. Musgrave* in 1366 may be taken as a segment of the history of the sheriff—a case in which the council, after a searching examination of specific charges, condemned the influential sheriff of Yorkshire for arresting men without warrant, indictment, or other process of law. It was because of such abuses of power, which were possible through the packing of juries and the procuring of indictments, that the judicial functions of the sheriffs were gradually reduced and given over mainly to the justices of the peace. These materials are valuable not only for the history of law but also for the general historian, and even have their uses for the legal reformer.

The paper by Prof. Albert H. Lybyer, of Illinois, on the "Influence of the rise of the Ottoman Turks upon the routes of oriental trade,"² showed that, contrary to a view which has often prevailed,

¹ Printed in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1915.

² Printed in the present volume.

the Ottoman Turks did not greatly, if at all on the whole, increase the difficulties of oriental traffic or make imperative the discovery of the new routes of trade to the East.

For the period between the medieval and the modern, there was a valuable paper by Mr. A. Edward Harvey, of Chicago, on "Economic self-interest in the German anticlericalism of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." The influence of papal exactions is familiar; but other subjects of common complaint were the tithe, feudal dues and services, charges for the sacraments or other religious performances of the priests, and a multitude of "voluntary offerings urged by the secular clergy as well as by mendicant friars and nuns. Less familiar were the endowments for anniversaries and other services for the dead, the mortgages requiring perpetual annual payments, the burdens of lease rents, the exemption of the clergy from taxes and tolls and import duties, and the resulting damage to municipal revenues and to competing merchants and craftsmen. While other motives for anticlericalism are equally discernible, the economic factor was much more widely operative in the success of Protestantism than historians have heretofore been able or willing to concede.

In a paper entitled "The Turco-Venetian treaty of 1540,"¹ Mr. Theodore F. Jones, of the University of New York, sketched, largely from letters in Venetian archives, the course of the negotiations between Venice and Turkey from 1538 to 1540.

In a session devoted to the history of modern England four papers were read, chiefly relating to the constitutional history of the seventeenth century. Prof. Henry R. Shipman, of Princeton, presented the subject of the "House of Commons and disputed elections" as an illustration of the development of parliamentary privilege in general. Beginning with a detailed description of the Norfolk election case of 1586, and with allusion to other instances in the last year of Queen Elizabeth, he discussed the doctrine concerning the rights of the Commons laid down by that body in the Fortescue and Goodwin case (1604) and showed the Commons' assertion as to ancient privilege to be without foundation. The Aylesbury election cases of 1704 and that of John Wilkes's reelection in 1770 were used to illustrate the conflicts between the House and the courts. The paper concluded by showing that the underlying cause of the contests was the multiplicity of laws existing together, the law of Parliament and the common law conflicting because the lines between the legislative and the judicial powers of Parliament had not been clearly drawn.

The paper by Prof. Edward R. Turner, of Michigan, on the "Privy Council of 1679"² was a discussion of the authorship, pur-

¹ Printed in the present volume.

² Printed in the *English Historical Review*, April, 1915.

poses, and results of the sudden substitution by Charles II, for the old privy council, of a lesser body of 30, consisting only partly of the old members. Temple claims the authorship, and probably put the plan into form. The motive was political, King Charles, in dire straits, trying to placate critics by the change but not intending to abandon the practice of holding private meetings of a select and governing few. The results were disappointing. Parliament received the innovation coldly, the friends of royalty felt aggrieved, the procedure soon came to be much the same as before, and the king soon treated the new council with neglect.

In treating the "Suspension of the habeas corpus act and the Revolution of 1689," Prof. Clarence C. Crawford, of the University of Kansas, called attention first to the close relation between the struggle for constitutional restrictions upon the royal prerogative and the establishment of the guaranties of personal liberty. The paper discussed the legal principles involved in the suspension of the habeas corpus act, the conditions which were believed to justify the arbitrary power of arresting persons upon suspicion of high treason and holding them in prison without benefit of bail or trial, and the methods by which that power was exercised. The habeas corpus act was suspended at nine different periods between 1689 and 1818. The methods and practices employed in 1689, when the machinery of government was badly deranged by the revolution, were made the precedent for all subsequent suspensions of the act.

The fourth of the papers in the session for modern English history, that of Prof. Herbert C. Bell, of Bowdoin College, on "British commercial policy in the West Indies, 1783-1793," dealt with the regulation by the British Government of the trade between the United States and the British West Indies. The scarcity of food and lumber in the West Indies during the Revolutionary War gave additional ground for the assumption that the islands must be permitted to trade freely in raw produce with the United States. But such a departure from the principles of the old commercial system was strongly opposed, particularly by shipowners and by those who apprehended American competition. Pitt's attempt, in the Shelburne administration, to open the trade to the Americans without restriction, was defeated. Under the coalition, the wishes of Fox were overborne by the North section of the cabinet, and the American trade was confined to British ships. Pitt, on becoming prime minister, held a careful investigation, which resulted in the indication, retention, and permanent adoption of the system established by the coalition, a system advantageous to both planters and shipowners.

Two sessions were devoted to the history of Napoleonic Europe not unreasonably in view of the centenary of 1815, however different the manner in which that centenary is observed in the world at large from what was expected when the program was framed. The first of these sessions was devoted to the reading of papers, without discussion—which, indeed, was the prevailing method in the Chicago sessions; the other was a practical conference. In the former, one paper, that of Prof. Guy S. Ford, of Minnesota, related to a subject in Prussian history of the Napoleonic period, Boyen's military law;¹ the other two were of French theme—"An approach to a study of Napoleon's generalship,"² by Prof. R. M. Johnston, of Harvard, and the "Senate of the First Empire," by Prof. Victor Coffin, of Wisconsin.

Mr. Coffin, in his study of the imperial senate, described his subject as of interest rather from the political than the institutional point of view; the tracing of its construction and manipulation throws a flood of light on the whole imperial system. But the decline of the senate from the position assigned to it by Siéyès to a condition of absorption by the executive is accompanied by the assignment to it, as a trusty agent, of a constitutional authority beyond even that intended by Siéyès, and of administrative functions of unusual interest. The former was an amplification of the powers indicated by the term "Sénat Conservateur"; the latter were associated with these powers and were operated through the establishment of the sénatoreries. In the divisions of the Empire so named (33 in number) the leading senators exercised a confidential supervision over all public authorities and activities; the periodic reports that form the record of this supervision constitute an unused and valuable source of information as to the conditions of the period.

In the practical conference, already mentioned, the principal paper was presented by Prof. George M. Dutcher, of Wesleyan University, on "Tendencies and opportunities in Napoleonic studies."² Prof. Lingelbach then discussed some of the most important economic studies of the period written in Europe, and emphasized the opportunities for Napoleonic studies in this country. Prof. Ford, of Minnesota, referred to the German phases of the period, but laid stress on the necessity for avoiding narrow views in its study, and for considering the broader relations and currents of historical development. In a similar spirit Prof. Morse Stephens urged the study of the period not as the history of Napoleon, nor of France, nor of any single nation, but as a complete whole.

¹ Printed in the *American Historical Review*, April, 1915.

² Printed in the present volume.

Prof. Colby's paper on "Early relations of England and Belgium"¹ dealt chiefly with events which fall between 1788 and 1870. The first incident to be considered was the revolt of the Austrian Netherlands in 1789-1790. This subject was approached from the standpoint of English relations with Prussia, as reflecting Pitt's unwillingness that the Belgian seacoast should be held either by a power unfriendly to England or by a power so weak as to invite attack. Reference was also made to the bearing which the Belgian situation had on England's attitude toward Prussian ambitions regarding Danzig and Thorn. The greater part of the paper, however, was concerned with the share which England took in events consequent to the Belgian revolution of 1830. The negotiations between Palmerston and Talleyrand were considered in some detail, both as affecting the neutralization of Belgium and as related to the desire of the forward party in France to secure a portion of the Belgian soil through rectification of the frontier. The subsequent development of English public opinion regarding Belgium was also touched on, and a concluding statement was made as to the attitude of Disraeli and Gladstone toward Belgian neutrality, at the outbreak of the Franco-German War.

Last among the papers in European history we may mention two which dealt with Russian affairs. Dr. Robert H. Lord, of Harvard, treated of the "Russo-Chinese treaty of 1860,"² one of the principal achievements of Russian diplomacy and a landmark in the history of Russian expansion.

The paper by Prof. Samuel N. Harper, of Chicago, on the "Russian Nationalists," or government party in the Duma, traced the origin of that party back to the official nationalism—"Russia for the Russians"—which existed in autocratic Russia at the end of the nineteenth century, and was itself an outgrowth of Slavophilism. He showed how those representing this variety of opinion, though numerically weak, had been able to acquire power through the reaction against the movements of 1905, and to throw discredit on the non-Russian nationalities of the Empire. He described the legislative restrictions upon Poles, Finns, and other non-Russian elements, which had flowed from this spirit of exclusive nationalism, and the constant protests of the Liberals against it as essentially foreign to the Russian genius.

In American history, one of the most notable papers, surely, was that in which Prof. Frederick J. Turner, of Harvard, analyzed in various fields the "Significance of sectionalism in American history."

¹ Printed in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1915.

² Printed in the present volume.

A regional matter of much interest was discussed in the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association by Prof. Royal B. Way, of Northwestern University. His paper on "English relations in the Northwest, 1789-1794," took issue with that of "Western posts and the British debts," which Prof. McLaughlin contributed to the proceedings of 1894. The writer believed that British conduct in that period was more open to criticism. He held that the British officials continually deceived the Indians as to the provisions of the treaty of 1783 in respect to Indian lands in the Ohio Valley, persisted in a policy of consolidation of Indian tribes for English advantage, extended their trade, and established new posts, blocked peace between the Indians and the United States, and by timely supplies, aided the Indian warfare.

Prof. Max Farrand, of Yale, in a paper entitled "One hundred years ago," read in a session specially devoted to American history described how, just after the War of 1812, there emerged a growing democracy, first becoming conscious of its power. The European wars and the resulting commercial legislation of the United States led to a national protective tariff system. Population moved rapidly westward, and easier communication between East and West became a necessity. There developed in the Middle West a conscious nationality and a national type, which began to express itself in a national literature. A change in religious thinking, greater tolerance, less attention to theological abstractions, mark the period. The effect of the invention of the cotton gin on slavery is a commonplace; the effect of slavery on cotton growing was just as important. But the greatest force at work in the creation of a nation was the development of an internal commerce, which brought with it a feeling of national completeness.

Dr. Henry B. Learned's account of "Cabinet meetings under Polk,"¹ was based largely on Polk's Diary, which reveals glimpses of nearly 400 sessions, held twice a week with remarkable regularity. They probably mark the beginnings of a custom of regular meetings now well established. After commenting briefly on the appointment to the Cabinet, the author dwelt on various practices, such as voting in the Cabinet, the presentation of written opinions, and the question of admitting outsiders to its sessions.

Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, of Vanderbilt University, in a paper on "Tennessee and national political parties, 1850-1860,"¹ analyzed the relations of the Whig and Democratic Parties in Tennessee in the compromise of 1850 and the secession movement of 1849-1851, and devoted special attention to the Nashville convention of 1850.

In the joint session held with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, an interesting feature was a discussion of the origin of

¹ Printed in the present volume.

the Kansas-Nebraska act. It was opened by a paper by Prof. F. H. Hodder entitled "When the railroads came to Chicago." After making a plea for the study of early railroads, the paper traced Stephen A. Douglas's interest in them. In 1836 he made the first move toward the building of railroads in Illinois. In 1845 he proposed a railroad from Chicago to the Pacific. In 1850, by an alliance with the South, he secured the first grant to the States for railroad purposes and at the same time provided a branch road to Chicago. He continuously supported bills to grant land to Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas for the construction of railroads to connect with proposed Pacific railroads and in the same connection proposed the organization of the western territory. It is reasonable to suppose that he organized Kansas and Nebraska in 1854 for the purpose for which he had urged organization since 1845.

Prof. P. Orman Ray,¹ of Trinity College, Hartford, in replying to Prof. Hodder, contended that the Kansas-Nebraska act originated in western, particularly Missouri, conditions and, in so far as it can be ascribed to any one man, was due to the influence of Senator Atchison rather than to that of Douglas. Any theory of the genesis of the act must explain why it was passed in this particular year, 1854, and why the provision respecting the Missouri Compromise was added. The answer to both these questions is to be found in the history of the schism in the Democratic Party in Missouri, which culminated in the senatorial fight of 1853-1854. He ascribed to Prof. Hodder's theory a tendency to attach to certain events an importance out of proportion to that felt by contemporaries, an excessive reliance on the pages of the Congressional Globe, and the ignoring of some evidence which conflicted with his view.

In the discussion which followed Prof. James A. Woodburn, of Indiana University, spoke of the fact that other features of the bill had been neglected because of the importance of the repealing section. Mrs. Mathews, of the University of Wisconsin, expressed the feeling that Prof. Ray was emphasizing actual authorship of the bill, Prof. Hodder its genesis; agrarian interests played a part also. Prof. Sioussat maintained that southern railroad interests likewise had an influence in the history of the bill.

In a valuable and suggestive paper on the "Agrarian history of the United States as a subject for research," Prof. William J. Trimble, of the North Dakota Agricultural College, took broad ground for the study, not of the technical development of agriculture alone, but of agricultural history in its relation to the whole circle of economic and social history. He laid just emphasis upon its importance. The leading occupation of the American people has been agriculture, yet the history of our agriculture has received little attention. With

¹ His paper is printed in the present volume.

the rise of scientific agriculture, however, a distinct demand for agrarian history is arising. Agricultural economists in particular insist that such history is indispensable. Questions of agricultural state-manship, which go to the heart of our country's life, need urgent the light of agrarian history. Yet scarcely more than a beginning has been made. Information is inadequate and often derived from interested sources. A long process of development is needed and the systematic cooperation of many workers. The work can be done only by real historians, having sympathetic understanding of agricultural and rural problems.

It remains to chronicle the conference of historical societies at the conference of archivists, the proceedings of which are printed full in the present volume. Both of these were marked by real discussion, which had been conspicuously absent from the other sessions of the association.

The former conference was opened with a paper by the chairman Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, on the "Chicago Historical Society, its history, its present activities, and its plans for future work." Dr. Dunbar Rowland, chairman of the conference's committee on the cooperation of historical societies and departments, reported that the work of calendaring the documents in the French archives concerning the history of the Mississippi Valley, a work which had been going on in Paris under the direction of Mr. Waldo G. Leland, was nearly completed, and would have been entirely finished but for the outbreak of war in Europe.

Prof. James A. Woodburn, of Indiana University, read a paper on "Research in State history at State universities." He held that the State could properly endow and employ its university for the promotion of the study of its history, and favored especially such activities as the collection and publication of materials, the establishment of scholarships, of research fellowships, or of historical commissions of survey to cooperate with the State historical society. Prof. Eugene C. Barker, of Texas, pointed out the important part which the work of the graduate student might have in such endeavors; Prof. Orin G. Libby, of North Dakota, the value that might incidentally have in bringing university men into contact with the larger community. Prof. Clarence W. Alvord, of Illinois, suggested a division of functions between the historical society and the university, whereby the former might devote itself to the publication of materials, the latter of monographs.

A second discussion grew out of a paper by Mr. Lawrence Burpee, of the Ottawa Public Library, on "Restrictions upon use of historical materials." Those who took part in the discussion were Dr. George N. Fuller, of Michigan; Dr. Milo M. Quaife, of Wisconsin; Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library.

Prof. Alvord, of Illinois; and the secretary of the conference, Dr. Solon J. Buck, of the Minnesota Historical Society. The prevailing opinion was in favor of the greatest possible liberality. Dr. Quaife spoke of the inexpediency of lending manuscripts; Mr. Paltsits, of the allowable distinctions in treatment, between archival materials and historical papers of private origin.

The conference of archivists, eminently helpful and practical, was attended by about 50 persons. The chairman, Mr. Paltsits, presented a summary report of the Public Archives Commission for 1914. More than two hours were devoted to the consideration of practical problems of archival economy. President Charles H. Rammekamp, of Illinois College, in a paper on "Legislation for archives," dealt with the fundamental laws that are necessary for the archivist and for the preservation of archives, and reviewed legislation enacted in the various States since 1901. A discussion followed, by Mr. George B. Godard, of Connecticut; Prof. Harlow Lindley, of Indiana; Mr. Ernest W. Winkler, of Texas; Mr. James I. Wyer, jr., of New York; Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, of Iowa; Mr. Leland; and the chairman. A practical paper, illustrated by diagrams, on the "Principles of classification for archives," was presented by Miss Ethel B. Virtue, of the historical department of Iowa. She upheld the principle of origin, with *respect des fonds*, and demonstrated its application in the classification of the archives of Iowa. This subject was discussed by Mr. Lindley, Mr. Godard, and others, with a virtual unanimity for the system propounded. Mr. Leland spoke informally on "Cataloguing of archives," defining the different kinds of catalogues that should obtain. He distinguished sharply between historical manuscripts and archives, and pointed out that rules for cataloguing the former do not apply to the latter; and also showed the differences between catalogues for official purposes and those for historical purposes, the former varying greatly according to the material, the latter best consisting in a succession of catalogues, beginning with the checklist or *état sommaire*, continuing in the more detailed descriptive catalogue or *inventaire analytique*, and culminating in the calendar.

PROGRAM OF THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN CHICAGO, DECEMBER 29-31, 1914.

Tuesday, December 29.

9 a. m.: South room, parlor floor. Meeting of the council.

10.30 a. m.: Assembly room, Fine Arts Building. Ancient history. Chairman, Prof. A. T. Olmstead. Robert W. Rogers, Drew Theological Seminary: "Fresh light upon the history of the earliest Assyrian period." William L. Westermann, University of Wisconsin: "The medievalist and the decline of ancient culture." W. D. Gray, Smith College: "Hadrian and his reign."

Wallace E. Caldwell, fellow in ancient history in Columbia University: "The Greek attitude toward peace and war."

10.30 a. m.: South room, ninth floor. Medieval England. Chairman, Prof. Albert B. White. Bertha H. Putnam, Mount Holyoke College: "Maximu wage laws for priests after the black death." James F. Baldwin, Vassar College: "Historic cases before the king's council." James F. Willard, University of Colorado: "A reform of the exchequer under Edward I." Norman H. Tremholme, University of Missouri: "Municipal aspects of the rising of 1381 in England."

1 p. m.: Ninth floor. Luncheon to members of the American Historical Association.

2 p. m.: Assembly room, Fine Arts Building. American history. Chairman, President Andrew C. McLaughlin. Max Farrand, Yale University: "One hundred years ago." St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University: "Tennessee and national political parties, 1850-1860." Henry Barrett Learned, Washington, D. C.: "Cabinet meetings under Polk." Alfred Holt Stone, Dunleith, Miss.: "The factorage system of the Southern States."

2 p. m.: South room, ninth floor. Napoleonic Europe. Chairman, Prof. William E. Lingelbach. Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University: "The men who helped to make the Napoleonic régime." R. M. Johnston, Harvard University: "An approach to a study of Napoleon's generalship." Victor Coffin, University of Wisconsin: "The senate of the First Empire." Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota: "Boyer's military law."

8.15 p. m.: Fullerton Hall, the Art Institute of Chicago. Presidential address, Charles L. Hutchinson, chairman of local committee of arrangements: Address of welcome. A. C. McLaughlin, president of the American Historical Association: "American history and American democracy."

Reception. The Art Institute of Chicago.

Wednesday, December 30.

9 a. m.: South room, parlor floor. Meeting of the council.

9 a. m.: Meeting of committees (at call of chairman).

10.30 a. m.: South room, ninth floor. Modern England. Chairman, Prof. Edward P. Cheyney. Edward R. Turner, University of Michigan: "The Privy Council of 1679." Henry R. Shipman, Princeton University: "The House of Commons and disputed elections." Herbert C. Bell, Bowdoin College: "British commercial policy in the West Indies, 1783-1793." Clarence C. Crawford, University of Kansas: "The suspension of the habeas corpus act and the Revolution of 1689."

10.30 a. m.: Assembly room, Fine Arts Building. Europe and the Orient. Chairman, Prof. Dana C. Munro. Frederic Duncalf, University of Texas: "Some effects of oriental environment in the Kingdom of Jerusalem." Albert H. Lybyer, University of Illinois: "The influence of the rise of the Ottoman Turks upon the routes of oriental trade." Theodore F. Jones, New York University: "The Turco-Venetian treaty of 1540." Robert H. Lord, Harvard University: "The winning of the Amur: A chapter in the history of Russo-Chinese relations."

1 p. m.: Ninth floor. Luncheon.

2 p. m.: Assembly room, Fine Arts Building. Annual meeting.

8.30 p. m.: Fullerton Hall, the Art Institute of Chicago. General history. Chairman, President Andrew C. McLaughlin. Frederick Jackson Turner, Harvard University: "The significance of sectionalism in American history."

Charles W. Colby, McGill University: "The earlier relations of England and Belgium." James Henry Breasted, University of Chicago: "The eastern Mediterranean and the earliest civilization in Europe." Samuel N. Harper, formerly lecturer in Russian history and institutions in University of Liverpool: "The Russian Nationalists."

10 p. m.: The University Club. Smoker.

Thursday, December 31.

10.30 a. m.: South room, ninth floor. Conference. Chairman, Prof. H. Morse Stephens. George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University: "Tendencies and opportunities in Napoleonic studies." Discussion by Victor Coffin, Guy Stanton Ford, L. M. Johnston, and Frank E. Melvin.

10.30 a. m.: Assembly room, Fine Arts Building. Medieval history. Chairman, Prof. George L. Burr. Earle W. Dow, University of Michigan: "Roger Bacon, 1214-1914." William E. Lunt, Cornell University: "Papal finance and royal diplomacy in the thirteenth century: An episode." A. Edward Harvey, University of Chicago: "Economic self-interest in the German anticlericalism of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." Edgar H. McNeal, Ohio State University: "The feudal noble and the church as reflected in the poems of Chretien de Troyes."

10.30 a. m.: South room, parlor floor. Conference of historical societies. Chairman, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt. Dr. Otto L. Schmidt: "The Chicago Historical Society." Report of the secretary, Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society. Report of the committee on cooperation of historical departments and societies, Dunbar Rowland, Mississippi department of archives and history. James A. Woodburn, Indiana University: "Research in State history at State universities." Discussion by E. C. Barker, University of Texas; Orin G. Libby, University of North Dakota; and C. W. Alvord, University of Illinois. Lawrence J. Burpee, Ottawa, Canada: "Restrictions on the use of historical materials." Discussion by George N. Fuller, Ann Arbor, Mich.; M. M. Quaife, Wisconsin Historical Society; Victor H. Paltsits, New York Public Library.

1 p. m.: Ninth floor. Luncheon.

2 p. m.: South room, ninth floor. The archivists. Chairman, Victor H. Paltsits. Annual report of the public archives commission. Charles H. Ramelkamp, Illinois College: "Legislation for archives." Discussion opened by Thomas M. Owen, director of the department of history and archives of Alabama. Ethel B. Virtue, historical department of Iowa: "Principles of classification for archives." Discussion by Harlow Lindley, director of the Indiana department of history and archives; George S. Godard, State librarian of Connecticut, followed by a general discussion. Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association: "Cataloguing of archives." (The conference will be organized as a round table for the discussion of the above topics, and a cordial invitation is extended to all persons who can contribute information hereon to participate.)

2 p. m.: North room, ninth floor. Joint session with Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Chairman, I. J. Cox, president of Mississippi Valley Historical Association. R. B. Way, Beloit College: "English relations in the Northwest, 1789-1794." W. J. Trimble, North Dakota Agricultural College: "The agrarian history of the United States as a subject for research." Discussion: "The genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act." (See article by Prof. F. H. Hodder in Proceedings of Wisconsin Historical Society, 1912, pp. 69-86.) Discussion: Led by Frank H. Hodder, University of Kansas, and P. Orman Ray, Trinity

College, to be followed by James A. Woodburn, Mrs. Lois Kimball Mathew St. George L. Sioussat, Jonas Viles, and H. N. Sherwood. Volunteers are invited to take part in the discussion and will be furnished with a résumé of the points the leaders intend to present. Address the chairman, Prof. I. J. Cox, University of Cincinnati.

GENERAL INFORMATION.

Monday, December 28, at 6.30 p. m. Informal dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

Tuesday, December 29, at 1 p. m. Auditorium Hotel. Luncheon to members of the American Historical Association.

Tuesday, December 29, at 6 p. m. There will be an informal dinner for women members at the Stratford Hotel, Michigan Avenue and Jackson Boulevard.

Tuesday, December 29, at 9 p. m. Reception, the Art Institute of Chicago, Michigan Boulevard and Adams Street.

Wednesday, December 30, 4 to 6 p. m. The Chicago College Club will give tea for all members of the American Historical Association in their new room, Stevens Building, 16 North Wabash Avenue.

Wednesday, December 30, at 10 p. m. Smoker, the University Club, corner Michigan Boulevard and Monroe Street.

Through the courtesy of the Caxton Club of Chicago and the Chicago Literary Club their rooms are open to members of the American Historical Association during the sessions. These rooms are on the tenth floor of the Fine Arts Building and immediately connect with the Auditorium Hotel, where the meeting will be held, through the assembly room of the Fine Arts Building, which will also be used for meetings.

The Newberry Library (North Clark Street and Walton Place) will have special exhibit of rare Americana from the Edward E. Ayer collection. Exhibit open 9 a. m. to 5 p. m.

The Chicago Historical Society is located at the corner of North Dearborn and Ontario Streets. "Through-route" cars Nos. 1 and 3, going north on Wabash Avenue, pass close to it.

Committee on program for the thirtieth annual meeting.—James Westfall Thompson, chairman; Evarts B. Greene, William E. Lingelbach, Charles H. McIlwain, Albert T. Olmstead, Frederic L. Paxson.

Committee on local arrangements.—Charles L. Hutchinson, chairman; James A. James, secretary; Edward E. Ayer, Abram W. Harris, Edmund J. James, Harry Pratt Judson, Otto L. Schmidt.

Committee on entertainment.—Edward E. Ayer, Henry Bartholomay Adolphus C. Bartlett, Augustus C. Becker, Edward T. Blair, Watson F. Blair, Clarence A. Burley, William H. Bush, Edward B. Butler, Henry M. Byllesby, Clyde M. Carr, Charles H. Conover, Charles R. Crane, Charles G. Dawes, William F. Dummer, John V. Farwell, Eugene H. Fishburn, Edwin G. Foreman, John J. Glessner, William O. Goodman, Charles F. Gunther, Ernest A. Hamill, Abram W. Harris, Frederick T. Haskell, Charles L. Hutchinson, Edmund J. James, James A. James, Harry Pratt Judson, Frank G. Logan, Cyrus H. McCormick, Albert F. Madlener, Levy Mayer, George Merryweather, Seymour Morris, Joy Morton, Henry J. Patten, John Barton Payne, Julius Rosenwald, Harry Rubens, Edward L. Ryerson, Martin A. Ryerson, Otto L. Schmidt, Howard Van Doren Shaw, Orson Smith, Solomon A. Smith, John A. Spoor, Albert A. Sprague, Albert A. Sprague, II, Charles H. Wacker, Ezra Warner, jr.

REGISTER OF ATTENDANCE AT THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO, ILL., DECEMBER 29-31, 1914.

A.

Abbott, Edith.
Adams, Victoria A.
Allen, Fredonia (Miss).
Allen, Lucille.
Alvord, Clarence W.
Ambler, Chas. H.
Anderson, D. R.
Anderson, Frank M.
Appleton, W. W.
Ayer, Edward E.
Ayworth, Leon E.

B.

Bacot, D. H.
Baker, John W.
Balch, E. A.
Baldwin, Jas. F.
Barbour, Violet.
Barker, E. C.
Barnes, Elizabeth.
Barton, Alvin L.
Bassett, J. S.
Basye, A. H.
Baum, H. M.
Becker, Carl.
Becker, Lucia.
Bell, Herbert C.
Bement, Clarence E.
Benton, Geo. W.
Bestor, Arthur E.
Blews, R. R.
Bliss, W. F.
Boak, A. E. R.
Bogardus, F. S.
Bond, Beverley W.
Boucher, C. S.
Bowerman, Geo. F.
Bramhall, Edith C.
Breasted, J. H.
Bretz, J. C.
Brewer, Helen R.
Brigham, Clarence S.
Brush, Elizabeth P.
Buck, Solon J.
Bucks, Olive.
Bullock, Mary.
Burr, Geo. L.
Byrne, E. H.

C.

Caldwell, H. W.
Caldwell, W. E.
Callahan, Jas. M.
Campbell, Mrs. Jas. H.
Carpenter, Allen H.
Carson, W. W.
Carter, Clarence E.
Chadwick, R. D.
Chase, Wayland J.
Cheyney, Edward P.
Christie, Francis A.
Christophelsmeier, Carl.
Church, Frederic C.
Clark, Dan E.
Clark, H. C.
Cleveland, Cath. C.
Coffin, Victor.
Cole, Arthur C.
Colgate, Lathrop.
Conger, Capt. A. L.
Conger, J. L.
Connelley, Wm. E.
Conslanza, Sister Mary.
Coolidge, A. C.
Cox, Isaac J.
Crawford, C. C.
Cribbs, G. A.
Crofts, F. S.
Cross, Arthur L.
Crouch, Flora A.
Crowther, Elizabeth.
Custer, John S.

D.

Dale, H. C.
David, C. W.
Davies, G. C.
Davis, Sarah W.
Davis, William S.
Dickerson, Oliver M.
Dow, E. W.
Dowell, E. S.
Duncalf, Frederic.
Dutton, Charlotte R.
Duncan, D. Shaw.
Dunnington, L. L.
Dutcher, George M.

E.

Ellery, Eloise.
Elson, Henry W.
Emerton, Ephraim.

F.

Farr, Shirley.
Farrand, Max.
Faust, Charles J.
Fay, Sidney B.
Fair, Eugene.
Fish, Carl R.
Fling, Fred M.
Flippin, Percy S.
Ford, Amelia C.
Ford, Guy S.
Foster, Henry A.
Foster, H. D.
Fox, Leonard P.
Freese, L. J.
Fuller, George N.

G.

Garrard, Beulah M.
Garrett, Mitchell B.
George, Robert H.
Gipson, Lawrence H.
Godard, George S.
Gould, Clarence P.
Gramer, Elmer D.
Gray, William D.
Greene, Evarts B.
Griffith, Elmer C.
Gronert, Theo. G.
Grove, Mrs. Nettie T.
Guilday, Rev. Peter.

H.

Hallinan, Marie A.
Harding, Samuel B.
Harper, Samuel N.
Harris, Thomas L.
Harris, Wilmer C.
Harvey, Harriet A.
Haynes, F. E.
Hearon, Cleo.
Heckel, A. K.
Henshaw, Lesley.

Hershey, Amos S.
 Hicks, J. D.
 Hockett, Homer C.
 Hodder, F. H.
 Holt, Harris.
 Hollinbeck, F. J.
 Hubbard, H. C.
 Hudson, I. R.
 Hulbert, A. B.
 Hull, C. H.
 Hunter, W. C.
 Hyde, A. M.

I.

Ilmonen, Rev. Solomon.

J.

James, A. P.
 James, James A.
 Jameson, J. Franklin.
 Jenks, W. L.
 Jernegan, Marcus W.
 Johnson, Anna N.
 Johnson, Winifred.
 Johnston, R. M.
 Jones, Guernsey.
 Jones, Theodore F.
 Jordan, Medora.

K.

Kellar, Herbert A.
 Kellogg, Louise P.
 Kerner, Robert J.
 Kile, Jessie J.
 Kingsbury, Joseph L.
 Klingenhagen, Anna W.
 Kohlmeier, Albert L.
 Krey, A. C.

L.

Larson, Laurence M.
 Lawrence, Matthew.
 Learned, Henry B.
 Lee, Judson F.
 Leland, Waldo G.
 Lilly, Faith R.
 Lingelbach, William E.
 Lindley, Harlow.
 Lingley, Charles R.
 Locke, George H.

Lord, Robert H.
 Lough, Susan M.
 Lunt, W. E.
 Lybyer, Albert H.

M.

MacDonald, P. W.
 McDonald, J. G.
 McElroy, Robert McN.
 McGregor, J. C.
 McIlwain, C. H.
 McLaughlin, A. C.
 McLean, Ross H.
 McMahon, Edw.
 McMurry, D. L.
 McNeal, E. H.
 Mace, W. H.
 Maltby, Martha.
 Marsh, Frank B.
 Martin, A. E.
 Mary Eva, Sister.
 Mathews, Mrs. Lois K.
 Maurer, Robert A.
 Merk, Frederick.
 Meyerholz, Charles H.
 Midkiff, J. E.
 Mitchell, Margaret J.
 Moore, Charles.
 Moore, David R.
 Moran, Thomas F.
 Morrison, Worthington.
 Morse, A. E.
 Munro, Dana C.
 Myers, Irene T.

N.

Newkirk, Chauncey F.
 Northcutt, C. L.
 Norton, William J.
 Norwood, J. Nelson.
 Nussbaum, Frederick L.
 Nutt, H. D.

O.

O'Brien, Rt. Rev. Msgr.
 Ogg, Frederic A.
 Oldfather, W. A.
 Oliver, J. W.
 Olmstead, Albert T.
 Otterson, Andrew.

P.

Page, Edward O.
 Paine, Clarence S.
 Palmer, Herriott C.
 Paltsits, Victor H.
 Parker, Martha.
 Patten, Henry J.
 Paxson, Frederic L.
 Pearce, Elizabeth G.
 Pease, Theodore C.
 Peck, Paul.
 Peine, Arthur F.
 Pelzer, Louis.
 Pence, Given J.
 Perkins, Clarence.
 Peterson, Conrad.
 Petrie, George.
 Payne, Charles E.
 Pletcher, Nuba M.
 Plum, H. G.
 Pooley, William E.
 Porter, Susan M.
 Pray, Carl E.
 Price, Ralph R.
 Puckett, Erastus P.
 Putnam, Bertha H.
 Putnam, Mary B.

Q.

Quaife, Milo.

R.

Rammelkamp, Charles F.
 Ramsdell, Charles W.
 Randall, James G.
 Rawll, Ruby E.
 Raymond, Mary.
 Read, Conyers.
 Redstone, Edw. H.
 Reeves, Jesse S.
 Reilly, Drusilla M.
 Richardson, E. C.
 Rice, Sarah F.
 Riggs, Sara M.
 Riker, T. W.
 Robertson, James R.
 Robertson, W. S.
 Robinson, Chalfont.
 Robinson, James H.
 Robinson, Morgan P.
 Rogers, Robert W.

Roll, Charles.	Stanciff, Henry C.	W.
Root, W. T.	Stephens, F. F.	
Rowland, Dunbar.	Stephens, H. Morse.	Walker, Curtis H.
	Stephenson, George M.	Ward, Estelle F.
S.	Stephenson, Oie W.	Warner, Clarence M.
Sampson, F. A.	Stevens, Wayne C.	Warner, Mrs. Clarence M.
Sanborn, John B.	Steward, Theophilus G.	Way, Royal B.
Sanford, Albert H.	Stone, Alfred H.	Weeks, Mabel C.
Scherger, George L.	Stone, Mary H.	Wells, Emma L.
Schlesinger, Arthur M.	Sweet, William H.	Wells, Florence A.
Scott, Arthur P.		Westermann, Wm. L.
Scott, Nancy E.	T.	White, Albert B.
Sears, Louis M.	Terry, Benj. S.	White, Fred C.
Sell, Martha E.	Thomas, S. E.	White, Mrs. Henry A.
Sellery, G. C.	Thompson, Jas. Westfall.	White, Laura A.
Severance, Allen D.	Thorstenberg, Herman J.	Whittlesey, D. S.
Severance, Frank H.	Trevett, Lily F.	Wilcox, Jennie A.
Sharer, Augustus H.	Trimble, W. J.	Willard, James F.
Shepard, Walter J.	Trenholme, N. M.	Williams, Oscar H.
Shepardson, Francis W.	Tryon, R. M.	Williamson, Oliver R.
Sherrwood, H. N.	Turner, E. R.	Wilson, Jean W.
Shilling, D. C.	Turner, Frederick J.	Wing, Herbert J.
Shipman, Henry R.	Turner, Leona L.	Winkler, Ernest W.
Shoemaker, Floyd C.		Winston, Jas. Edw.
Shortridge, Wilson P.	U.	Woodburn, Jas. A.
Shults, Florence.	Ulrich, Laura F.	Wrench, Jesse.
Soussat, Mrs. Albert.	Udpike, Mrs. Audrey.	Wyckoff, Chas. T.
Soussat, St. George L.	Upham, Warren.	
Socum, Percy W.	Utley, Geo. B.	Y.
Smith, C. A.		
Smith, Ernest A.	V.	Young, Gertrude S.
Smith, Justin H.		Yule, La Maude.
Snodgrass, Margaret.	Van Cleve, T. C.	
Spaulding, Capt. O. L., jr.	Van Tyne, C. H.	Z.
Spencer, Henry R.	Vincent, J. M.	
Spadeker, Jennie M.	Violette, E. M.	Zéligzon, Maurice.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN THE ASSEMBLY ROOM OF THE FINE ARTS BUILDING, CHICAGO, ILL., DECEMBER 30, 1914.

The meeting was called to order at 2.15 p. m., President Andrew C. McLaughlin presiding.

The secretary of the association presented his annual report, which showed the present membership of the association to be 2,913, as against 2,843 in December, 1913. The total loss during the year was stated as 205, the total gain as 75, the net gain as 70.

The annual report of the treasurer of the association was read by Mr. Samuel Harding, chairman of the auditing committee. The total receipts of the association for the year were shown to have been \$12,469.24, the total disbursements \$12,980.52, an excess of \$511.26 over the receipts. The total assets of the

association were stated to amount to \$26,797.48, a decrease during the year of \$485.64. The amount of cash on hand was stated as \$2,382.96.

The report of the auditing committee, Messrs. S. B. Harding and C. H. Ramelkamp, was presented by Mr. Harding, who stated that the report of the treasurer had been examined and found correct.

An informal report for the Pacific coast branch was presented by Mr. I. Morse Stephens. The branch has held two meetings during the year, a special meeting at Seattle on May 21-23, and the eleventh annual meeting at San Francisco on November 27-28. The present membership of the branch is 276; its expenditures during the year have been \$72.24.

Mr. Stephens presented the following resolution, adopted by the Pacific coast branch at its annual business meeting on November 28:

Resolved, That we express our satisfaction that the parent association is to hold its meeting in San Francisco in 1915, and pledge our hearty cooperation in making the meeting a pleasure and a success.

WM. A. MORRIS, *Secretary*.

Mr. Stephens then made brief remarks respecting the special meeting of the association to be held in San Francisco in July, 1915, and outlined the proposed program of sessions and entertainment.

In the absence of the chairman of the historical manuscripts commission the secretary of the council stated that the commission had nearly ready for the printer the report of 1913, being the papers of James Asheton Bayard, of Delaware, and that the report of 1914 would consist of the correspondence of R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, edited by Mr. Charles H. Ambler.

An informal report from the public archives commission was presented by its chairman, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, who indicated briefly what had been done by the commission and referred for a more complete account to the full report to be published in the annual report of the association for 1914.

The chairman of the advisory committee on the publication of the archives of the American Revolution being absent, the president made a short statement respecting the progress made by the National Government in the examination and cataloguing of the Revolutionary archives of the original States.

For the board of editors of the *American Historical Review*, the temporary chairman, Mr. Edward P. Cheyney, made an informal report, announcing the gift to the association by the *Review* of \$300, and the creation of a new department of "Notes and suggestions," to appear for the first time in the issue of the *Review* of January, 1915.

A report from the advisory board of editors of the *History Teacher's Magazine* was read by the secretary of the council.

The report of the committee on publications was presented by its chairman Mr. Max Farrand.

The report of the committee on bibliography was presented by its chairman Mr. Ernest C. Richardson.

The report of the committee on a bibliography of modern English history was read by Mr. Edward P. Cheyney, chairman of the committee.

Mr. J. Franklin Jameson, general editor of the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History*, reported that the sixteenth volume of the series containing the narratives relating to witchcraft and edited by Mr. George L. Burr, had been published in the spring. The seventeenth volume containing narratives of the insurrections of about 1688, will appear in the spring of 1915. The eighteenth and nineteenth volumes are to contain narratives of the early Southwest and of the early Northwest.

An informal report was made for the general committee by its chairman, Mr. Frederic L. Paxson. He stated that the efforts of the committee to increase the membership of the association had been centered upon the North Central States, especially upon the region about Chicago. It was recommended that the work of 1915 be carried on mainly in the Central Atlantic States and in the region about Washington.

On behalf of the committee on military and naval history the secretary stated that no report was presented for the current year.

Capt. Arthur L. Conger, chairman of the committee on the military history prize, announced that no award had as yet been made.

For the committee on the Justin Winsor prize, the chairman, Mr. Claude H. Tyne, announced that nine essays had been submitted during the year and that the committee had voted to award the Justin Winsor prize for 1914 to Mary Wilhelmine Williams for her essay entitled "Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1915."

The secretary of the council reported the following recommendations from the executive council:

- (1) That the meeting of 1916 be held in Cincinnati.
- (2) That a committee of nine be appointed to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association, with instructions to report at the annual meeting of 1915.
- (3) That the committee of nine, in the event of its appointment, be instructed to consider the relationship between the association and the American Historical Review.
- (4) That there be established a standing committee on history in schools.
- (5) That the association continue to support the History Teacher's Magazine for two years more by an annual grant of \$400, the grant to be contingent upon the raising of additional funds to the annual amount of \$600.
- (6) That the association adopt the following rule relating to the payment of annual dues:
 "The annual dues for the ensuing 12 months are payable on September 1. Dedications will not be sent to members whose dues remain unpaid after October 15. Members whose dues remain unpaid on March 1 shall be dropped from the roll of the association."

Upon motion by Mr. Dunbar Rowland it was voted to adopt the recommendation of the executive council that the annual meeting of 1916 be held in Cincinnati.

Mr. Rowland moved to substitute for the recommendation of the executive council the following resolution:

Be it resolved by the American Historical Association, in annual meeting assembled, as follows:

First. That a special committee of 13 members be appointed by the American Historical Association, at this meeting, to consider the constitution, organization, government, finances, and general procedure of the association, the appointment of all committees and boards, and the ownership, control, publication, and methods of the American Historical Review.

Second. That this committee be, and is hereby, instructed to submit to the association, at the regular annual meeting of 1915, a plan by which the activities, control, and government of the association may be made more liberal and more responsive to the needs of the rapidly increasing membership of the association.

Third. That the committee charged with the above duties be, and is, instructed to send a printed copy of its report to all members of the association at later than December 1, 1915.

The point of order being raised that the constitution does not confer upon the association the right to appoint committees, the president ruled that the

meeting was competent to take such action in the present matter as it may see fit.

Mr. Rowland's motion not being seconded, Mr. Van Tyne moved, and it was seconded, that the recommendation of the executive council be adopted.

Notice was given by Mr. Frederic L. Paxson that in the event of Mr. Van Tyne's motion being carried he should move that the appointment of the committee of nine be delegated to the present committee on nominations.

Mr. Rowland renewed his motion and asked that it be voted on first. It being seconded, and put to vote, the yeas appeared to have it. A rising vote being demanded the vote stood 31 in favor of the motion and 88 opposed, and so the motion was lost.

Mr. Clarence W. Alvord asked for and obtained unanimous consent to the amendment of Mr. Van Tyne's motion to include the recommendation of the executive council that the committee of nine be instructed to consider the relationship between the association and the American Historical Review.

The motion was then put, as follows:

Resolved, That a committee of nine be appointed to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association and the relationship between the association and the American Historical Review, and that the committee be instructed to present a report at the annual meeting of 1915.

The vote being taken, all voting voted "aye"—there were no "noes"—and the motion was declared carried.

Mr. Paxson moved and it was seconded that the appointment of the committee of nine be delegated to the present committee on nominations, subject to confirmation by the association.

Mr. Max Farrand inquired whether the committee on nominations had given consideration to the appointments that it was proposed to delegate to them and were prepared to report on them at this session. Mr. Charles H. Hull, chairman of the committee, said that they had not; they had not regarded the committee of nine as being in any way their concern. Only three members of the nominating committee were now in Chicago. Without having opportunity of consulting them he assumed that they would undertake any task that the association might see fit to lay upon them, but he judged that it would be impossible to prepare a report before the adjournment of the present meeting.

Mr. Guy S. Ford moved, and it was seconded, that Mr. Paxson's motion be amended to substitute Messrs. Rowland and Frederick J. Turner for the two absent members of the committee on nominations.

Upon motion by Mr. George C. Sellery it was voted that when the present meeting should adjourn it should adjourn to meet in the same place at 9 a. m. the following day.

The amendment offered by Mr. Ford being put, it was carried, there being no votes in the negative.

Mr. Paxson's motion, as amended, was read as follows:

Resolved, That Messrs. Hull and Dutcher and Mrs. Mathews, the three members of the committee on nominations, together with Messrs. Rowland and F. J. Turner constitute a special committee to appoint, subject to confirmation by the association, the members of the committee of nine.

The question being put, all voting voted "aye"—there were no "noes"—and the motion was declared carried.

It was moved and voted to adopt the recommendation of the executive council for the establishment of a standing committee on history in schools.

It was moved and voted to adopt the recommendation of the executive council respecting the continuance of support to the History Teacher's Magazine.

It was moved and voted to adopt the rule relative to the payment of annual dues as recommended by the executive council.

The following estimate of receipts and expenditures, constituting the budget of the association for 1915, as voted by the executive council, was read by the secretary:

Estimated receipts:

Annual dues	\$8,550
Investments	1,100
Royalties	180
Sale of publications	670
Grant by American Historical Review	300
Total	10,800
Deduct	575
Unforeseen shrinkage	\$200
Held in trust for military history prize	250
Held in trust for bibliography of modern English history	125
Available for appropriation	10,225

Estimated expenditures:

Administration expenses	\$2,350
Offices of secretary and treasurer	\$1,500
Office of secretary of council	50
Pacific coast branch	75
Expenses of executive council	300
Thirtieth annual meeting	175
Thirty-first annual meeting	150
Miscellaneous	100
Publishing activities	1,443
General index of papers and reports	400
Index of current annual reports	100
Committee on publications	643
Editorial services	300
American Historical Review	4,600
Standing committees	450
Public archives commission	150
Historical manuscripts commission	50
Committee on bibliography	100
General committee	100
Conference of historical societies	50
Prizes	225
Herbert Baxter Adams prize for 1913	200
Expenses of Adams prize committee, 1915	25
Subsidies	600
Writings on American history	200
History Teacher's Magazine	400
Headquarters in London	100
Total	9,768
Estimated surplus	457

The elections and appointments to boards, committees, and commissions, as included by the executive council, were read by the secretary of the council as follows [* stars indicate new assignments]:

Board of editors of the American Historical Review: James H. Robinson, elected for the term of 1915-1920; Carl L. Becker,* elected for the unexpired term, 1915-1918, of Andrew C. McLaughlin, resigned.

Historical manuscripts commission: Gaillard Hunt,* C. H. Ambler,* Archer Hulbert, Herbert E. Bolton, W. O. Scroggs, Justin H. Smith.*

Public archives commission: Victor H. Paltsits, C. W. Alvord,* C. M. Andrews, S. J. Buck,* George S. Godard,* Thomas M. Owen,* A. S. Salley, jr.

Committee on bibliography: Ernest C. Richardson, Walter Lichtenstein, W. Rockwell,* W. A. Slade,* B. C. Steiner, F. J. Teggart.

Committee on publications (ex officio with exception of the chairman): Max Farrand, C. R. Fish,* Gaillard Hunt,* J. F. Jameson, L. M. Larson,* Ernest C. Richardson, Victor H. Paltsits, and the secretaries of the council and of the association.

General committee: W. E. Lingelbach,* Annie H. Abel,* Arthur I. Andrew, W. K. Boyd,* J. H. Callahan,* C. E. Carter,* Carleton H. Hayes,* R. M. M. Elroy,* R. W. Neeser,* E. S. Noyes,* Louis Pelzer, Morgan P. Robinson, N. Stephenson,* E. M. Violette, Clarence M. Warner,* and the secretaries of the association and of the Pacific coast branch.

Committee on history in schools (new committee): W. S. Ferguson, Victor A. Adams, H. E. Bourne, H. L. Cannon, Edgar Dawson, O. M. Dickerson, H. Foster, S. B. Harding, Margaret McGill, R. A. Maurer, James Sullivan.

Committee on military and naval history: Robert M. Johnston, Capt. A. Conger,* Fred M. Fling, Charles O. Paullin, Capt. O. L. Spaulding.*

Committee on Justin Winsor prize: C. R. Fish, G. L. Beer,* I. J. Cox,* Everett Kimball,* Allen Johnson.

Committee on Herbert Baxter Adams prize: L. M. Larson, S. B. Fay,* W. Shepherd, Paul Van Dyke, A. B. White.

Committee on the military history prize: Capt. A. L. Conger, Milledge L. Boham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, F. M. Fling, A. B. Hart.

Conference of historical societies: Lyon G. Tyler,* chairman; A. H. Shearer, secretary.

Advisory board of editors of the History Teacher's Magazine: Henry Johnson, chairman (reelected to serve three years from Jan. 1, 1915); F. M. Flinn, James Sullivan, George C. Sallery, St. George L. Sioussat (these four hold over Anna B. Thompson* (elected to serve three years from Jan. 1, 1915)).

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history: Edward P. Cheyney, Wilbur C. Abbott,* Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Conyers Read.*

Advisory committee on the publication of the archives of the American Revolution: Maj. John Bigelow, F. E. Chadwick, Frederic Bancroft, J. F. Jameson, Justin H. Smith.

Committee on program, special meeting, San Francisco, July 21-23, 1911: Frederic L. Thompson, E. C. Barker, H. E. Bolton, Max Farrand, Joseph Schafer, A. B. Show, Frederick J. Teggart, Payson J. Treat, James F. Willard (all new assignments).

Committee on program, thirty-first annual meeting, Washington, 1915: C. Hazen, J. S. Bassett, J. F. Baldwin, C. T. Huth, R. M. Johnston, J. H. Latané, H. B. Learned, Ruth Putnam (all new assignments).

Committee on local arrangements: Herbert Putnam, Frederic Bancroft, J. Henderson, David J. Hill, H. B. Learned, with power to add to the membership (all new assignments).

The report of the committee on nominations, which had been printed and distributed, was presented by the chairman, Mr. Charles H. Hull, who asked that it be considered as read.

The nominations made by the committee were as follows:

For president: H. Morse Stephens.

For first vice president: George L. Burr.

For second vice president: Worthington C. Ford.

For secretary: Waldo G. Leland.

For treasurer: Clarence W. Bowen.

For curator: A. Howard Clark.

For secretary of the council: Evarts B. Greene.

For members of the executive council: Frederic Bancroft, Eugene C. Barker, Guy Stanton Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Ulrich B. Phillips, J. M. Vincent.

The president called for further nominations from the floor, but none were made. It was moved that the secretary of the association be instructed, by unanimous consent, to cast the ballot of the meeting for the candidates nominated by the committee.

Objection being made by Mr. Rowland, the president ordered that a ballot be taken, and appointed Messrs. I. J. Cox, D. R. Anderson, S. B. Harding, and Harlow Lindley to serve as tellers.

The vote having been taken, the result of the balloting was announced by the tellers as follows:

For president: H. Morse Stephens, 129 votes (elected); Dunbar Rowland, vote.

For first vice president: George L. Burr, 132 votes (elected).

For second vice president: Worthington C. Ford, 124 votes (elected); E. P. Cheyney, 2 votes; Charles M. Andrews, 1 vote; Ephraim Emerton, 1 vote; H. Hodder, 1 vote; D. C. Munro, 1 vote.

For secretary: Waldo G. Leland, 132 votes (reelected).

For treasurer: Clarence W. Bowen, 132 votes (reelected).

For curator: A. Howard Clark, 131 votes (reelected).

For secretary of the council: Evarts B. Greene, 132 votes (reelected).

For members of the executive council (6 to be elected): Guy S. Ford, 131 votes (elected); Frederic Bancroft, 129 votes (reelected); Eugene C. Barker, 28 votes (elected); Ulrich B. Phillips, 125 votes (elected); J. M. Vincent, 125 votes (reelected); Charles H. Haskins, 121 votes (reelected); James A. James, 4 votes; Dunbar Rowland, 4 votes; S. B. Harding, 3 votes; G. C. Sellery, 2 votes; H. E. Bourne, 1 vote; A. C. Coolidge, 1 vote; I. J. Cox, 1 vote; W. E. Dodd, 1 vote; Earle W. Dow, 1 vote; Ephraim Emerton, 1 vote; S. B. Fay, 1 vote; Carl R. Fish, 1 vote; C. D. Hazen, 1 vote; J. H. Latané, 1 vote; Charles McLlwain, 1 vote; B. F. Shambaugh, 1 vote; J. W. Thompson, 1 vote; C. H. Van Tyne, 1 vote; J. F. Willard, 1 vote.

The committee on resolutions, Messrs. C. R. Fish, G. S. Ford, and Charles W. Ramsdell, offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

The American Historical Association expresses its grief and sense of loss at the death of Alfred Thayer Mahan, rear admiral of the United States Navy and president of this association.

By the publication, extending over the years 1883 to 1914, of a series of studies of naval history, he revolutionized the views of that subject held not only in this country but in the world. Secure in an unsurpassed knowledge of his difficult and intricate field, he extended his vision to the bases upon which naval power rests and to the relations of naval power to colonies, commerce, and national safety. The profundity of his views and the lucidity of his reasoning attracted the attention of statesmen of all nations, and more than any American scholar of his day he has affected the course of world politics. Full of years and of honors, he closed in 1914 a career eminent for practical naval efficiency, original historical contribution, and significant influence in the history of his own time.

The American Historical Association, while enjoying a most successful meeting, wishes to thank those who have contributed to make it so. To the committee on entertainment, to the University Club of Chicago, to the College Club of Chicago, to the Caxton Club, to the Chicago Literary Club, and to the Art Institute of Chicago, special thanks are gratefully voted, and the secretary is requested to communicate the same to the authorities of the several institutions mentioned.

To the committee on local arrangements the association wishes to express its appreciation, not only for the care and attention which have required and concealed so much labor, but also for the skill with which they have so concentrated the sessions and so arranged the social functions as to allow the members to devote all their time and energies to the purposes of the meeting. The association not only wishes that its thanks may be conveyed to the committee but hopes that future meetings of the association may profit by their example.

Upon motion by Mr. Farrand it was voted that the special committee, which had been instructed to recommend the appointment of the committee of nine, should also be instructed to recommend, subject to acceptance by the association at its adjourned meeting, the appointments to the committee on nominations for 1915, one of said appointments to be from the committee on nominations or 1914.

It was moved by Mr. Alvord that a standing instruction be given to the successive committees on nominations to appoint their successors and to print these appointments, together with the nominations.

It was moved and voted that Mr. Alvord's motion be laid upon the table.

It was moved, but the motion was not seconded, that the committee on nominations be instructed to make two nominations for each office.

Upon motion by Mr. Solon J. Buck, it was voted that the printed report of the committee on nominations for 1914 be referred to the committee of nine for consideration.

Upon motion by Mr. Jameson, it was voted to instruct the committee on nominations for 1915 to follow the procedure recommended in the report of the committee on nominations for 1914, namely: (1) To invite every member of the association to express his or her preferences respecting every office to be filled by election. (2) To cause its nominations to be published in advance. (3) To prepare, for distribution to attending members upon their registration at the meeting, a printed ballot, which, in addition to the committee's nominations shall contain such other names as may be proposed, in writing, to the chairman of the committee by 20 or more members, and which shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting upon such further nominations as may be individually presented on the floor of the business meeting.

The meeting then adjourned until 9 a. m. the following day.

MINUTES OF THE ADJOURNED BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN THE ASSEMBLY ROOM OF THE FINE ARTS BUILDING, CHICAGO, ILL., ON DE- CEMBER 31, 1914.

The meeting was called to order at 9.15 a. m. by the first vice president, Mr. H. Morse Stephens.

President McLaughlin took the chair.

Mr. Charles H. Hull, chairman of the special committee to recommend appointments to the committee of nine and to the committee on nominations for 1915, presented the following report:

Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen of the American Historical Association:

To your committee, appointed yesterday afternoon, you assigned a twofold task: First, to report to you a list of persons who, if approved by you, shall constitute a committee of nine to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association, and to report thereupon at the annual meeting in 1915; and second, to recommend five persons, one of them a member of this year's nominating committee, who, if approved by you, shall constitute the nominating committee for the ensuing year.

In selecting the names to be recommended for each of these lists your committee have endeavored to secure a reasonable diversity of residence and historical interest. But whereas, for the nominating committee they endeavored also to name persons not now otherwise in the service of the association as officers or committeemen, they did not consider when framing the list proposed for the special and exceptional committee of nine the general argument against pluralities to carry weight. On the contrary, your committee observing that the constitution, organization, and procedure which the committee of nine are to consider are themselves matters of a quarter of a century's growth, have thought that a proper understanding of them, needful for their wise and helpful consideration, would be facilitated by constituting the committee of nine partly of persons long conversant with the affairs of the association, and have accordingly included three former presidents in the list recommended. But, being mindful also that the report to be made may well influence the procedure of the association for years to come, your committee have included in the list recommended the names of younger members of the association also.

With this explanation they submit, as recommended for the committee of nine, the names, alphabetically, of Messrs. Ephraim D. Adams, Stanford University, California; R. D. W. Connor, Historical Commission of North Carolina; Isaac J. Cox, University of Cincinnati; William A. Dunning, Columbia University, New York City; Max Farrand, Yale University, Connecticut; Andrew C. Mc-

oughlin, University of Chicago; James Ford Rhodes, Boston, Mass.; W. T. Foot, University of Wisconsin; and James Sullivan, principal of the Boys' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Also for nominating committee: Mrs. Lois K. Mathews, of the University of Wisconsin, a member of this year's nominating committee; Mr. E. S. Meany, of the State University of Washington; Mr. Alfred H. Stone, of Dunleith, Miss.; resident C. H. Rammelkamp, of Illinois College; Mr. Charles H. McIlwain, of Harvard University, as chairman.

It is further recommended that the committee of nine and the nominating committee be each empowered to fill such vacancies as may arise in their numbers, if any, during the year.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

CHARLES H. HULL, *Chairman.*

G. M. DUTCHER.

LOIS K. MATHEWS.

DUNBAR ROWLAND.

FREDERICK J. TURNER.

CHICAGO, December 31, 1914.

It was moved and voted that the report be adopted.

The meeting then adjourned.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

REPORTS OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Office.—Since January, 1913, the clerical work of the treasurer's office has been carried on in the office of the secretary. This arrangement, which was made at the suggestion of the treasurer, is in no way a consolidation of the two offices. The work of the treasurer's office is directed entirely by the treasurer; all money collected is forwarded at once to New York; the banking arrangements have not been modified in any way whatsoever, and the treasurer remains as heretofore, in entire charge, subject to the votes of the council and the association, of the finances of the association. The arrangement was effected solely in the interests of efficiency and economy in the conduct of the association's affairs, and to avoid a useless duplication of purely clerical work. Since the arrangement has been in operation a saving of more than \$300 has been effected over the average expenses of the two offices (\$1,613.57) for the four years preceding. During 1914 the expenses have amounted to \$1,488.07 (clerical, \$1,025.95; supplies, \$462.12).

Publications.—The following publications have been issued by this office during the present year: Annual report, 1912, one volume; prize essay for 1912, Cole's "Whig Party in the South"; reprint of the first Adams prize essay, Muzzey's "Spiritual Franciscans." Of the annual report for 1913 the first volume is part in galley, part in page proof, and the second volume, containing the Bayard papers, is on the point of going to press. The prize essay for 1913, Miss Violet Barbour's "Earl of Arlington" is now on the press and could be issued in January or February.

Deaths.—In the death of Admiral Mahan, the association has suffered the loss of a former president and of one of its most eminent members. The loss to the cause of history has been not less severe. Admiral Mahan's fame was perhaps even greater abroad than in America, but by this association his great worth as a historian was no less appreciated than his endearing personal qualities.

Membership.—Particular attention is invited to the statistics of membership and to the conditions that they may reveal. The present (Dec. 15) total

membership of the association is 2,913, a gain over 1913 of 70. Of this total 2,578 are annual personal members, 122 are life members, and 213 are institutional members, 127 members are delinquent for more than one year the payment of their dues, while 610 have not paid the current dues. The total loss has been 205 (30 by death, 102 by resignation, 73 by being dropped for nonpayment of dues). The total number of new members has been 275.

The geographical distribution of membership is as follows: New England 549; North Atlantic States, 803; South Atlantic States, 153; North Central States, 607; South Central States, 109; West Central States, 300; Pacific Coast Branch (including Rocky Mountain and Coast States) 276; Alaska and insular territories and possessions, 9; Foreign, 107.

A survey of the membership statistics of the last few years shows that from 1908 to 1910, the membership increased very rapidly (due in part, no doubt to the attractions of the anniversary celebration of 1909) from 2,318 to 2,913. There was then a falling off to 2,843, last year. This loss has now nearly been made good and there seems every reason to believe that the membership can be raised to 3,000 during the coming year. The normal annual loss at present seems to be about 250 members, the normal annual gain of new members about the same number. This annual gain, however, would be much less without the systematic efforts of the general committee. To insure an annual gain sufficient to offset the loss and bring about a small increase, every member should interest himself or herself. It is doubtless more advantageous to have relatively permanent membership with a small annual increase than to have a much larger fluctuating membership inflated by spasmodic booms and depleted by the inevitable falling off that follows an unhealthy or an unnatural growth. To every member in attendance at the present meeting will be sent nomination blanks, and it is to be hoped that many of these will be put to use. The association is not, and it is to be presumed, does not desire to be a huge aggregation of members, whose only common interest is subscription to a periodical. On the other hand, the work of the association can best be extended if its influence increased, and its service to the cause of historical studies be most advanced, if it is strong in the number of its members who are genuinely interested in the objects for which it exists. These considerations should lead to a desire to secure new members, combined with a certain selection of those persons to whom invitations may appropriately be addressed.

Respectfully submitted.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

RECEIPTS.

Balance Dec. 23, 1913.....	\$2,894.20
Annual dues:	
2,389, at \$3.....	\$7,167.00
2, at \$2.....	4.00
1, at \$2.92.....	2.92
1, at \$3.03.....	3.03
4, at \$3.05.....	12.20
22, at \$3.10.....	68.20
2, at \$3.15.....	6.30
2, at \$3.25.....	6.50
1, at \$3.75.....	3.75
1, at \$4.80.....	4.80
	<hr/>
	7,278.70
Life memberships, 2, at \$50.....	100.00

Rebates, American Historical Review-----	\$300.00
Income from investments:	
Mortgage loan, 6 months at 4½ and 6 months at 4½ per cent.---	875.00
American Exchange National Bank stock, 20 shares, dividends at 10 per cent.-----	200.00
Royalty on Study of History in Schools-----	22.02
Royalty on Report of Committee of Eight-----	326.07
Sales of publications-----	761.50
Miscellaneous-----	105.95
Borrowed from Clarence W. Bowen-----	2,500.00
	<hr/>
	\$12,469.24
	<hr/>
	15,363.48

DISBURSEMENTS.

1914.

Dec. 23. Offices of secretary and treasurer:

Postage and supplies, vouchers 2, 29, 36, 38, 40, 58, 76, 86, 87, 105, 110, 121, 129, 132, 137, 142, 151, 164---	\$462.12
Clerical services, vouchers 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 19, 20, 35, 39, 41, 59, 60, 67, 68, 75, 77, 78, 85, 106, 107, 108, 122, 123, 130, 133, 143, 152, 165, 166, 179, 187-----	1,025.95
	<hr/>
	\$1,488.07
Secretary of the council, vouchers 33, 47, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 97, 147, 148, 168, 171-----	78.30
Pacific coast branch, voucher 15-----	17.15
American Historical Review, vouchers, 10, 22, 23, 48, 55, 56, 89, 95, 96, 103, 125, 126, 127, 134, 144, 158, 161-----	4,560.40
Public archives commission, vouchers 13, 44, 45, 70, 109, 114, 115-----	215.90
Historical manuscripts commission, vouchers 90, 98, 99, 100, 117, 118, 139, 156-----	195.80
Justin Winsor prize committee, vouchers 79, 94-----	182.65
Herbert B. Adams prize committee, voucher 79-----	6.65
Committee on bibliography, voucher 186-----	50.00
Committee on a bibliography of modern English history, vouchers 71, 92, 93-----	182.35
Committee on indexing papers and reports, voucher 32-----	60.00
Publication committee, vouchers 61, 83, 91, 113, 124, 145-----	1,127.72
Bibliography of Writings on American History, voucher 46-----	200.00
History Teacher's Magazine, vouchers 80, 153-----	600.00
General committee and conference of historical societies, vouchers 12, 14, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 69, 72, 73, 82, 101, 102, 111, 112, 119, 138, 154, 157-----	280.23
Indexing annual reports, vouchers 88, 183-----	100.00
Expenses executive council, vouchers 16, 42, 169, 170, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 184-----	380.17
Editorial work, vouchers 1, 37, 57, 74, 84, 104, 120, 128, 131, 141, 150, 163-----	300.00
Expenses twenty-ninth annual meeting, vouchers 9, 18, 34, 43-----	197.69
Expenses thirtieth annual meeting, vouchers 146, 159, 160, 162, 167, 172-----	129.78
Collection charges, vouchers 81, 116, 149, 182-----	15.70
Miscellaneous expenses, vouchers 11, 17, 21, 30, 51, 135, 136, 140, 155, 178, 185-----	2,611.96

12,980.52

Disbursements-----	12,980.52
Balance cash on hand-----	2,382.96

15,363.48

Net receipts, 1914-----	9,969.24
Net disbursements, 1914-----	10,480.52

Excess of disbursements over receipts----- 511.28

Assets of the association:

Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y.....	\$20,000.00
Accrued interest on above from Sept. 29 to Dec. 23.....	214.8
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock, at 210.....	4,200.00
Cash on hand.....	2,382.90

Assets, Dec. 23, 1913.....	26,797.40
A decrease during the year of.....	27,283.10
	485.60

Respectfully submitted.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, *Treasurer.*

WASHINGTON, December 23, 1914.

REPORT OF THE AUDIT CO. OF NEW YORK.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, Esq.,

*Treasurer American Historical Association,**5 East Sixty-third Street, New York City.*

DEAR SIR: Agreeably to your request, we have made an audit of the cash records of the treasurer of the American Historical Association for the period from December 20, 1913, to December 23, 1914.

The results of this audit are presented, attached hereto, in an exhibit termed "Abstract of cash receipts and disbursements, as shown by the cash records, for the period from December 20, 1913, to December 23, 1914."

Receipted vouchers were examined for all disbursements shown and those missing for the previous year were seen by us.

We have reconciled the statement of the National Park Bank, dated December 18, 1914, and deposits made subsequent to that date, and after allowing for outstanding checks find the balance at the credit of the association to be \$2,382.90 including deposits of \$49.20 and \$102 not yet recorded in the cash book.

We have examined—

Mortgage on 24 East Ninety-fifth Street.....	\$20,000.00
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock (for which the last sale was at \$210).....	4,200.00
Both in the name of the association.	
Accrued interest on mortgage to date.....	214.50
Cash on deposit in National Park Bank.....	2,382.90

Total mortgage and interest American Exchange National Bank stock and cash as above.....	26,797.40
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Very truly, yours,

THE AUDIT COMPANY OF NEW YORK.

A. W. DUNNING, *President.*H. I. LUNDQUIST, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, December 23, 1914.

Abstract of cash receipts and disbursements as shown by the cash records for the period from Dec. 20, 1913, to Dec. 23, 1914.

RECEIPTS.

Balance, Dec. 17, 1913.....	\$2,894.20
Annual Dues:	
2,389 at \$3.....	\$7,167.00
2 at \$2.....	4.00
1 at \$2.92.....	2.92
1 at \$3.03.....	3.03
4 at \$3.05.....	12.20
22 at \$3.10.....	68.20
2 at \$3.15.....	6.30
2 at \$3.25.....	6.50
1 at \$3.75.....	3.75
1 at \$4.80.....	4.80

7,278.70

Life memberships, 2 at \$50.....	\$100.00	
Debates, American Historical Review.....	300.00	
Income from investments:		
Mortgage loan, \$20,000—		
Six months at 4½.....	\$425.00	
Six months at 4½.....	450.00	
	<hr/>	875.00
American Exchange National Bank stock 20 shares, dividends at 10 per cent.....	200.00	
	<hr/>	1,075.00
Copyrights:		
On Study of History in Schools.....	22.02	
On Report of committee of eight.....	326.07	
	<hr/>	348.09
Costs of publications.....		761.50
Expenses, miscellaneous:		
C. H. Hayes.....	105.85	
Adams Express Co., refund.....	.10	
	<hr/>	105.95
Borrowed from Clarence W. Bowen (see contra).....	2,500.00	
	<hr/>	\$12,469.24
		<hr/>
		15,363.43

DISBURSEMENTS.

Salaries of secretary and treasurer:		
Clerk hire.....	\$1,025.95	
Postage and supplies.....	462.12	
	<hr/>	\$1,488.07
Salary of the council.....		78.30
Office coast branch.....		17.15
American Historical Review.....		4,560.40
Public archives commission.....		215.90
Historical manuscripts commission.....		195.80
John Winsor prize committee.....		182.65
Robert Baxter Adams prize committee.....		6.65
Committee on bibliography.....		50.00
Committee on bibliography of modern English history.....		182.35
Committee on indexing papers and reports.....		60.00
Publication committee.....		1,127.73
Bibliography of Writings on American History.....		200.00
History Teacher's Magazine.....		600.00
General committee and conference of historical societies.....		280.23
Indexing annual reports (1912, 1913-I).....		100.00
Expenses, executive council.....		380.17
Editorial work.....		300.00
Expenses, twenty-ninth annual meeting.....		197.69
Expenses, thirtieth annual meeting.....		129.78
Collection charges.....		15.70
Expenses, miscellaneous:		
Interest on loan, C. W. Bowen.....	37.50	
Auditing.....	42.86	
Sundries.....	31.60	
	<hr/>	111.96
Payment of Clarence W. Bowen loan (see contra).....	2,500.00	
	<hr/>	12,980.52
Total payments.....		2,382.96
Balance, Dec. 23, 1914, deposited in National Park Bank.....		15,363.43

This exhibit is subject to the text of our report, dated December 23, 1914.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL.

The council has held three meetings—the first, as usual, in New York on the Saturday after Thanksgiving, and the others on December 29 and 30. In accordance with the vote of the council on November 28 the minutes of the New York meeting have been printed, and those of December 29 were sent to the

press with a view to distribution at this meeting, but have been delayed on account of the pressure of business.

The following recommendations and announcements are reported:

1. *Annual meeting of 1916.*—The council renews its recommendation to the association that the annual meeting for 1916 be held in Cincinnati. Cordial invitations were received from the Ontario Historical Society and others proposing a meeting in Ottawa in that year, but the council did not see its way clear to reconsider its recommendation in favor of Cincinnati.

Invitations were also received from Richmond to hold a part of the meeting of 1915 in that city. The council does not, however, see its way clear to recommend the proposed division of the program between Washington and Richmond.

2. *Recommendation respecting the constitution of the association.*—The association is now holding its thirtieth annual meeting. Under the brief and simple constitution adopted 30 years ago and now in force, with slight changes, the association has achieved results of which all its members are proud. In view, however, of the great expansion in the membership and the activities of the association, which appears to justify a reconsideration of its organization and procedure, the council recommends to the association the appointment of a committee of nine to consider the constitution, organization and procedure of the association, with instructions to report at the annual meeting of 1915.

The council also recommends that, if the committee of nine above named be appointed, its functions shall include a consideration of the relations between the American Historical Association and the American Historical Review.

3. *Committee on history in schools.*—The council has had before it a request from the college entrance examination board for a "fuller definition of the history requirement." It has also received from the Pacific coast branch and from members of the New England History Teachers' Association communications requesting some action on this subject. Meantime a report received from the present committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools indicates that not much progress may be expected in the work of that committee in the near future. The council has therefore voted to recommend to the association the establishment, in place of the present committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools, of a standing committee on history in schools, to which may be referred from time to time such questions as may involve the interests of historical teaching in schools, and in particular the above-mentioned request of the college entrance examination board.

4. *The History Teacher's Magazine.*—The advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine having made a statement indicating the need of further financial assistance from the association, the council has voted to recommend to the association that an appropriation of \$400 per annum for two years be made to the History Teacher's Magazine, conditional upon the raising of an additional guaranty fund of \$600, continuing in other respects the arrangements adopted by this association in December, 1911.

5. *Payment of dues.*—The council has voted to recommend to the association the following rule respecting nonpayment of dues:

The annual dues for the ensuing 12 months are payable on September 1. Publications will not be sent to members whose dues remain unpaid after October 15. Members whose dues remain unpaid on March 1 shall be dropped from the roll of the association.

6. *Budget for 1915.*—The budget will be reported by the secretary.

7. Appointment of committees.—The following assignments and committee appointments have been made by the council for the year 1915 (italic indicates new members of committees) :

Editors of the American Historical Review: George L. Burr, Edward P. Cheyney, J. Franklin Jameson, Frederick J. Turner (these four hold over); James Harvey Robinson, reelected to serve six years from January 1, 1915; Carl Becker, elected to serve two years from January 1, 1915, to complete the unexpired term of A. C. McLaughlin.

Historical manuscripts commission: *Gaillard Hunt*, C. H. Ambler, Archer B. Hulbert, Herbert E. Bolton, W. O. Scroggs, *Justin H. Smith*.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize: C. R. Fish, G. L. Beer, I. J. Cox, *Everett Kimball*, Allen Johnson.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize: L. M. Larson, S. B. Fay, W. R. Shepherd, Paul Van Dyke, A. B. White.

Public archives commission: Victor H. Paltsits, C. W. Alvord, C. M. Andrews, S. J. Buck, *George S. Godard*, *Thomas M. Owen*, A. S. Salley, jr.

Committee on bibliography: Ernest C. Richardson, Walter Lichtenstein, W. W. Rockwell, W. A. Slade, B. C. Steiner, F. J. Teggart.

Committee on publications (ex officio with the exception of the chairman): Max Farrand, C. R. Fish, *Gaillard Hunt*, J. F. Jameson, L. M. Larson, Ernest C. Richardson, Victor H. Paltsits, and the secretaries of the council and of the association.

General committee: W. E. Lingelbach, *Annie H. Abel*, Arthur I. Andrews, W. K. Boyd, J. M. Callahan, C. E. Carter, *Carleton H. Hayes*, R. M. McElroy, R. W. Neeser, E. S. Noyes, Louis Pelzer, Morgan P. Robinson, N. W. Stephenson, E. M. Violette, *Clarence M. Warner*, and the secretaries of the association and of the Pacific coast branch.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history: Edward P. Cheyney, W. C. Abbott, A. L. Cross, R. B. Merriman, *Conyers Read*.

Committee on history in schools (subject to the establishment of such a committee by the association): W. S. Ferguson, Victoria A. Adams, H. E. Bourne, H. L. Cannon, Edgar Dawson, O. M. Dickerson, H. D. Foster, S. B. Harding, Margaret McGill, R. A. Maurer, James Sullivan.

Conference of historical societies: *Lyon G. Tyler*, chairman; A. H. Shearer, secretary.

Advisory board of editors of the History Teacher's Magazine: Henry Johnson, chairman (reelected to serve three years from Jan. 1, 1915); F. M. Fling, James Sullivan, George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat (these four hold over), *Anna B. Thompson* (elected to serve three years from Jan. 1, 1915).

Committee on program: C. D. Hazen, J. S. Bassett, J. F. Baldwin, C. F. Huth, R. M. Johnston, H. B. Learned, J. H. Latané, Ruth Putnam.

Committee on local arrangements: Herbert Putnam, Frederic Bancroft, David J. Hill, J. B. Henderson, H. B. Learned, with power to add to the membership.

Committee on the military history prize: Capt. A. L. Conger, Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, F. M. Fling, A. B. Hart.

Committee on military and naval history: R. M. Johnston, F. M. Fling, Charles O. Paullin, *Capt. A. L. Conger*, *Capt. O. L. Spaulding*.

Committee on program, special meeting, San Francisco, July 20-24, 1915: Frederic L. Thompson, E. C. Barker, H. E. Bolton, Max Farrand, Joseph Schafer, A. B. Show, Frederick J. Teggart, Payson J. Treat, James F. Willard.

Respectfully submitted.

EVARTS B. GREENE,

Secretary of the Council.

REPORT BY H. MORSE STEPHENS UPON THE SPECIAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION
TO BE HELD IN CALIFORNIA IN 1915.

At the last meeting of the council of the association it was resolved that effort should be made by a postal-card canvass to determine the best date for holding the special meeting of the American Historical Association to be held in California, and to further that end a copy of the mailing list of the American Historical Review was sent to California. But inquiry on the Pacific coast showed that the only possible month in which a large attendance could be expected was the month of July, 1915. The universities and schools in California open in the month of August and the teachers of history could not possibly attend a meeting in the month of September. Some professors of history, especially from the Middle West, would be able to come to a meeting in September after teaching in summer schools, but it would be practically impossible to gather an audience for them. The early part of August will be taken up with the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Therefore, at the request of the authorities of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, and in the light of the considerations just set forth, it is resolved to recommend to the council of the American Historical Association that the special meeting be held in the latter part of July.

With regard to the place of meeting, it is recommended that the meeting should cover three days—one in San Francisco, one in Berkeley, and one in Palo Alto. Headquarters will be opened in San Francisco, but there will also be additional headquarters for those who care to stay upon the eastern side of the bay in Berkeley.

The program committee makes the following suggestions as to the disposition of the meetings:

The opening meeting, with a reception to visiting members, a dinner in one of the exposition restaurants, and a presidential address upon the "Conflict of European nations in the Pacific Ocean," would be designed to bring the visiting members together and to show them the beauties of the exposition buildings at night and would be held upon the evening of Tuesday, July 20.

On the following day, July 21, there will be three sessions held in the exposition buildings in San Francisco, and the day will be set apart by the authorities as the American Historical Association day. It is suggested that the morning session be devoted to papers on the Spanish-American States and the Pacific Ocean, and that papers should be asked for from historical authorities in Mexico, Peru, and Chile. This session will be under the charge of Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California. After the meeting a luncheon would be given to the Spanish-American delegates in one of the exposition buildings. The afternoon session would be devoted to papers on the United States and the Pacific Ocean, and papers would be read upon the particular relations with the Pacific Ocean of California, Oregon, Washington, Alaska, and the Hawaiian Islands. For a public session in the evening an effort is to be made to obtain a paper from Prof. Rafael Altamira, the greatest living Spanish historian.

It is proposed that the meetings for Thursday, July 22, be held at Berkeley under the superintendence of the history department of the University of California. The morning session, to be held in one of the buildings of the university, would be devoted to the problems connected with the teaching of history and especially of general American and western American history. It is hoped that the professors from eastern universities who have accepted invitations to teach in the summer school at Berkeley under the plan to be mentioned later

will be kind enough to take the leading part in this session. This will be followed by a luncheon at the Faculty Club. The afternoon session will be devoted to papers upon the exploration of the Pacific Ocean, illustrated by the documents of the Bancroft Library, under the direction of Prof. F. J. Teggart, associate professor of Pacific coast history in the University of California and curator of the Bancroft Library. The evening session will be held in one of the exposition buildings in San Francisco, and will have as its chief feature a paper on the Panama Canal by Rudolph J. Taussig, secretary to the directors of the Panama-Pacific Exposition and a regent of the State university.

The sessions on Friday, July 23, will be held at Stanford University under the direction of its department of history. It is proposed that the morning session shall be devoted to Australia and the Pacific Ocean, and be under the direction of Prof. Payson J. Treat, of Stanford University, to be illustrated by the historical material upon Australia, presented to Stanford University by Mr. Thomas Welton Stanford. After a luncheon at Stanford University, the afternoon session will be devoted to a consideration of, and to the reading of papers upon, Japan and the Pacific Ocean, under the direction of Prof. Ichihashi, of Stanford University.

For Saturday, July 24, arrangements will be made for excursions to Mount Tamalpais, to the Bohemian Club Grove, etc.

A special effort is to be made to take advantage of the meeting of the American Historical Association to obtain the services of six eastern professors of history to take part in the summer school of the University of California at Berkeley, each of them to lecture for one week and to give the results of the latest knowledge in his department. It is upon this feature of the summer school that reliance is placed for an effective session of the teachers of the Pacific coast. From the educational standpoint much is expected upon the Pacific coast from this session, which will enable the teachers of California to meet the men whose books they have long studied and taught from.

Another feature of the proposed Panama-Pacific historical congress is to be found in the proposed meeting of the American Asiatic Association on Monday and Tuesday, July 19 and 20. It is hoped that the American Asiatic Association will be able to arrange for Monday, July 19, sessions upon Chinese history and the relations of China with the Pacific Ocean and upon the relations of other Asiatic powers. On Monday evening would be held the annual banquet of the American Asiatic Association, with the presidential address upon Asiatic interest in the Pacific Ocean. On Tuesday morning, July 20, it is proposed that there should be held a further session of the American Asiatic Association, to deal with the Philippine Islands and their history as part of the history of the Pacific Ocean area under Spain and the United States. Arrangements for this meeting of the American Asiatic Association are still tentative, but if arrangements can be made along these lines they will lead up to the contribution of the American Historical Association's special meeting in California.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

The committee on publications is able to present an encouraging report. Just before the last annual meeting—that is, in December, 1913—Volume I of the annual report for 1911 was distributed. Volume II was distributed in January, 1914.

Owing to the Yale University Press taking over the publication of Writings on American History, the printing of the annual reports has been greatly facilitated. That of 1912, in one volume, was distributed in September, 1914.

Volume I of 1913 is in page proof and probably will be distributed some time in March. Volume II, the Bayard Papers, is about to be sent to the Publisher.

Prize essays.—Muzzey's prize essay, the first of the series, "The Spirit of the Franciscans," has been reprinted in the same form as the others, and is now obtainable at 75 cents by those who do not already possess it, or by those who wish to have their set complete and uniform.

Miss Barbour's essay, which received the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in 1913, "Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington," has been read in proof and is now being printed. It should be ready for distribution in February.

The committee on publications was given a single appropriation of \$1,000 to see if with that and the receipts of all sales of association publications it could not finance its work (the main expense being that of publishing the prize essays) without drawing on the funds of the association for any further support.

Our total receipts last year amounted to \$1,105.39, and our disbursements to \$1,127.72, a deficit for the year of less than \$23. The important point is that we are accumulating a stock of published essays, so that the total receipts tend to increase each year. In another year these receipts should be large enough to pay for the cost of publishing the current essays, and the committee ought to be able to show a profit. But we need the support of individual members of the association in purchasing copies of our publications. We ought to sell 60 copies of each of the prize essays to come out even.

Members will be interested in the following statistics of the series:

Krehbiel, 487 copies sold, profit.....	\$165.50
Carter, 523 copies sold, profit.....	87.40
Notestein, 582 copies sold, loss.....	317.10
Turner, 386 copies sold, loss.....	289.90
Brown, 326 copies sold, loss.....	265.50
Cole, 323 copies sold, loss.....	467.50
Muzzey (reprint), 161 copies sold.	

Respectfully submitted.

MAX FARRAND, *Chairman.*

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Matters under consideration by this committee include a Joint Finding List of Historical Periodicals, a classified index to Collections on European History, a list of Collections on American History, and a Bibliography of American Travels.

It is a matter of great congratulation that the Library of Congress has been able to take up the matter of a joint finding list of periodicals in American libraries and is progressing with the same. This is by far the most satisfactory of the three solutions of the matter begun on the initiative of the council of this association and taken up for them by the executive board of the American Library Association.

This, however, fulfills only one of the objects sought to be gained by the Collections on European History. At a time when this was first issued there were more than 300 sets which could not be found in any library in this country and Harvard, which had the largest number, lacked nearly 1,000 out of 2,200. At the present time the number which can not be found in any library has been very greatly reduced, and each of four geographical localities have added several hundred to their resources, Harvard having added 700 or 800 sets. To serve this other need of suggesting such historical periodicals, commonly cited as do

not occur in American libraries or occur rarely, a brief title check list is in somewhat advanced state of preparation.

Classed index to the European Historical Collection was held up by the absence of Dr. Walter Lichtenstein in South America and the illness of Dr. Shearer. It is hoped to make a combined classed index of the collections and periodicals.

Some material has been gathered toward a check list of Collections on American History.

The Bibliography of American Travels is being carried on by a subcommittee of which Dr. Bernard C. Steiner is chairman. This committee reports that its collection now contains about 3,000 titles printed on Library of Congress cards and a list of perhaps 1,500 additional titles, a list of which is being prepared for distribution among libraries which have undertaken to catalogue and secure the printing of cards for such additional works. The problem of printing this bibliography waits on sufficient funds, but in the meantime it secures to libraries the possibility of getting a card bibliography and of getting cards with which to catalogue their books on the subject. It will certainly also be possible to publish a short title check list of these titles.

Respectfully submitted.

E. C. RICHARDSON, *Chairman.*

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MODERN ENGLISH HISTORY.

The material promised by this committee for Volumes I and II of the bibliography has already been sent to the general editor in London, Dr. Prothero. Interest in the war has led to letting this material lie unutilized and to the postponement of progress on the work. The committee has felt that it must either suspend its activities until the end of the war leaves the English committee free to bring its part into combination with the American committee and then to proceed to the speedy publication of the first two volumes; or else, by means of such pressure as can be properly put on the English committee, lay out with them a general program for the completion of the third volume, and then proceed to a preparation of our contribution to that volume. We would thus have that much more of the material ready when the English collaborators resume their work, and all three volumes might be brought to completion and published at the same time.

There is no need for further appropriation at the present time, but the committee understands that appropriations formerly made and unexpended will be available at a later time when the residue of the committee's expenses will need to be met.

Respectfully submitted,

E. P. CHEYNEY, *Chairman.*

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

REPORT OF THE ADVISORY BOARD OF EDITORS OF THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE.

The receipts of the History Teacher's Magazine from November 25, 1913, to November 25, 1914, were as follows:

From subscriptions:

699 at \$2.....	\$1,398.00
353 at \$1.70.....	600.10
921 at \$1.....	921.00
13 at various rates.....	23.41

1,986 Total..... 2,942.51

From advertisements	\$377.
From guaranty fund.....	600.
From American Historical Association.....	600.
	4,520.

The increase in the number of subscribers was 383 and the increase receipts from subscribers was \$567.96. The net increase in receipts from sources was \$509.24.

The expenditures were:

Printing	\$1,990.
Payment for contributed articles.....	729.
Managing editor.....	600.
Clerical assistance, postage, advertising, etc.....	707.
Total.....	4,027.

There was an increase of \$253.26 in the amount paid to contributors and a n increase of \$339.50 in total expenditures.

Summary of financial condition.

Cash on hand Nov. 25, 1913.....	\$625.
Total receipts, Nov. 25, 1913, to Nov. 25, 1914.....	4,520.
	5,145.
Total expenditures, Nov. 25, 1913, to Nov. 25, 1914.....	4,027.
Balance on hand.....	1,118.

As the financial arrangements made by the association for reviving the magazine and for assisting in its publication expire with the present year, the fact of chief interest and significance is that the enterprise has not become self-supporting. The magazine has from the beginning been widely and thoroughly advertised. It has had the good will of history teachers associations and of progressive teachers of history in all parts of the country. The increase in subscriptions during the year has been encouraging. But there is reason to think that the present number, about 2,000, must be accepted as an approximate measure of the response to be expected for some years to come. Eventually, in all probability the number of subscribers will be materially increased. The magazine is itself the chief agent in spreading light, which will in time reach from the more to less progressive schools and create a wider demand for its services.

To continue the magazine with the present remuneration to the managing editor will, so far as can now be foreseen, require for some years to come outside assistance to the extent of at least \$1,000 a year. Of this amount \$200 can be counted upon as already assured. The New England History Teachers Association and the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland will, it is assumed, each continue to appropriate \$100 annually.

The problem of how to raise the additional \$800 has been under serious consideration for some weeks, but no definite statement of results can as yet be made. It is the opinion of the advisory board, as it must be the opinion of all who have the interests of history teaching at heart, that the magazine should be continued, and, as a necessary guarantee of the maintenance of the present high standards, that it should continue under its present managing editor.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY JOHNSON, *Chairman.*

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS.

To the members of the American Historical Association.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: By your action taken last year at Charleston you not only designated the undersigned as your nominating committee, who, in accordance with the custom of the association, should present to you at this time a list of persons in their judgment fitted to fill the elective offices of the association for the coming year; but you also, in effect, constituted us a special committee, charged to formulate and report to you "a plan by which the general opinion of the association on nominations might be more fully elicited." In consequence of our double task we find it necessary to impose on your patience with a longer report than your nominating committees have heretofore presented.

From the very adjournment of the business meeting at Charleston we have sought opportunities for discussing with members of the association the duties imposed upon us. In the April number of the *American Historical Review* we published a general request for suggestions. Less than half a dozen members responded. Unable to infer the general opinion from so scanty a representation, we prepared a circular which the treasurer obligingly sent to every member with the September bills. Nearly 3,000 blanks were thus distributed; 222 of them have been returned to us. Among the suggestions which they conveyed were many that clearly fell outside the competence of our committee. All such we transmitted to the secretary of the council, at his request, and we understand that careful consideration has been given to them, and that the council will report a recommendation for dealing further with them. Meanwhile, we, not being in any sense a committee on constitutional revision, have confined our efforts to the matters clearly referred to us—to specific nominations for the coming year, and to a plan of nominating thereafter which may, we hope, afford the general opinion free scope to make itself known.

Turning first to the plan of nominating hereafter, we have to report that of the 222 blanks returned to us 40 made no positive answer to our first question—whether or not the interests of the association suggest a substantial change in its method of nominating officers. Of the remaining 182, there were 49, or 27 per cent, that favored a change, and 133, or 73 per cent, that opposed a change. Of the 49 members favoring a change, 32, or a little under two-thirds, gave descriptions more or less definite of the method of nomination or of election that they would prefer. The methods thus suggested were of great diversity and we were not able to discover in them an appreciable trend toward any particular device. In connection with them we have read attentively the correspondence concerning the matter published last winter in the *Nation*, and also Mr. H. A. Aikens's detailed description, in *Science* for May 15 last, of "The government of learned societies," and have found ourselves forced to the conclusion that while many methods of nomination have worked fairly well, there is no method that affords a guarantee of satisfaction. Our own suggestion is, therefore, submitted with diffidence. We offer it not as a panacea, but as an experiment.

In our opinion a learned society of diverse and scattered membership like ours will do well, on the whole, to avail itself of such judgment as a representative nominating committee can form after deliberate survey of the whole field. Both the prevailing practice of similar societies and the preponderant vote of our own members support us in recommending that the committee device be not abandoned. We are, however, of opinion that the nominating committee should be chosen a year in advance, not by the council, but by the business meeting, and by such form of election as the meeting shall from time to time approve.

Our experience with this year's circular, which evoked relatively numerous expressions of approval, leads us to recommend, further, that the nominating committee at some convenient opportunity, perhaps at the time of the September bills, invite every member to express his preference or preferences regarding every office to be filled by election at the next business meeting. We assume that the replies, unless they shall be far more numerous than heretofore in the association's experience, will be treated not as instructions, but merely as suggestions. Even so, we are confident that no nominating committee of this association, when making its report, will fail to assign to such preferences all the weight that their character as "the general opinion of the association" can entitle them to claim. How great that shall be must depend in part upon the proportion of members who care to reply.

Even with the guidance thus afforded it, a nominating committee may fail to gauge correctly "the general opinion of the association on nomination." We recommend therefore that the committee's nominations be published in advance, perhaps by printing them in the program, and that the committee prepare, for distribution to attending members, upon their registration at the meeting, a printed ballot, which, in addition to the committee's nominations shall contain such other names as may be proposed, in writing, to the chairman of the committee, by 20 or more members, and shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting upon such further nominations as may be individually presented on the floor of the business meeting.

In offering these suggestions we have purposely refrained from giving them a highly definite formulation, because, in our judgment, the association, if pleased to approve them in principle, will show its wisdom by leaving the administrative minutiae of the plan to be worked out experimentally by the next nominating committee, instead of attempting to settle all such details in advance.

Turning now to the question of this year's nominations, we would first mention the doubt expressed to us by a number of members concerning the advisability of the practice, which in our circular we had assumed that the association would continue to follow, of advancing the incumbents of the vice presidential offices, from time to time, toward or to the presidency. We wish distinctly understood that we take up this question now as a matter of principle wholly irrespective of the persons who may have occupied or may occupy those offices. Regarding it thus, and without expressing any opinion whether or not, if starting in a clear field, we should urge the adoption of that plan, we cannot overlook the actual circumstance that, save when interfered with by death, it has been pursued as the unbroken practice of the association for more than 20 years. In consequence of this long period of uniform conduct, a presumption seems to us to arise that the association has of late intended its vice presidents to make a customary course of office, and, in consequence, that a nominating committee would be unwarranted in diverging from the practice even if it desired to do so, save upon specific warrant by the association itself. In order, however, to open the way for a departure hereafter, in case the association shall think it wise to depart, we have secured from the gentleman whom we are about to nominate for second vice president a ready consent that his nomination to the office, and if, as we hope, he shall be elected, his election also, may be regarded as transactions complete in themselves, leaving the association absolutely unpledged next year so far as he is concerned. That, however, is by no means to be taken as implying an opinion on our part that he should not be advanced. In presenting names for membership in the council we have been guided by the desire to distribute the nominations with reference

to geographical location and to their fields of historical study. We can not be too emphatic in repeating that we have approached this entire question solely as one of principle, not one of persons.

We have the honor to nominate: For president, H. Morse Stephens; for first vice president, George L. Burr; for second vice president, Worthington C. Ford; for secretary, Waldo G. Leland; for treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen; for curator, A. Howard Clark; for secretary of the council, Evarts B. Greene; for members of the council, Frederic Bancroft, Eugene C. Barker, Guy Stanton Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Ulrich B. Phillips, J. M. Vincent.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

CHARLES H. HULL, *Chairman.*

G. M. DUTCHER.

J. H. T. MCPHERSON.

LOIS K. MATHEWS.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

CHICAGO, December 30, 1914.

(Messrs. McPherson and Schafer were not present at the last meeting of the committee, but had expressed by letter their concurrence in the proposed report.)

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD AT THE METROPOLITAN CLUB, NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER 28, 1914.

The council met at 10 a. m. with President McLaughlin in the chair.

Present: Messrs. Stephens, Burr, Leland, Bowen, McMaster, Jameson, Hart, Turner, Dunning, Ames, Munro, Coolidge, Vincent, Bancroft, Haskins, and the secretary.

The following chairmen of committees also attended the meeting: Messrs. Ford, Paltsits, Hazen, Johnson, Richardson, Farrand, Cheyney, Thompson, and Bigelow.

The secretary of the association presented his annual report, showing that the total membership was 2,911 as against 2,834 in November, 1913, and 2,820 in November, 1912.

The secretary reported the receipt of invitations to send delegates to the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, January 8 to 10, 1915, under the auspices of the Louisiana Historical Society, and to the International Congress of Genealogy to be held in San Francisco, July 26 to 31, 1915, under the auspices of the California Genealogical Society. The president was authorized to appoint delegates to these and similar gatherings.

The secretary was authorized to make arrangements for standardizing and printing the stationery used by officers and committees of the association.

The secretary having reported the receipt of a collection of 14 medals presented to the association by Adolphe Carranza, of Buenos Aires, the secretary of the council was instructed to write a letter of thanks to the donor. It was further voted that the collection be deposited in the Library of Congress or in the Bureau of American Republics, as might be determined by the secretary of the association.

The request of the secretary for an appropriation of \$120 for the purpose of securing a room for the storage of records and stock was referred to the secretary and the treasurer for further investigation and report.

The secretary of the council reported briefly.

The treasurer presented the following report:

Assets, Dec. 23, 1913:

Cash on hand-----	\$2, 894. 24
Bond and mortgage, real estate at 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y-----	20, 000. 00
Accrued interest on above from Sept. 29 to Dec. 29, 1913----	188. 88
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock, at 210--	4, 200. 00
	<u>\$27, 283. 12</u>

Assets, Nov. 25, 1914:

Cash on hand-----	1, 106. 98
Bond and mortgage, real estate at 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York, N. Y-----	20, 000. 00
Accrued interest on above, at 4½ per cent, from Sept. 29 to Nov. 28, 1914-----	150. 00
20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock, at 200--	4, 000. 00
	<u>25, 256. 98</u>

Showing a decrease in assets since Dec. 23, 1913, of----- 2, 026. 14

Receipts, Dec. 23, 1913, to Nov. 25, 1914:

Dividends-----	200. 00
Interest on mortgage-----	875. 00
Annual dues-----	6, 057. 88
Publications-----	818. 88
Loan-----	2, 500. 00
Miscellaneous receipts-----	105. 90

Balance on hand Dec. 23, 1913-----

10, 557. 88

2, 894. 24

13, 451. 82

Net payments----- 9, 844. 88

Net receipts----- 8, 057. 88

Excess of payments over receipts----- 1, 787. 00

The treasurer, the secretary of the association, and the secretary of the council were appointed a committee on the budget to report at the December meeting, it being understood that the financial recommendations of the several officers and committees should be referred to this committee before final action. Prof. Stephens presented a brief report on the work of the Pacific coast branch.

Reports were received from the following standing and special committees: Historical manuscripts commission, public archives commission, committee on the Justin Winsor prize, editors of the American Historical Review, board of advisory editors of the History Teacher's Magazine, committee on bibliography, committee on publications, general committee, editor of the reprints of original narratives of early American history, committee on a bibliography of modern English history, committee on indexing the papers and proceedings of the association, committee on the military history prize, committee on program for the Chicago meeting, advisory committee on the publication of the archives of the American Revolution, and the committee on headquarters in London and Paris.

Prof. C. H. Hull, chairman of the committee on nominations, made a brief informal statement regarding the opinions of members of the association as brought out in the recent correspondence of that committee. After some discussion it was voted that the council recommend to the association, at the business meeting in Chicago, the appointment of a committee of nine to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the association, with

instructions to report at the annual meeting of 1915. It was also voted that this item be included in the docket for that meeting.

It was voted that the minutes of the November and December meetings of the council be printed and distributed, so far as time permits, before the business meeting of the association. The president and secretary of the association and the secretary of the council were appointed a committee to prepare for publication the minutes of the council as provided for in the foregoing vote.

A request from Prof. A. B. Hart, as committee on the indexing of the reports of the association, for an appropriation of \$750 was referred to the budget committee. The committee on publications was also instructed to consider the question of the mode of publishing the index, and if possible to report at the December meeting.

The advisory board of editors of the History Teacher's Magazine having made a statement indicating the need of continued financial assistance from the association, it was voted that in the opinion of the council the History Teacher's Magazine ought to be continued if possible. The committee on the budget was instructed to consider ways and means of carrying out the foregoing resolution and to report at the December meeting.

Prof. E. P. Cheyney, chairman of the committee on a bibliography of modern English history, reported that the outbreak of the war in Europe had interrupted the progress of the work of the English collaborators. The committee was therefore authorized at its discretion to suspend its activities during the coming year. The budget committee was instructed to report upon the state of the fund arising from appropriations and gifts for the preparation of this bibliography.

The secretary of the association and the secretary of the council reported invitations for the meetings of 1915 and 1916 from various cities including Baltimore, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. An invitation to hold a meeting in Philadelphia was presented by Prof. Cheyney. Reference was also made to a suggestion that the association meet in Toronto. In accordance with the action of the council in November, 1913, it was voted to recommend that the annual meeting of the association for 1916 be held in Cincinnati. It was also voted that in the opinion of the council the meeting for 1917 should be held in Philadelphia.

The subject of the proposed summer meeting in San Francisco in 1915 was then discussed. The secretary announced the resignation of Prof. E. D. Adams, of Leland Stanford University, chairman of the program committee. Prof. I. Morse Stephens then presented a preliminary report on the arrangements for this meeting, with the understanding that more definite proposals would be presented at the December meeting.

A request for an appropriation of \$25 in addition to the usual appropriation for the Pacific coast branch was approved.

It was voted to refer to the budget committee, with the indorsement of the council, the proposed continuance of the appropriation of \$200 for the Writings in American History.

It was voted that the special advisory committee on the publication of the archives of the American Revolution be continued for another year.

The committee on headquarters in London and Paris was requested to report on possible means of maintaining the headquarters in London without appropriations from the association.

The secretary presented the request of the college entrance examination board for a fuller definition of the history requirement. Discussion of the subject was postponed until the December meeting.

The relations of the association with the American Society of Church History were briefly discussed, and the secretary was instructed to write a letter asking the society to consider a meeting with the association in Washington in 1915.

The secretary of the association was authorized to prepare for distribution at the opening of the annual business meeting a reprint of certain introductory sections of the annual report, giving information regarding the organization of the association.

The president and secretary of the association, Mr. Munro, and the secretary of the council were appointed a committee on appointments to report at the Chicago meeting.

Having continued its discussion through luncheon, the council adjourned at 5.30 p. m. to meet at the Auditorium Hotel in Chicago December 30, 1914, at 9 a. m.

EVARTS B. GREENE, *Secretary of the Council.*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN CHICAGO, DE CEMBER 29, 1914.

The council met at 10 a. m., President McLaughlin in the chair.

Present: Messrs. Turner, Bancroft, Munro, Burr, Coolidge, Stephens, Jameson, Leland, Vincent, and the secretary.

The committee on appointments presented its report, and the following assignments were approved:

Historical manuscripts commission.—Gaillard Hunt, C. H. Ambler, Archer B. Hulbert, Herbert E. Bolton, W. O. Scroggs, Justin H. Smith.

Committee on Justin Winsor prize.—C. R. Fish, G. L. Beer, I. J. Cox, Everett Kimball, Allen Johnson.

Committee on Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—L. M. Larson, S. B. Fay, W. R. Shepherd, Paul Van Dyke, A. B. White.

Public archives commission.—Victor H. Paltsits, C. W. Alvord, C. M. Andrews, S. J. Buck, George S. Godard, Thomas M. Owen, A. S. Salley, jr..

Committee on bibliography.—Ernest C. Richardson, Walter Lichtenstein, W. W. Rockwell, W. A. Slade, B. C. Steiner, F. J. Teggart.

Committee on publications (ex officio with exception of the chairman).—Max Farrand, C. R. Fish, Gaillard Hunt, J. F. Jameson, L. M. Larson, Ernest C. Richardson, Victor H. Paltsits, and the secretaries of the council and of the association.

General committee.—W. E. Lingelbach, Annie H. Abel, Arthur I. Andrews, W. K. Boyd, J. H. Callahan, C. E. Carter, Carleton H. Hayes, R. M. McElroy, R. W. Neeser, E. S. Noyes, Louis Pelzer, Morgan P. Robinson, N. W. Stephenson, E. M. Violette, Clarence M. Warner, and the secretaries of the association and of the Pacific coast branch.

Committee on history in schools (subject to the establishment of such a committee by the association).—W. S. Ferguson, Victoria A. Adams, H. E. Bourne, H. L. Cannon, Edgar Dawson, O. M. Dickerson, H. D. Foster, S. B. Harding, Margaret McGill, R. A. Maurer, James Sullivan.

Conference of historical societies.—Lyon G. Tyler, chairman; A. H. Shearer, secretary.

Advisory board of editors of the History Teacher's Magazine.—Henry Johnson, chairman (reelected to serve three years from Jan. 1, 1915); F. M. Fling, James Sullivan, George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat (these four hold over), Anna B. Thompson (elected to serve three years from Jan. 1, 1915).

Committee on program, thirty-first annual meeting, Washington, 1915.—C. D. Hazen, J. S. Bassett, J. F. Baldwin, C. T. Huth, R. M. Johnston, H. B. Learned, J. H. Latané, Ruth Putnam.

Committee on local arrangements.—Herbert Putnam, Frederic Bancroft, David J. Hill, J. B. Henderson, H. B. Learned, with power to add to the membership.

Committee on the military history prize.—Capt. A. L. Conger, Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, F. M. Fling, A. B. Hart.

Committee on program, special meeting, San Francisco, July 20-24, 1915.—Frederic L. Thompson, E. C. Barker, H. E. Bolton, Max Farrand, Joseph Schafer, A. B. Show, Frederick J. Teggart, Payson J. Treat, James F. Willard.

The resignations of Messrs. A. C. McLaughlin and George L. Burr from the board of editors of the *American Historical Review* were presented. The council voted to accept the resignation of Mr. McLaughlin, but declined to accept that of Mr. Burr. It was voted to defer final action on the choice of editors until the meeting of December 30.

The committee on the budget presented the following estimates of receipts and expenditures for 1915:

Estimated receipts:

Annual dues	\$8,550
Income from investments	1,100
Royalties	180
Sales of publications	670
Grant from American Historical Review	300
Total	10,800
Deduct	1,575
Available for appropriation	10,225

Estimated expenditures:

Offices of secretary and treasurer	1,500
Office of secretary of the council	50
Pacific coast branch	75
Expenses of executive council	300
Expenses of thirtieth annual meeting	175
Expenses of thirty-first annual meeting	150
Miscellaneous	100
General index to papers and reports	400
Index to annual reports, 1913-14	100
Committee on publications	643
Editorial work	300
American Historical Review	4,600
Public archives commission	150
Historical manuscripts commission	50
Committee on bibliography	100
General committee	100
Conference of historical societies	50
Herbert Baxter Adams prize, award and expenses of committee	225
Subsidy to annual bibliography of Writings on American History	200
Subsidy to History Teacher's Magazine	400
Expenses of headquarters in London	100
Total	9,768

The council voted to adopt as the budget for 1915 the estimates of expenditures presented by the committee, but with the provision that the appropriation of \$400 in support of the History Teacher's Magazine be contingent upon the rais-

¹ There are deducted \$200 for unforeseen shrinkage, \$250 held in trust for military history prize, \$125 held in trust for bibliography of modern English history.

ing of an additional fund of \$600, and that the appropriation be repeated in 1915 subject to the same provision.

The president, the secretary of the council, and the secretary of the association were appointed a committee on the selection of matter to be printed for distribution at the business meeting of the association.

It was voted not to continue the committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools, and to recommend to the association the establishment of a standing committee on history in schools. It was further voted, subject to the adoption of the above recommendation, that the persons named in the foregoing list of committees constitute the members of this committee for 1915.

It was voted to refer to the proposed committee on history in schools the request of the college entrance examination board "for a fuller definition of the history requirement."

The secretary reported a request from the president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the appointment of a committee to confer with a similar committee of that organization on the relations of the two associations. It was voted that a committee of two be appointed by the Chair for this purpose.

A request from the Conference of Historical Societies for action looking "toward the preparation of a comprehensive survey of the organization and activities of historical agencies in the United States and Canada" was referred to a committee of two to be appointed for this purpose by the Chair.

It was voted to invite the Naval Historical Society and the Columbia Historical Society to participate in the annual meeting of 1915.

On motion of the secretary, it was voted to recommend to the association the adoption of the following rule respecting the payment of annual dues:

The annual dues for the ensuing 12 months are payable on September 1. Publications will not be sent to members whose dues remain unpaid after October 15. Members whose dues remain unpaid on March 1 shall be dropped from the roll of the association.

The secretary presented an invitation from Mr. Clarence M. Warner on behalf of the Ontario Historical Society, indorsed by officials of the Canadian Government and others, to hold the annual meeting of 1916 in Ottawa, Canada. The secretary was instructed to express to Mr. Warner the thanks of the council for the invitation, and its regret that previous action will prevent the council from recommending acceptance at this time.

The council thereupon adjourned to meet Wednesday, December 30, at 9 a. m.

EVARTS B. GREENE, *Secretary of the Council.*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION HELD IN CHICAGO, DECEMBER 30, 1914.

The council met at 9 a. m., with President McLaughlin in the chair.

Present: Messrs. Bancroft, Burr, Coolidge, Jameson, Leland, Munro, Stephens, Turner, Vincent, and the secretary.

The appointment of committees was taken up as unfinished business and completed as follows:

Committee on military and naval history.—R. M. Johnston, F. M. Fling, Charles O. Paullin, Capt. A. L. Conger, Capt. O. L. Spaulding.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.—Edward P. Cheyney, A. L. Cross, R. B. Merriman, Conyers Read, W. C. Abbott.

Board of editors of the American Historical Review.—(Messrs. Burr, Cheyney, Jameson, Turner, hold over); James Harvey Robinson, reelected for a

term of six years from January 1, 1915; Carl Becker, elected for the unexpired term of A. C. McLaughlin (two years from January 1, 1915).

The following communication from the board of editors of the American Historical Review respecting the tenure of office of the editors was received, and after some discussion was deferred for consideration at the November meeting of the council:

CHICAGO, December 29, 1914.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

DEAR SIR: At the meeting of the board of editors of the American Historical Review November 29, 1914, it was voted that the board of editors stand ready to modify arrangements between the Review and the council of the association in such a way that the editors would be hereafter elected for a term of three years instead of six, provided, in the judgment of the council, such a modification would be for the interest of the association.

Respectfully, yours,

FREDERICK J. TURNER,
Secretary of the Board of Editors.

The general subject of the relations of the association with the American Historical Review being then under consideration, it was voted that the council recommend to the association that if the proposed committee of nine to consider the constitution and organization of the association be appointed, its functions shall include a consideration of the relations between the American Historical Association and the American Historical Review.

The council voted to make no nominations for members of the committee on nominations.

A request having been received from citizens of Richmond and others for a division of the annual meeting of 1915 between Washington and Richmond, the secretary was instructed to convey the thanks of the council for the courtesies offered, but to say that the council does not see its way clear to recommend any change in the action already taken by the association respecting the annual meeting in Washington.

Mr. Jameson presented a communication from Mr. Hart respecting the preparation of the index to the annual reports of the association, which was referred to the committee on the indexing of the reports of the association, with the understanding that no new arrangement should be made involving additional expenditure in 1915.

Adjourned.

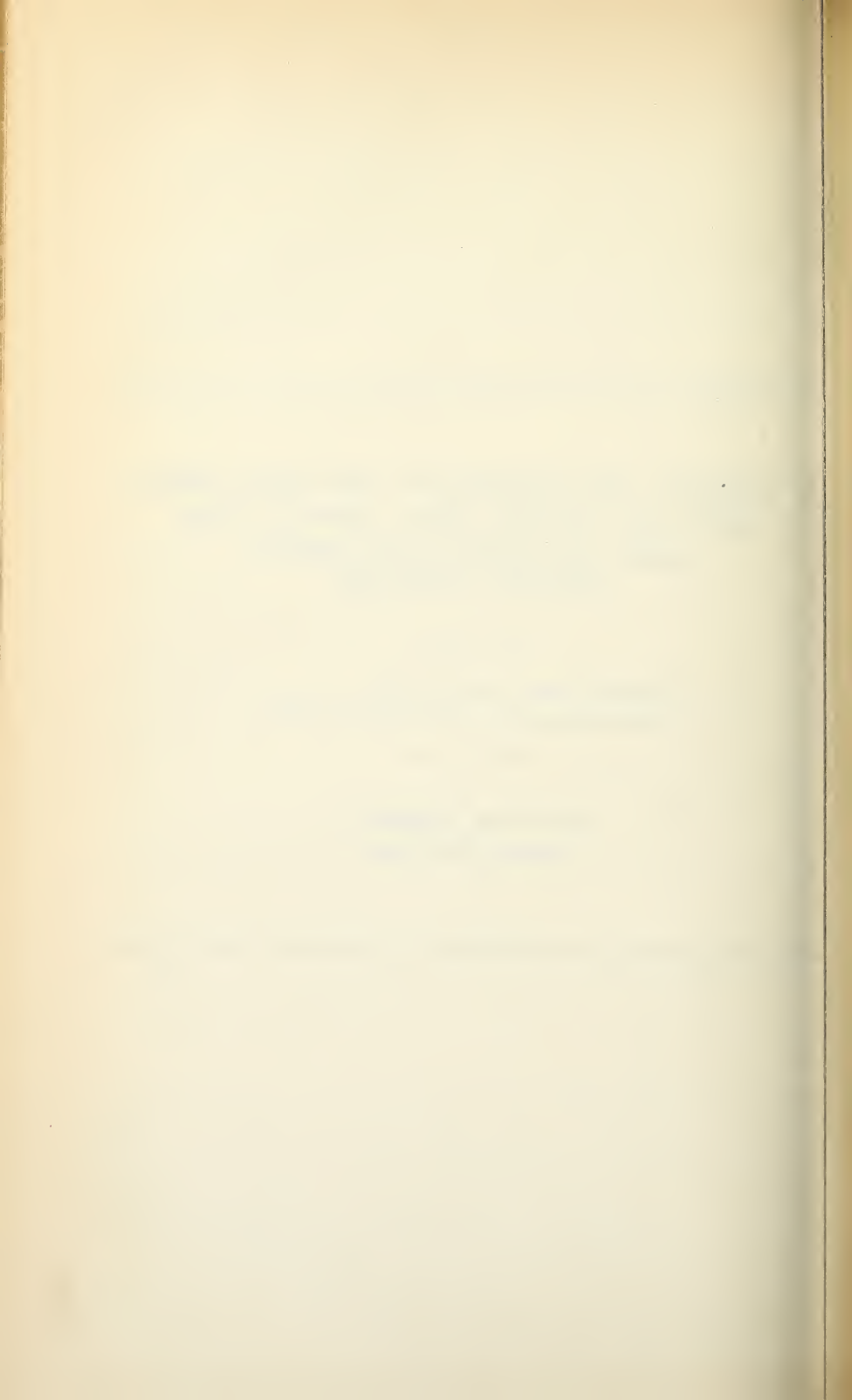
EVARTS B. GREENE, *Secretary of the Council.*

II. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL MEETING
AND OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

SEATTLE, WASH., MAY 21-23, 1914.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., NOVEMBER 27-28, 1914.

By W. A. MORRIS,
Secretary of the Branch.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL MEETING AND OF THE ELEVENTH
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMER-
ICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

By W. A. MORRIS.

I. SPECIAL MEETING, SEATTLE, MAY 21-23, 1914.

A special meeting of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association was held Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, May 21, 22, and 23, in Seattle, at the University of Washington. The president, Prof. Edmond S. Meany, presided.

The two papers of the Thursday morning session were by Mr. Herbert I. Priestley, of the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Cal., and by Mr. Thompson C. Elliott, of Walla Walla. Mr. Priestley's paper, which was entitled "The log of the *Princesa*," and which in the absence of its author was read by the secretary, dealt with the Spanish version, recorded by Martínez, of incidents attending the seizure in 1789 of British ships at Nootka Sound. The document upon which the paper was based is an especially important source for the history of the Nootka Sound conflict, as it is strictly contemporaneous with the events which it relates. It gives another statement of the case by an active, though naturally prejudiced, participant, but which, even in the final copy, is of earlier date than any action in the case by the Mexican viceroy. According to the viewpoint of the paper, the pretended Portuguese register of the ship *Phigeneia* was not the "harmless trick meant solely to deceive Celestials" which Manning believed it to be. Furthermore, it was held that the circumstantial account which Martínez gives of a quarrel with Colnett seems to show that the acute situation was caused quite as much by the arrogance of Colnett as by misunderstanding on the part of the interpreter. At the conclusion of the reading of the paper, the president made some interesting statements regarding the topography of Vancouver Island.

Mr. Elliott's topic was "Fur trading posts in the Columbia River Basin prior to 1811." After an introduction in which as a matter of background he called attention to the direction which the Columbia takes in British Columbia, first north and then south, suggesting also notice of the northern railway lines of Washington and

Idaho for an understanding of early routes of travel, he proceeded to give an account of the establishments of the first trading posts in this region.

At the beginning of the afternoon session Dr. Ralph H. Lutz, of the University of Washington, presented a paper on "Schleiden's diplomacy in connection with the American Civil War." Schleiden, it was explained, was a native of Schleswig, who represented the city of Bremen in Washington at the outbreak of the Civil War. A strong member of the foreign diplomatic corps, he gave a dinner of honor of Lincoln two days prior to the inauguration, and in the interest of the Hanseatic carrying trade strove to maintain peace in America. He availed himself of the British courier service, and in 1864 was transferred to the Court of St. James. The paper was based on documents in the archives of Bremen.

The paper of Mr. C. A. Sprague, assistant State superintendent of schools for Washington, had as its title "The Spanish-American War and the War of 1812." It aimed, so Mr. Sprague stated, at interpretation rather than investigation. He held that, although the events of the two wars are in striking contrast, yet each terminated an older period of politics and brought a new period of nationalism. The period before the War of 1812 was characterized by the intense individualistic spirit of the American Revolution. Means of communication were poor, ministers narrow, editors embittered. The War of 1812 was the great force in establishing nationality. The destruction of oversea commerce led to the upbuilding of domestic commerce and to the nationalistic system of Clay, who is the hero of the period. The rising tide of nationalism is also marked by the decisions of the Supreme Court. Only when slavery seemed in danger did Calhoun desert the movement.

Prior to 1898, Mr. Sprague maintained, political life looked back to the Civil War. The fast-cooling embers of sectional hate were fanned for political purposes. Civil service was opposed until the rebels were out and the Civil War veterans in. This aided the formation of political machines and promoted corruption. In the South the Confederate veterans held the stage. There was stagnation of political thought. After 1898 again appeared a new nationalism. The Navy, always a nationalizing force, as in the War of 1812, had been the center of attention. When the United States became a world power and interest turned to the Panama Canal and The Hague conferences the economic doctrine of *laissez faire* went down. The West again blazed the path of nationalism. Nearly every proposal of the Populist platform of 1892 has now been adopted. As in 1812 the center shifted from Virginia, so after 1898 it shifted to the central and western Mississippi Valley.

In the absence of Prof. Edward M. Hulme, of the University of Idaho, his paper on "The fundamental factor in the Renaissance" was read by Prof. O. H. Richardson. The insistence upon individuality, Prof. Hulme held, was the greatest of the factors that gave rise to the Renaissance. The implicit faith and unquestioning obedience of the Middle Ages were destructive of individuality, which was also restricted in political and industrial matters. The story of the Renaissance, it was maintained, is that of the revival of the individual. This had made itself strongly felt in religion by the age of St. Francis. The Crusades had much to do with it. The Goliardi were its forerunners, and the lyric poets of Provence in the twelfth century had struck the note of modernity. In the city republics of the Italian peninsula individuality found opportunity to unfold. This caused men to question the authority of external control and inspired them to develop their latent powers beyond the restricting confines of authority. It was this also which made them ready to question conventional standards of conduct and endowed them with confidence in their own powers.

The concluding paper of the afternoon session was read by Prof. John P. O'Hara, of the University of Oregon. Its title was "Natural law and the American homestead act." Prof. O'Hara stated that the mental furniture which we associate with the American Revolution existed in one feature 75 years later. The movement for free homesteads was greatly advanced by the upholders of natural right. The issue took form in the third decade of the nineteenth century. It is possible to see in the defeat by the Northern States of Benton's move of 1828, a struggle between manufacturers desiring cheap labor and laborers seeking to escape the competition of this market. Here the argument of natural right had weight. A corresponding democratic movement for free education aided Horace Mann. In sketching the campaign for free lands, it was shown that after the conversion of Horace Greely to the movement in 1845 it went forward by leaps and bounds. At one time 600 papers subscribed to its program. After 1853 the House was in the habit of passing homestead acts to be rejected by the Senate. The Republican Party, it was stated, began its life as a workingman's party, and the homestead act was passed at the first session of Congress after the inauguration of Lincoln.

The Friday morning session opened with a paper by Prof. Alice E. Page, of Willamette University, on "The history of the Oxford University Press." In tracing the early history of the oldest provincial press in Great Britain, Prof. Page held that its first book probably dates from 1478. The second Oxford Press was abolished in 1519 by Wolsey.

Prof. Max P. Cushing, of Reed College, in a paper on "Holbach and the French Revolution," adopted the point of view that the French Revolution is one phase of a long struggle between radicalism and conservatism. Holbach, then, stands at one pole of thought, the end of a long development of thought. Among his associates and friends were not only Diderot and the French literary circle of his time, but also Wilkes, Hume, Lord Shelburne, Franklin, and Beccaria. His salon seems to have been the intellectual center of Paris. His philosophy was a very human one. An atheist who went as far as possible in the materialistic and nonreligious point of view, he wrote in a heavy German style and showed little originality. His works to which he never signed his name, had to be printed in Holland. In France they were often burned and their sellers imprisoned. They were translated into languages other than French. Hebert and the atheists of the French Revolution seem to have been influenced by him as were the whole group known as the Ideologists and the English poet Shelley. He represents a school of thought and his influence, it was held, shows that the French Revolution was not an isolated event.

Prof. Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, contributed the third paper of the morning session, which was entitled "The basis of interest in history." It began with a contrast between the history of the eighteenth century and that of the present time. The eighteenth-century ideal of an historian was that of culture, refinement, urbanity. Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" was one of the most popular works of the last quarter of the century. Yet the present-day individual is prone to characterize Gibbon unfavorably as did Carlyle. History was once the monopoly of aristocratic writers and for a favored few. Now, it is the possession of the vast majority of mankind since Gibbon's time has achieved a new outlook. In the eighteenth century social merit counted. To-day history is the study that makes clear the controlling influence of dynamic principles.

Inquiry as to the historical-mindedness of the voter, Prof. Schafer believed, gives no reassuring answer. In no subject except English does home influence count for so much as in history. Teaching must be leveled to the experience of the individual. The resource for the study of social history in the remote school district, where pupils memorize paragraphs from Swinton's "History of the United States," are sometimes great. State and local historical societies can do much to improve the situation. Their material may well be employed in schools. The difficulty is that we give children what we are interested in, not what they are interested in.

The program for Friday afternoon was provided by the proposed Pacific coast branch of the American Political Science Association. Prof. W. F. Ogburn, of Reed College, in his paper on "Direct gov-

ernment in Oregon," suggested a scientific method for making the political and social sciences exact sciences by the use of statistics. Applying his method to 60 bills and 40 constitutional amendments submitted to the voters of Oregon, he concluded that the average vote in Oregon is fairly uniform as compared with the fluctuating vote in Switzerland; that money bills are somewhat more easily rejected than others; that publication of arguments is not associated with large votes; that length of measures has nothing to do with the size of the vote; and that the quality of measures seems to be the great determining force. In State and city referendums Prof. Ogburn found that 65 per cent of the recommendations of the Portland Oregonian and 70 per cent of those of the Taxpayers' League had been adopted.

Prof. R. C. Clark, of the University of Oregon, in his paper on "The teaching of Latin-American history and institutions in American universities," advocated a systematic study of the people to the south of us. He believed that the point of approach should be Spanish and Portuguese history and institutions, and that, except in institutions where special collections of material have been made, there should be given short courses of but two or three hours for a semester.

Prof. L. B. Shippee, of the State College of Washington, in his paper on "Commonwealth legislatures," discussed the proposed commission form of government for States, concluding that the time is not yet ripe for the introduction of such a plan, since it presupposes a larger use of the initiative and referendum than that to which the public is at present committed.

Prof. W. G. Beach, of the University of Washington, presented the concluding paper of the session, which was on "Law and opportunity." He contended that despite the popular idea of America as a land of opportunity law has not always preserved opportunity. Law does not as yet give expression to the philosophical idea of society. Permanent opportunity, he believed, must come with restraint on the individual for the sake of society. Leisure exploitation, represented by the saloon and the street, must be overcome. The socializing of intelligence is of importance, for a large measure of new knowledge is not utilized. Freedom of discussion is necessary to this. The instrumentalities of communication must be controlled in the interest of social welfare, and the university and the library, as people's workshops, must become socialized. If for any class opportunity is wanting, democracy is dead.

The dinner was held Friday evening at the Hotel Washington Annex, Prof. O. H. Richardson, of the University of Washington, presiding. The president of the Pacific coast branch, Prof. Meany, gave an address, and Prof. Robert C. Clark, of the University of

Oregon, spoke on behalf of the Political Science Association. Among those who were called upon and responded were Profs. Ogburn, Reed College; Page, of Willamette University; Jackson, of the State College of Washington; Young, of the University of Utah; President Bushnell, of Pacific University; and the secretary, representing the University of California.

The last session, that on Saturday morning, began with an address by President C. J. Bushnell, of Pacific University, which bore the title "Perspective in history" and in which was advocated in the teaching of history the laying of stress on social history and the evolution of social functions.

Prof. Leroy F. Jackson, of the State College of Washington, in his paper on "Training for citizenship" adopted the view that it is not possible to teach patriotism by reason and study, since it is emotional. He believed that civic training has had the wrong motive, that of aiding discipline, and that history and civics must have civic training as an end. It is the high school that trains for citizenship just as it is the graduate school that trains for scholarship. A great difficulty is that the untrained teacher can not inspire, the trained will not. Secondary teaching should give the student knowledge of the society of his own age and appreciation of social growth and its nature. The tracing of social growth will afford a saving perspective which is the greatest service of history. The study of our age statimally will develop ability to study rather than to memorize. The subject matter of the present high-school course Prof. Jackson considered inadequate to subserve these ends.

The discussion which followed was led by Miss Adella M. Parker of the Broadway High School, Seattle. Miss Parker emphasized the need of expression by young people and stated that universities are too little inclined to make students handle real problems. She regarded a knowledge of economics as essential in the secondary school and believed that boards of education, who have been loath to encourage free discussion of live economic topics, should provide place for free speech.

The secretary urged as against the advocacy of specific programs of reform the greater value to citizenship of training high-school pupils to form correct judgments from data, and made a plea for the study of history with this end in view. He commended the paper which had been read for showing the value of a study of the past and thus avoiding the heresy that only the present has value to the student.

Prof. Lull, of the department of education of the University of Washington, maintained that history must be reevaluated for high school purposes, and that the contact of the past must be made with the student in the present.

The last paper of the session was by Principal H. N. Gridley, of the Daniel Bagley School, Seattle, who took as his topic "Pacific coast history in the American history course." He favored special attention in the grade school to the history of the Pacific coast on the ground that this region is a laboratory of political experiment and, like Plymouth, contains in miniature the elements of national growth.

A committee on resolutions, consisting of President Bushnell and Profs. Jackson and Page, reported resolutions expressing hearty appreciation of the work of the program committee, of the cordial and thoughtful hospitality of the Seattle members, and of the inspiration of the sessions, and also expressing approval of the present-day movement in secondary and higher education to produce intelligent citizenship through a consciousness of social growth and its relation to present-day problems. After the adoption of these resolutions adjournment was taken.

I. ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING, SAN FRANCISCO, NOVEMBER 27-28, 1914.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Pacific coast branch was held in San Francisco on Friday afternoon and on Saturday morning and afternoon, November 27 and 28, 1914. The Friday session convened at 2.30 o'clock in the red room of the Bellevue Hotel. The Saturday sessions, at 10 and 2.30 o'clock, were held at the Girls' High School. The annual dinner, which was on Friday evening, was held at the Bellevue. Throughout the sessions Prof. Edmond S. Meany, the president of the branch, was in the chair.

The first paper of the Friday session, entitled "English royal income in the thirteenth century," was read by Prof. Henry L. Cannon, of Stanford University. He sought to present the new information imparted in a document found in the British record office under the label, "K. R. Exchequer Miscellanea, 1-23 Henry III." After pointing out through internal evidence that this document probably belongs to the year 1275, he suggested the privy council as the probable place of origin. Having quoted Prof. Ramsay's "Dawn of the Constitution" to the effect that it is impossible without great labor to present the figures for the various sources of royal income for the time of Edward I, he called attention to the fact that this manuscript purports to give an estimate of all the various sources of income for that year, and that the sum of the amounts given adds up close to 5,000 pounds, which is what one would expect. It is hoped that this interesting discovery will be published *in extenso* in the near future.

The next paper, which was on "Japanese naturalization and the California anti-alien land law," was by Prof. Roy Malcom, of the

University of Southern California. He held immigration statistics to show that Japan had lived up to the agreement of 1907 to prohibit direct immigration of laborers to the United States. The Japanese population of California in 1910 was estimated at 55,000 of whom 5,000 were merchants, 1,000 were students, 20,000 were farm hands, the remainder being distributed in small numbers among various occupations. This great preponderance of farm laborers is due to the fact that for centuries the Japanese have been an agricultural people. They began going to the Sacramento and Santa Clara valleys in the eighties, soon after the passage of the first Chinese exclusion act. There were present in California in 1913 about 57,000 Japanese owning only 12,726 acres of land. The land law passed by the California Legislature in the spring of that year aimed to prohibit the ownership of land for agricultural purposes to persons ineligible to citizenship. There was incorporated a provision that all aliens may own lands to the extent of treaty agreements between the United States and other powers and may also lease lands. Baron Chinda, the Japanese ambassador, has held that this prevents transmission to the heirs of Japanese of lands lawfully acquired and has cited a treaty provision on the point. This our Government has never answered. Secretary Bryan has declared that the intent of the law is to respect the treaty, and that aliens have the full privilege of suing in the Federal courts.

Turning to the actual status of the Japanese as regards citizenship Prof. Malcom showed that they have never been excluded from naturalization by specific statute, but that the question has thus far been an ethnological one, the courts holding that the term "white person" in the naturalization law excluded the Japanese. Yet both State and Federal courts have occasionally naturalized Japanese. Among the number is Dr. Miyakawa, a prominent publicist of New York City. In conclusion it was stated that the question may be settled in favor of the Japanese either through the passage by Congress of a law conferring the privilege of naturalization or through an interpretation by the Supreme Court of the United States of the term "white person" so as to include the Japanese.

The concluding paper of the session was on "The Anglo-Saxon sheriff," and was presented by the secretary, Prof. William A. Morris, of the University of California. He stated that a satisfactory account of the development and functions of the office of sheriff prior to the year 1066 has never been written. The meagerness and scrappiness of the source of the material will leave much to be desired in any account; but, until that material has been fully utilized, one certainly may not profess to understand the old English administrative system nor to appraise the respective importance of the Norman

and the Anglo-Saxon elements which combined to form the English state. Recent investigation finds no foundation for the belief that the sheriff was a primitive or even an ancient official of the Anglo-Saxon state. The king's reeves of the later laws obviously include sheriffs; but it is next to impossible to make the identification in any specific instance. The charters, the Domesday evidence relative to the reign of Edward the Confessor, and a few monastic annals and records are the actual sources which must be used.

The office, it was stated, can be traced with certainty only from about Edgar's time. As president of the shire court and as military leader, the sheriff was the subordinate of the earl, while in exercising the police and fiscal functions of his reeveship he was personal agent of the king. Thus, by the reign of Edward the Confessor he is rapidly taking over the whole administration of the shire. His recorded history, so it was maintained, shows the impossibility of the antagonism of interest which some have assumed between his office and that of earl. In the period when earls were the strongest political power in the State their functions could have been taken over by sheriffs only with their consent. Whether or not the explanation lies in a measure of control over the sheriff by the earl, in actual practice as well as in theory the former was the king's reeve, who was his personal appointee and who received direction from him. Herein, it was believed, may be seen the germ of most of the centralizing measures of William the Conqueror.

At the annual dinner Prof. Ephraim D. Adams, of Stanford University, presided. The president, Prof. Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington, delivered the annual address, taking as his subject "The name of the American war, 1861-1865."

Among those who were called upon and responded were Prof. F. L. Thompson, of Amherst College; Hon. John F. Davis and Mr. Zoeth S. Eldredge, of San Francisco; Miss Mary H. Cutler, of Mills College; Prof. Roy Malcom, of the University of Southern California; Prof. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California; and Prof. Payson J. Treat, of Stanford University. Prof. F. J. Teggart made announcement regarding the proposed program for the session of the American Historical Association in July, 1915, in San Francisco.

The Saturday morning session opened with a paper from Prof. Edward B. Krehbiel, of Stanford University, who took as the title of his paper "Electoral maps of the United Kingdom." By the use of maps he showed the party preferences of constituencies in the general elections of 1886, 1895, and 1906. A comparison of maps was then made to illustrate sectional change and permanence of party supremacy during the period in question. The paper was concluded by a discussion and explanation of local political tendencies within the United Kingdom.

In the absence of Prof. Robert G. Cleland, of Occidental College, his paper on "Asiatic trade and American occupation of the Pacific Coast"¹ was read by Mr. Charles E. Chapman. It attempted to show that much of the sentiment in regard to western expansion was created by a desire on the part of the people of the United States to secure a commanding position on the Pacific Ocean for the control of oriental trade. This influence was effective both in regard to the acquisition of California and the settlement of Oregon. American interest in the occupation of Oregon had its beginning in commercial motives. Jefferson cherished a desire to secure for this country a share in the oriental trade and encouraged projects looking in that direction. Prof. Cleland found evidence to show that this was the real aim of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Floyd's argument for the occupation of the Pacific coast was the same, and Benton declared his belief in the practicability of bringing Asiatic commerce to the Mississippi Valley. From 1800 to 1850 this was one of the most valuable branches of our foreign commerce. The influence of the same motive in the annexation of California is more apparent than in the case of Oregon. It was urged by Waddy Thompson, our minister to Mexico, when he attempted to purchase California. The evidence, so it was held, shows Polk's conception of the value of this territory from the commercial standpoint. The idea was placed in the foreground by both Polk and Buchanan and explains the reason for their desire to possess the harbor of San Francisco.

In the third and last paper of the morning, which was contributed by Prof. Frederick J. Teggart, of the University of California, and was entitled "The components of history," it was maintained that the word "history" still retains the double significance attached to it by the Greeks and implies both historical investigation and historiography. In modern scholarship there is an evident tendency to assert the paramountcy of investigation, and this has led to confusion of thought, particularly in the claim of a radical change in history in the nineteenth century. History has perfected its technique; it has not changed its nature. Modern scholarship assumes that historical investigation is scientific and that historical composition is art. Up to the present, however, investigation has not been placed on an independent footing; it is still ancillary to historiography. Historical investigation is not scientific; it simply provides materials for composition.

The critical school of the nineteenth century did not inquire into the nature and aims of historiographic art. Art involves the factors of expression and form. To determine the nature of these factors in history writing, it is necessary to make a study of origins. Art is based upon the personal experience of the artist. In the age of

¹ Printed in the present volume.

the historian this experience is of two kinds: First, what he has read in documents; second, what he has seen in the political life of his time. The second is the more important factor of the two, and historiography in the hands of the great writer becomes the expression of the consciousness of nationality. The claim that history is a science, "no less and no more," points to the existence of a new spirit which is out of harmony with the old order, but which has not yet become self-conscious of its aims. The essential thing to-day is that this spirit be fostered, but first of all it must be understood that the obstacle to a science of history is the subordination of investigation to historiography.

A short business session concluded the proceedings of the morning. Under the order of committee reports, the secretary gave an account of his endeavors, as a member of the general committee of the American Historical Association, to increase interest and extend membership in the association in the Pacific Coast States. The auditing committee, consisting of E. E. Robinson, C. E. Chapman, and Miss E. I. Hawkins, reported that they had examined the accounts of the secretary-treasurer and found the same in good order. The report was adopted. The committee on resolutions, consisting of E. B. Krehbiel, P. J. Treat, and Miss Agnes Howe, reported the following:

Resolved, That we express our appreciation to the board of education of San Francisco for granting us the use of the Girls' High School Building for our sessions.

Resolved, That we express our thanks to Dr. A. W. Scott for his personal interest and aid in our meetings.

Resolved, That we declare our gratitude to Hon. John F. Davis for giving his services to the committee on arrangements, though not a member of our association.

Resolved, That we express our satisfaction that the parent association is to hold its meetings in San Francisco in 1915, and pledge our hearty cooperation in making the meeting a pleasure and a success: Finally, be it

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the secretary of the board of education of San Francisco, to Dr. A. W. Scott, to Hon. J. F. Davis, and to the secretary of the national association.

The resolutions were adopted.

The committee on nominations, consisting of A. B. Show, Roy Malcom, R. F. Scholz, Miss Anna Fraser, and H. I. Priestley, reported the following nominations:

For president, Prof. Herbert E. Bolton.

For vice president, Prof. Henry L. Cannon.

For secretary, Prof. William A. Morris.

For members of the council, in addition to the above, Prof. R. D. Hunt, Prof. Joseph Schafer, Prof. Edward M. Hulme, and Miss Maude F. Stevens.

On motion the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot for these nominees, and they were declared elected for the ensuing year.

The outgoing president was chosen to serve as the representative of the branch at the next meeting of the council of the American Historical Association. In case of his inability to attend, the council of the branch was authorized to fill the vacancy.

A proposal was presented that the Pacific coast branch become a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. On motion the matter was referred to the council for report.

A communication was read from Prof. Herbert D. Foster, of the New England History Teachers' Association, inquiring whether this body would consider the proposition to request the American Historical Association, through its council, to appoint a committee to report to the association upon a fuller definition of the content of each of the fields of history recommended by the association through the published reports of the committees of seven and five. On motion the council of the Pacific coast branch was authorized to memorialize the council of the American Historical Association to appoint such a committee. The business session then adjourned.

The Saturday afternoon session was devoted to a discussion of high-school courses in European history. Miss Grace Kretsinger, of the Berkeley High School, read a report on the tenth-grade course of study in her school, a course which covers both ancient and medieval history, one term being devoted to each. Her argument favored the presentation of the leading facts of civilization and the omission of much of the detail often taught. She believed that such a course is not too difficult and that the importance of the detail covered is clearly perceived. She found that medieval history was considered by the students much more difficult than ancient history.

Miss Elizabeth Kelsey, also of the Berkeley High School, described the eleventh-grade course, which, in that school, covers modern history. She found that the first problem to be met in giving the course was a lack of suitable textbooks, and had been able to solve it by using two. The work is so planned as to eliminate a separate course in English history. Much of the time during the first half year is required by textbook work, but in the second half year the textbook is used as a guide. A part of the work of this term consists in preparing a paper.

Miss Anna Fraser, vice principal of the Oakland High School, spoke on the one-year course in general history. She did not favor the course as a substitute for other courses, as she preferred for the high school a two-year course in European history. But she considered a one-year course better than none at all, and better than one broken period followed by no other. It was her experience that many students take no European history, because they dislike either

the ancient or the medieval and modern course alone. The teacher who gives the general course must be experienced, but can not well be a specialist on any one of the periods covered. Stress should be on biography rather than institutional material, and the course should not be offered to students in their first high-school year.

In the discussion which followed the three reports, Mr. W. J. Cooper, vice principal of the Berkeley High School, held that the true objective in the teaching of high-school history is the training of citizens who must have a background for judgments. He did not recommend the Berkeley course everywhere, for conditions vary with localities. But he believed that if a student gives up the study of European history after he has begun he can best do so at the end of the medieval period.

Prof. A. B. Show stated that the opposition to a four-year history course in secondary schools comes from those who emphasize vocational training, something in which he himself believed. But he considered history also a practical subject. As to the study of general history, he was afraid of the broad generalization that gives a willingness to express large opinions on any subject. To secure fit pupils for such a course is itself a problem. He agreed that a one-year course is better than none, but was not inclined too soon to give ground.

Prof. E. D. Adams regarded a four-year history course in secondary schools worth while only when in each year it can connect with the pupils' surroundings or life of to-day or the future. He stated that in some parts of the United States four-year history courses in secondary schools are rare, and believed that in this respect California held a preeminent position. He suggested an experience meeting on methods to create intellectual eagerness rather than a discussion of means to avoid the teaching of history.

After several others had taken part in the discussion, the president gave a few words of farewell, and the meeting adjourned.

III. FRESH LIGHT UPON THE HISTORY OF THE EARLIEST
ASSYRIAN PERIOD.

By ROBERT W. ROGERS,
Professor in Drew Theological Seminary.

FRESH LIGHT UPON THE HISTORY OF THE EARLIEST ASSYRIAN PERIOD.

By Prof. ROBERT W. ROGERS, Ph. D. (Leipzig) ; Litt. D. (Dublin).

I have had occasion and opportunity recently, in Europe, to investigate afresh the origins of Assyrian history, and am venturing to hope that a simple statement of the results may not tax your patience and need not overlap the bounds of 20 minutes. I shall not confuse the narrow lines of our knowledge by overmuch mention of our former knowledge, but content my enthusiasm by stating the case as it now seems to form, in the light of newly acquired or freshly assembled evidence.

I wish first to say something of the origin of this fresh light, and of the methods of its discovery.

On September 18, 1903, Dr. Robert Koldewey, representing the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft, began excavations at Kalah Shergat, a mound on the western bank of the Tigris, near the junction of the lower Zab. In the first trenches there were found tablets of Shalmaneser I (1300 B. C.) and Ashurnazirpal II (884-858 B. C.), which seemed to awaken a hope that the spades had struck into the remains of a royal palace. Then came some records of a much later day, only to be succeeded by two little stone inscriptions of Irishum, on one of which he calls himself the builder of the Temple of Adad. Here, then, was a reach of historical record for this one temple of more than 13 centuries—Irishum to Esarhaddon. The ruins of a temple with such a history may well be worth the explorer's best devotion.

On November 10, 1903, Koldewey returned to Babylon, and Walter Andrae, who had just returned from a leave of absence in Germany, was left to carry on the excavations in Kalah Shergat, which was known to cover the remains of the city of Asshur, oldest capital city of the Assyrian people. From that time until April 20, 1914, have these excavations continued, with a patience and persistence beyond all praise, and with characteristic German thoroughness and scientific precision.

In the northern part of the mound stretching from east to west were found a series of great buildings. These were the remains

of a palace of Shalmaneser I (circa 1300 B. C.), and just north of it the rather poor pieces of a Temple of Aspur, then east of the two a Zikurrat, and then the Palace of Ashurnazirpal (884-858 B. C.) with an interesting inscription of the king.¹ Yet further to the west stood the great temple dedicated to the gods Anu and Adad and beyond that again the new Palace of Tukulti-Ninib I (circa 1289 B. C.). In the long course of the years Andrae and his helpers have dug out the major part of the temple, and have found within its great spaces inscriptions enough to show the broad lines of its history. It was begun by Ashurhishishi (circa 1150 B. C.) and finished by Tiglathpileser I (circa 1120 B. C.), his son. The brief inscriptions of the former were found written in an archaic cuneiform script, and scattered in many places were broken pieces of a large prism of the latter. Somewhere in these same ruins Layard and Rassam had found three such prisms which had already gone to the British Museum, and the fourth, containing a duplicate account of the king's campaigns, and also a record of his building of this temple is now recovered by Andrae.² From this prism it would appear that the temple had been begun by Shamshi-Adad (circa 2000 B. C.), and had then, when in bad repair, been razed by Ashurdan, grandfather of Tiglathpileser, partly rebuilt by Ashurhishishi, whom, however, Tiglathpileser does not mention as having built at all. Then two centuries and a half passed by and the temple which Tiglathpileser had erected was fallen into ruins and Shalmaneser III (858-823 B. C.) rebuilt it, leaving within the simple records of his work which have also yielded themselves up to Andrae's search.³

West of the great temple Andrae found a number of private houses belonging to the late Assyrian period and very interesting as revealing something of the housing of the period. Every one had its paved court in front, with living rooms behind. The floor of these rooms was beaten soil, the walls were very thin, in most instances consisting of one stone only in thickness, and were plastered above and covered with asphalt at the bottom. The doors swung on hinges, and every

¹ Messerschmidt-Delitzsch, *Kellschrifttexte aus Assur* 1, No. 25, Leipzig, 1911.

² "We [Layard and Rassam] were also fortunate enough to discover buried in the solid sun-dried brick masonry about 10 feet underground the annals of Tiglathpileser I recorded on the terra-cotta cylinders, all bearing almost the same text. The first was discovered by Sir Henry Layard at the beginning of 1852; the second, exactly like it, dug out in the following year during my own mission; and the third I also discovered at the end of the same year on my second expedition to that ruin * * *. These three cylinders were found placed about 30 feet apart at three of the corners of an almost perfectly square platform. They were buried in solid masonry on the same level, and so I fully expected that we should find the fourth in the other corner; but though dug away and examined the whole structure, I could find no trace of another cylinder. Asshur and the Land of Nimrod, p. 20. It was this fourth which Andrae had now found more than 50 years later. Andrae, *Der Anu-Adad Temple in Assur*. Leipzig, 1906 pp. 32 ff.

³ Andrae, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.

house had its proper sewer connections. Some of them had graves beneath which seem to have been used as burial places while the house was inhabited above.¹

In 1909 the Asshur expedition while driving trenches to seek for the remains of large structures, came upon a long line of Assyrian *stelae*. The first discovered bore the name of Shalmaneser III, with its relationship to father and grandfather; then came inscriptions in the same form of Ashurrisishi II (circa 960 B. C.) and of Tiglath-pileser III, his son; then came one of Tukulti-Ninib I (circa 1289 B. C.), and then most interesting of all, Sammuramat (Semiramis),² wife of Shamshi-Adad V (823-810 B. C.), and mother of Adad-nirari IV (810-781 B. C.), and after these, one of Ashurnazirpal III (884-858 B. C.). No less than 55 of these large *stelae*, varying from 6 to 11 feet in height and made of sandstone, basalt, or alabaster, were recovered.²

During the year 1910 the Ashur Temple on the northeastern corner of the city and near the Tigris was excavated completely, revealing its entire ground plan. Records enough were secured to give a general view of its history extending over many centuries. There were small and rather doubtful remains of the time of Ushpia (circa 2300 B. C.), more abundant foundation walls of Irishum (circa 2200 B. C.), and then the newer foundations of Shamshi-Adad I, whose ground plan was considered by his successors to be so well laid that none of them was bold enough to change it. During the reign of Shalmaneser the temple had been burnt down and was then reerected by him with his palace so closely adjoining that the remains of the two buildings may scarcely be distinguished at the angle of their junction. At one of the doors were found enameled bricks of Tiglathpileser II (circa 750 B. C.), while Sargon II (722-705 B. C.) had performed a similar office for another, and had repaved a court, while his son Sennacherib had extended the temple on its eastern corner. Here then were the remains of a temple on which skillful and devout hands had been building for more than thirteen centuries. No former excavator had ever seen so many centuries unroll before him in any single temple.

Before this great temple was an open square or plaza, and on its opposite side, facing its greater neighbor, stood a smaller temple dedicated to Sin and Shamash, and near by it lay a clay record of its erection by Ashurnirari I (circa 1900 B. C.), while not far away

¹For these houses see the statements of Andrae in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 31, May, 1906.

²On these see the preliminary reports by Andrae in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 42, December, 1909, and on the Semiramis, compare Lehmann-Haupt, *Die historische Semiramis und ihre Zeit*. Tübingen, 1910. For the complete edition of the *stele* see Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur*, Leipzig, 1913.

were found hundreds of unbaked tablets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries B. C.¹

More surprising than either of these was the unearthing of the oldest Ishtar temple, whose foundation must have been laid in the third millennium before Christ. Within it were found Sumerian statues and other remains of their work sufficient to demonstrate that Asshur must have been inhabited in the Sumerian period. The place remains closely resemble those found by de Sarzec at Tello.

In the same temple was found a magnificent inscription of Tukulti-Ninib I (circa 1289 B. C.), who restored the temple in his day, building somewhat south of the older foundation, and referred to a previous restoration made by Ilushuma 720 years earlier. This important monument barely missed discovery at the hands of Rassam, one of whose tunnels passed within 8 inches of it.² Such are the fortunes of archæological exploration.

Scarcely had Andrae and his skillful helpers finished these works when they came upon another and more startling discovery, for the spades had struck into a series of tombs whose general character marked them as probably royal and not private. Andrae's acumen speedily identified the most westerly one as the tomb which once held the remains of Shamshi-Adad V (823-810 B. C.), husband of Semiramis, while another was soon determined to be that of Ashurnazirpal III (884-859 B. C.), a portion of whose great basalt sarcophagus was still in place, while not far away the massive sarcophagus of Ashurbelkala (circa 1100 B. C.) remained in almost perfect condition.

The discovery of these royal tombs appeals most strongly to the imagination. Before this Assyriology had seemed so poor in comparison with Egyptology, which has from the beginning been able to point to its long series of royal tombs, nay, even to the mummified remains of the greatest of Egyptian kings. There is no probability that Assyrian discoveries will ever be able to match these, but the reproach that neither Assyria nor Babylonia had even one royal tomb to show has been taken away.

With this spectacular discovery excavation at Asshur ceased, and on April 20, 1914, Andrae reported that the work was concluded. No such thorough excavation of any site in that valley had ever before been made. Andrae had indeed erected an imperishable monument to his patience, skill, and industry.

I have sketched at considerable length, perhaps too broadly, the story of the excavations which have given us our fresh view of the earliest history of Assyria. I have had, perhaps, an unusual oppor-

¹ *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 51, p. 47; No. 54, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

unity for studying the inscriptions which Andrae has brought to light. I have seen many of the objects which he has recovered, through the courtesy and unfailing kindness of my dear friend and former teacher, Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, in Berlin. The others I have studied in the original Assyrian texts. I wish now very briefly to report to you the picture of the early history which they present to my mind.

Nothing is known of the period when the first Semitic settlers entered Assyria. The country must have already had inhabitants, who may, perhaps, have belonged to some one of the ancient stocks who inhabited, in historic times, the Kurdish or Elamite Mountains. The oldest traditions of the Semitics, echoed down the ages by the Hebrews,¹ connect the earliest Semitic invaders of Assyria with the old culture land of Babylonia, and with these agree also the few scattered facts which have come down to us from the dim past. The earliest Assyrian rulers known to us bear the title "*patesi*." The word is Sumerian and must have come from the Sumerian people in Babylonia. There is no exact equivalent for it in the English tongue, but the meaning of it comes out with reasonable clearness.

It is a religious title of authority. It expresses the idea of earthly rule under the heavenly power of a god. The man who bore it was ruler of men or of lands as vice-gerent of the Deity. He was *patesi* of the land of Assyria, because he was *patesi* of its great god Ashur. The word was Sumerian, indeed, and so forms a slender link binding early Assyrian civilization with Babylonia.

The Assyrians rendered the word "*patesi*," or perhaps read it, *ishakku*," which seems to mean in itself about the same thing as *patesi* with probably a little less religious color. When the early Assyrian rulers desired to emphasize the religious side of their office as ruler they were wont to call themselves *shangu*, which means priest. We do not know when these Assyrian rulers began to use the title "*sharru*," which is the usual and ordinary word for king, but quite frequently after it came into use a ruler called himself *patesi* at one time and *sharru* at another. He was still the representative of his god on earth, and so was *patesi*; he was also the war lord over men, and so might bring out of the Semitic Babylonian usage the word "*sharru*," and so entitle himself as he set out upon conquest.

The earliest Semitic settlement known to us was at Asshur. The spot was well chosen. It lay on the west bank of the Tigris nearly

Witness the stories of the Tower of Babel, in Babylonia, and the direct statement of the ancient legend in the words: "And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth . . . And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Akad, and Calneh in the land of Shinar. Out of that land he went forth into Assyria and builded Nineveh, and Rehoboth-Ir, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah (the same is a great city)." Genesis x: 8-12.

halfway between the Upper and the Lower Zab Rivers, which pour their muddy waters into the Tigris from the east. The ground on which the city was to stand was high and rocky and along its eastern side ran the deep, swift Tigris. On the north the rocky heights fell off abruptly to the plain, with here and there rifts through which one might clamber down from the city. It would be easy to defend the northern side against any hostile approach, and the more especially because an arm of the Tigris swept by this rocky base, which though early sanded and silted might easily be turned into a protecting moat of water. Far away to the north stretched fertile soil, and yet better was the land east of the river, which rose in gentle undulations toward the distant foothills. Far away to the north were snow-capped mountains, a natural boundary for a new commonwealth. West of the city the defense was almost equally easy, for only two small valleys led downward from the city's height, while westward as well as northward was goodly land inviting the husbandman to till it and supply the new city with food.¹

Hither more than 2,000 years before Christ came men who founded a city, and built within it a temple to the god Ashur, bearing the high-sounding title Ekhasarsagkurkura, "house of the mountain of the lands." We know not what else they built nor how they lived. The earliest ruler among them whose name is known to us was Ushpia, whose name is not Semitic, but may be derived from the people of some other race from mountain lands above, whom one has already supposed to be the earlier occupants of the country. No inscription of his has reached our eyes, if indeed any were written, and he remains a shadowy figure against the distant horizon.

Soon after Ushpia came Kikia, who began the building of the city wall. How far his work extended we can not now discover. It has slipped away and fallen before the fourteenth century, as Sennacherib testifies. But beneath the forecourt of the Temple of Ekhasarsagkurkura are yet to be seen a few archaic remains which may go back to this earliest period. The *patesis* who followed Kikia also were wall builders, and to them may go back the earliest parts of the north wall of the city, which once ran on the rocky edge, and high though it was above the plain, bore towers, and one dangerous spot was built double and supplied with casemate

In some of these early days were also built the first defenses on the northwest, where was a sort of inner wall, defended on the outside by massive bastions, and on the south were somewhat similar defenses. Rude and dangerous enemies must have threatened the

¹ The description of the site here given owes most to Walter Andrae, *Die Festungswerke von Assur*, 1913, p. 1., but there are items in it drawn from Gertrude Lowthian Beaman, *Amurath to Amurath*, p. 221.

² Walter Andrae, *Die Festungswerke von Assur*, p. 3.

ld city, or its builders would scarce have defended it so mightily, but who these foes may have been we know not; they are yet more hostly than these *patesis* who built the walls, whose foundations may yet be seen.

After Kikia come others bearing strange and ill-sounding names, some of them perhaps of the early stock, others Sumerian, and among them very early a *patesi*, with the Semitic name Shalimkhum, harbinger of the day when all the kings should have naught but Semitic names. His son was Ilushuma, and of him there is the very definite historical recollection that he was at war with the first king, Sumu-abu, of the first dynasty of Babylon. This would give us as the period of Ilushuma about 2220 B. C. We do not know the issue of the conflict, but perhaps we shall not be far astray if we resume an Assyrian defeat, for the mention of war is in a chronicle¹ written to record Babylonian achievements and little likely to record conflicts that ended in defeat, and to the support of this conclusion so comes the fact that only a little later one of Sumuabi's successors, Hammurapi, actually exercised authority over Assyria. But of the time of which I now speak it is significant of the rapid and substantial growth of Assyrian power that Ilushuma should dare at all to measure strength with the venerable kingdom of the south.

After Ilushuma came his son Irishum, or Erishum, to rule, the times being stable enough to insure the succession in the same blood. Irishum dug a canal into the city, perhaps to supply it with water, and left behind him two inscriptions written in good Semitic words and in archaic cuneiform characters. The remains of his canal, filled with the débris of the ages, are still discernible, but the bricks with which he built a temple to Adad have probably succumbed to time. Later kings thought he lived and did his work about 2039 B. C., but the date can not be reconciled with the data of the chronicle, which makes his father a contemporary of Sumu-abu, and he may have lived about 2200 B. C. However that may be, his figure has some substance, for we know that he wrought two great works and left behind contributions both to civilization and to religion, and we are even able to read upon documents of his own day of his deeds. In him has begun the written history of Assyria.

Passing over the next two *patesis* Ikunum and Sharruken I we come shortly to Shamshi-Adad I, who was a contemporary of Hammurapi, greatest of the kings of early Babylonia. With Shamshi-Adad I there begins the more narrative form of inscription, still written indeed in archaic cuneiform characters, but with a certain freedom of space and order about it. He has indeed great things to tell. He may recount how the temple of the god En-lil,

¹ King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, II, p. 14.

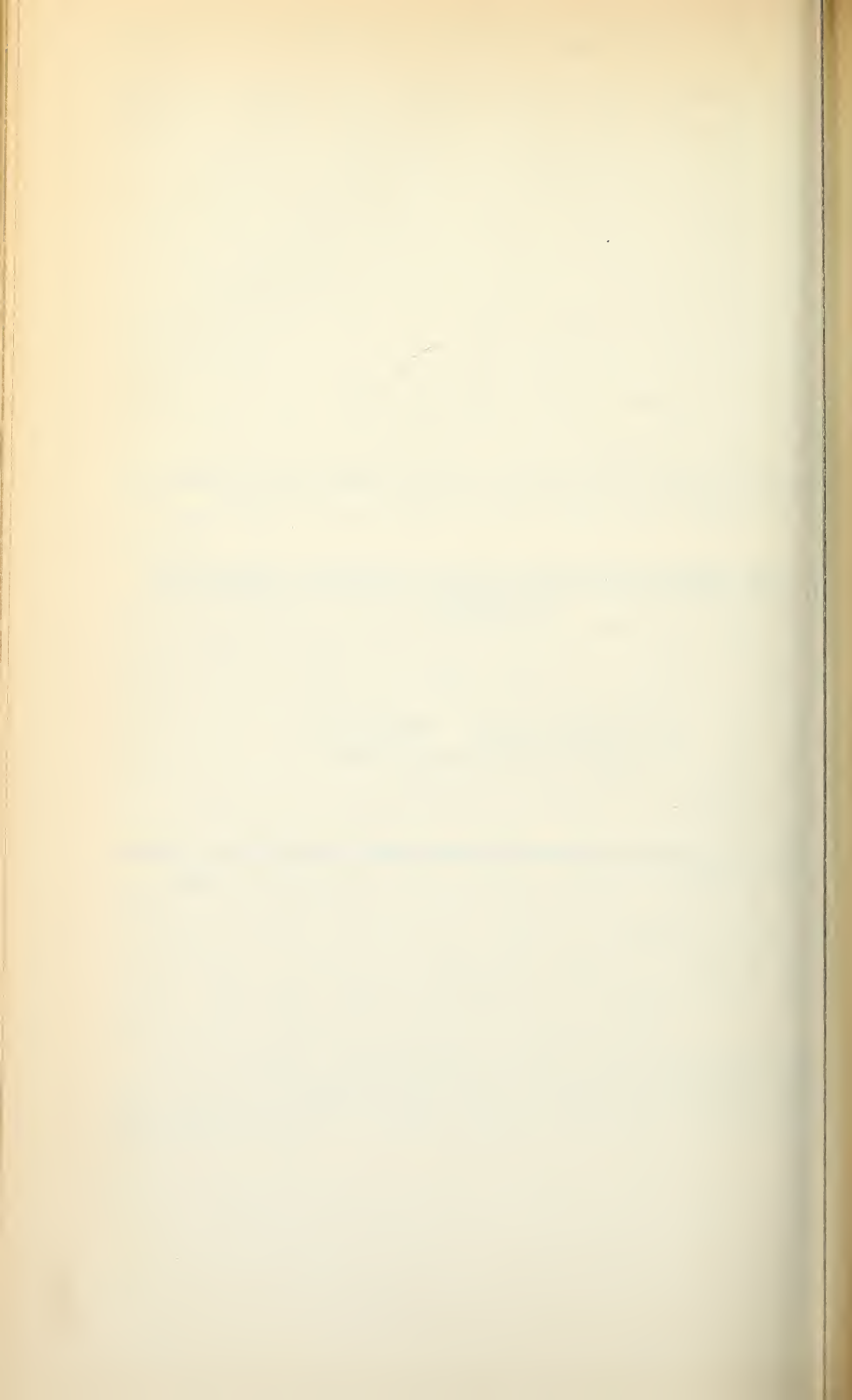
erected by Irishum, had "fallen to ruins," and was now reerected by himself. He now rebuilt it and roofed it with cedars, and its mud brick walls did he adorn with silver, gold, and lapis lazuli. In his day we come upon times of riches and of culture indeed. But he went deeper into everyday life and records, if indeed he did not establish by law the standard prices in his city. "For one shekel of silver two *gur* of grain; for one shekel of silver twenty five mana of wool; for one shekel of silver, twelve *ka* of oil." In this same inscription he boasts of having received the tribute of other kings; so begins with him the great art of tribute collecting which later kings were to carry to so high a point, and with him also begins the Assyrian form of royal boasting. More wonderful still, he claims to have set up a memorial stela on the shore of the great sea, and one pauses to ask, in surprise: Does he really mean the Mediterranean? Yet in spite of his boasts he seems to have been under some sort of bondage to Hammurapi,¹ who claims to have had troops stationed in his country.

These names are all that remain of the history of the early government of Assyria. At this period the chief city was Asshur, the seat and long after the residence of the ruler. There is no hint in these early texts of hegemony over other cities; though Nineveh certainly, and other cities probably, were then in existence. The population was probably small, consisting, in its ruling classes at least, of colonists from Babylonia. There were, as we have seen, earlier settlers among whom the Semitic invaders found home, as there were in Babylonia when the Semites first appeared in that land, but of them we have no certain knowledge. It is an indistinct picture which we get of these times in the temperate northern land, but it is a picture of civilized men who dwelt in cities, and built temples in which to worship their gods, and who carried on some form of government at times independent, at others in a tributary or other subservient relation to the great culture land which they had left in the south. The later Assyrian people had but faint memory of these times, and to them, as to us, they were ancient days.

¹ For the inscription, see Messerschmidt, *op. cit.* No. 2, and compare Luckenbill, *op. cit.* pp. 166 ff. For Hammurapi's contemporaneity, see Ranke, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, VI, 1, p. 9 (No. 26), and for his claim of authority in Assyria, see his letter, or military dispatch, in King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, III, 3 ff.

IV. THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND EARLY CIVILIZATION
IN EUROPE.

By JAMES HENRY BREASTED,
Professor in the University of Chicago.



THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND EARLY CIVILIZATION IN EUROPE.¹

By JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

It has long been recognized that the Hellenistic age, following upon the death of Alexander, was a chapter in *Mediterranean* history, although our textbooks still continue to dismember it and divide it up into Greek and Roman history. But a fabric of civilization was interwoven across the Mediterranean in an epoch much remoter than the Hellenistic age. Civilization began in the Orient, and the earliest civilization in Europe was received from the Orient. The objections long maintained by conservative classicists were based primarily on the assumption that navigation across the eastern end of the Mediterranean was not common until well within the first millennium B. C. This assumption is now disproven by the discovery of a fleet of eight ships depicted on the walls of a pyramid-temple of Abusir (south of Gizeh, in Egypt)—a fleet sent forth by Sahure, King of Egypt in the twenty-eighth century B. C. It brought back Phoenician captives and Phoenician pottery, and among other plunder appear several bears, animals unknown in Egypt but common in the Lebanon. It is evident that these, the earliest seagoing ships of which any representation has survived, have just returned to Egypt from a voyage to Phoenicia. Two centuries earlier, in the thirtieth century B. C., a fleet of 40 Egyptian ships returned to Egypt from the same region laden with cedar of Lebanon. Such ships were at least nearly 200 feet long, and they must have trafficked widely across the eastern Mediterranean from 3000 B. C. onward.

All Europe was at this time in a stage of neolithic barbarism. There was but one thoroughly centralized and highly civilized state in the Mediterranean in the thirtieth century B. C. It had grown up on the Nile, by a slow development traceable for over 1,000 years before 3000 B. C. It already had much to contribute. It is no accident that civilization first appeared in Europe in the Greek islands, in Crete, the island nearest to the Nile delta. Many contributions to civilization, however, lie in a realm so intangible, so completely supramaterial that they can not be traced in any surviving

¹ This address was delivered with illustrations, without which the sequences presented in the first half especially are less clear and evident.

early remains. Such contributions will always elude us. In the absence of written documents in Europe during the earlier part of the age under discussion we can only follow those influences which found expression in material and tangible form. It is surprising how such materials have been neglected. The fragments of prehistoric bronzes uncovered by the German *classicists* in their excavation of Olympia were thrown aside in complete indifference, and having been accidentally discovered lying among the rubbish by Sophus Müller, the Danish archaeologist, they were taken by him to Copenhagen, where they now rest in the royal museum there.

Realizing the impossibility of presenting a complete cross section of the early cultures which arose in the early eastern Mediterranean region, I propose to select a few of the surviving material evidences demonstrating the existence and the character of the cultural influences setting from the Orient toward Europe. I desire first to put before you a number of architectural sequences, each of which began in the Orient (Egypt and Asia), and, passing thence to Europe, furnished to European civilization a fundamental form which culminated in the western world, sometimes as late as the Middle Ages. Following these we may then add other influences not so easily traceable in monumental remains.

I. The clerestory and the basilica cathedral.

Recent excavations have uncovered the pyramid-temple of the Second Pyramid of Gizeh (twenty-ninth century B. C.), and the remains confirm earlier known evidence that the building contained a clerestory hall with light chutes which were elementary clerestory windows. This germ developed and culminated 1,600 years later in Egypt in the colossal colonnaded hall of Karnak—a fully-developed basilica with nave, clerestory windows, and side aisles. The tripartite arrangement of higher roof over the axis, and lower roof on either hand over the side aisles, with roof windows occupying the difference in level—is too complicated to have been invented by two peoples independently. When we find buildings of this type appearing in Greece in the Hellenistic age it is evident therefore whence the form came into Greece. The earliest definite example known to me was found by the French some years ago on the island of Delos.¹ The building dates probably from the third century B. C. The basilica at Pompeii is probably not much later. As a place of public business it is well known that this type of building became common in

¹ The alleged basilica restored by Sir Arthur Evans in the royal villa near the palace of Knossos, in Crete (Annual Brit. School at Athens, IX, fig. 89, p. 144 ff. and pl. I), is an exceedingly doubtful case. It had windows (if at all) only on one side, and its axis was at right angles to the main axis of the hall. If this clerestory really existed, it is another valuable example of the influence of Egypt in Crete and far antedates the basilica on Delos.

Rome after 200 B. C. Its influence upon cathedral construction is so familiar to need mention, but if we add the early basilica cathedral of St. Peter's at Rome (fourth century A. D.) we have an unbroken architectural series covering some 3,300 years and reaching from the Nile by way of Greece to Christian Italy.

I. The Assyrian palace front and the Roman triumphal arch.

Another architectural series beginning in the Orient and culminating in the west is to be found in the development started by the Assyrian palace front. It is probably early Babylonian, but the buildings thus far disclosed by excavation in Babylonia are too fragmentary to permit the complete restoration of such a front. We may begin with the type in Assyria, where it is unquestionable. There we have well-preserved royal palaces in which the front displays a great arched doorway as the main entrance, with two smaller arched entrances one on each side of the central arch. The example employed in this comparison was built in the eighth century B. C. The Persians refused to adopt the arch from Babylonia or Assyria, but their successors, the Parthians, adopted this middle member of the Assyrian palace front, and one of these Parthian examples is still well preserved at Hatra just west of the Tigris at Assur, the ancient capital of Assyria. It belongs to the early Christian age, but is unquestionably the local development of the earlier Assyrian form. At first glance one would almost mistake it for a Roman triumphal arch, with its arrangement of three arches, the highest in the middle, and the two lower on each side. Here again the germinal form, developed in the Tigris, passed in a thousand years to the Tiber.

II. The Babylonian temple tower and the Christian church spire.

Recent excavation and survey on the Tigris have enabled us to arrange a similar sequence leading from the Babylonian temple tower to the campanile and the modern church spire. The brick tower that rose beside the ancient Babylonian temple can be traced far back in the third millennium B. C. This tower was a rectangular mass of tapering masonry, around which wound an ascending ramp or causeway, which was not spiral, because the building around which it passes was square. It was a building of this type which gave rise to the tradition of the Tower of Babel. At Samarra, in Mesopotamia, a massive stone minaret with a winding ascent around the outside shows how this traditional form influenced the form of the tower attached to the Moslem house of worship. This Samarra tower is round, but the tradition of a square base long persisted. It is still found in the minaret of the mosque of Ibn Tulun, in Cairo, where two important transitions are observable—the square lower portion of the tower is terraced; the upper portion is round. Al-

though Ibn Tulun's mosque dates from about 876 A. D., the form of his minaret represents a much earlier stage of development, which had already been reached when the Hellenistic architects of the Ptolemies built the Pharos, the famous lighthouse of Alexandria, in the early third century B. C. Here the square lower portion is already terraced and the transition to the round section at the top is made by an intervening hexagonal section. It is a type which lasted long. It is found commonly in the minarets of the Mameluk mosques of Egypt, especially those of the fourteenth century A. D. and it passed over to many a church spire in Europe, like that of San Giovanni at Parma.

Here again we have a long sequence of architectural inheritance and development of over 4,000 years, reaching from the Tigris to the Tiber.

IV. The origin of European writing.

One of the most important evidences of oriental influence in Europe is early European writing. No system of writing was ever originated on the Continent of Europe, and whatever may have been the origin of Cretan writing, it arose long after literary culture was widespread in the east and in closest contact with that culture. Heretofore in tracing the connection between the Orient and the earliest writing in Europe scholars have devoted themselves solely to the forms of the signs and letters. The physical process and the material equipment employed have received no attention. Yet these are of prime importance in the solution of the problem. Two physical processes of writing passed from the Orient into the Mediterranean world. One of these methods was that of incision with a stylus on a soft surface. This method arose in Babylonia and employed a clay tablet as the soft surface. It was perpetuated in the Mediterranean by the clay tablets found by Evans in Crete and later by the wax tablet of the Roman gentleman. It was an inconvenient process in actual operation and produced an inconvenient document when once written. The other method was that of employing a reed point to apply a dark fluid to the surface of a vegetable membrane. This method arose on the Nile and was in use there before the middle of the fourth millennium B. C. The membrane employed was the convenient papyrus paper invented by the Egyptians. The scribe's other equipment consisted of a pen box, into which he thrust his reed pens. This box was likewise a palette for mixing his rather thick ink, which was kept in two little recesses at the end of the box, one for the black and one for the red ink of the rubrics, a method of emphasizing the head of a paragraph which has also descended to us from the Nile. With this equipment the Egyptian scribe wrote by a process which is still the prevailing

physical process of writing throughout the civilized world; the other method of incising on a soft surface declined and disappeared in the Orient in the last pre-Christian century.

The victory of pen, ink, and paper was a slow one. Both of the methods of writing above described are represented on the monuments of Assyria, in use side by side; but in all the extant discussions of the origin of European writing these representations are nowhere employed, nor is there even a reference to them. In seventeen different reliefs of the eighth and seventh centuries B. C., the Assyrian artist shows us two scribes making a record of the spoil of the vanquished. One of these scribes writes with a stylus on a clay tablet; the other with a reed pen on a roll. This roll can be nothing else than Egyptian papyrus, which has made its way into Asia.

Furthermore, another relief discovered in the German excavations at Senjerli in North Syria shows us a Syrian prince of the eighth century B. C. enthroned with his secretary before him. This functionary carries in one hand an Egyptian pen box already described. Thus both the Egyptian material equipment and physical process of writing made their way into Asia. If any further evidence were needed it is furnished by the still unpublished Hebrew ostraca from Samaria, discovered by the Harvard expedition. They belong to the eighth and ninth centuries B. C. They are fragments of pottery bearing writing in ink done with an Egyptian reed pen. They are the earliest surviving examples of writing with pen and ink in Asia.

Finally, when we read in an Egyptian document of the twelfth century B. C. a statement of the exportation of Egyptian papyrus to the flourishing Phœnician port of Byblos; when we consider further that the oldest Greek word for papyrus is "byblos" (occurring in a derivative form in Homer, referring to the papyrus fiber cordage of a ship, and in Herodotus and Æschylus to a "book"), it is evident that the material equipment for writing was passing from Egypt to the Greek world by way of Syria at a very early date.

The question now arises, In making the journey from Egypt round the eastern end of the Mediterranean, did this material equipment for writing entirely part company with the phonetic system of writing employed on the Nile? It is not probable. Moreover the new Hebrew ostraca from Samaria employ the Egyptian cursive numerals and we can hardly doubt that these numerals were accompanied by the Egyptian cursive alphabetic signs already long employed by the Egyptians in the spelling of foreign proper names. This alphabet is still the only one known to us, offering a complete series of alphabetic signs, one for each consonant of the Semitic

alphabet. All this new evidence¹ compels us to return to the, but now widely rejected, hypothesis of an Egyptian origin of the familiar Phœnician alphabet received by Greece and Europe.

Our honored modern historians, adept in large problems of state, accustomed to the skillful dissection of bulky state archives, and to critical reconstruction of the policies of great statesmen, are probably inclined to regard such musty researches as of very moderate antiquarian interest and of slight historical importance. Perhaps we may gently remind such hearers that they would have had no state archives to dissect but for the developments which we have been endeavoring to trace. Nevertheless I hasten in conclusion to the orthodox political rubric.

V. The oriental conception of the state and its relation to late Europe.

On the earliest seals of Babylonia, as far back as the twenty-ninth or thirtieth centuries B. C., we find depicted a symbol of the state—a kind of national standard which, like a coat of arms, represents the state. Thus the standard of Lagash, in lower Babylonia, was a lion-headed eagle with outspread wings and with clutching talons fleshed in the backs of two lions. These animals in turn throw back the heads and fix their teeth in the wings of the eagle. Here are two of the fundamentals of ancient art—violent action and antithetic or balanced composition. This early Babylonian lapidary art reveals in both.

These rampant animals emerging here so early on the Euphrate are therefore the lineal ancestors of the antithetic and violently agitated animal figures which play so large a part in the decorative heraldic art of Europe. It is quite possible and easy to trace the eagle and the lions of Lagash through Asia Minor and the Mediterranean to the double eagle of Austria and Russia, or the eagles and lions of Saxony, or the lions of Bavaria. It is superfluous to add that these carry us over to our own American eagle, of which the eagle of Lagash is the earliest ancestor. This ancient ancestry of European heraldic art, however, is not our main interest at this point. We find the early Sumerian monuments of Babylonia depicting the god of the city-kingdom bearing in his mighty grasp this heraldic symbol of the city or state. This scene, in the transparent symbolism of the Orient, epitomizes the early oriental polity picturing to us the victorious state upheld in the guiding and protecting hand of the god who is its head. But this is a purely ideal scene—one that never existed except in sculpture.

¹ When the new Hebrew documents from Samaria have been published it will be necessary to compare them exhaustively with the Egyptian cursive alphabet. I hope in another place to examine the claims of Sir Arthur Evans for Cretan writing as the source of the so-called Phœnician alphabet.

It was possible, however, to express the same relationship between the god and the state in an actual scene, by employing a symbol of the god instead of a symbol of the state, and by putting this symbol of the god into the hands of a human representative of the state. But here we must remember that this actual practice was more than mere symbolism. There was early transubstantiation here. The oriental believed without qualification that he was thus introducing the potent presence of the god into earthly scenes and making him effective in earthly crises. On Egyptian sculptures as far back as the thirty-fifth century B. C. we find symbols of the gods borne in procession at the celebration of a victory. But this was not enough. The god must be present and assist in the actual battle. We find in the Egyptian battle array a chariot bearing the symbol of Amon, which was actually driven into the midst of the fray. Thutmose III in the fifteenth century B. C., in his annals of his wars in Asia, speaks of bearing Amon at the head of the column. We recall the similar use of the sacred ark by the Hebrews when they sent it into battle against the Philistines. The Assyrian sculptures exhibit the same thing and, what is even more important, we find one sculpture showing us the Assyrian camp with the chariot bearing the sacred standards in one corner, where the priests are engaged in sacrificing to them as to the god of the state, by the aid of whose visible presence victory was certain. Such a custom was purely oriental. The eagle standard of Jupiter Optimus borne at the head of the Roman legion can hardly have had any other origin;¹ and we all recall the secret rites in the cult of the destroying eagle with the practice of which Cicero charges Catiline. We remember, too, that Constantine, thinking to honor the newly triumphant faith, made a battle standard bearing a symbol of the Christ at the top, and this standard led the legions into battle. He furthermore made for it a portable tent shrine to be set up in the camp of the legions, like that which we have seen in the Assyrian camp; and he appointed ministrants who should maintain a cult and ritual ceremonies here in honor of the battle Christ. Thus did the Roman emperor convert the Prince of Peace into an oriental war god.

This visible leadership of the god in the crisis of battle was but one function in his guidance of the oriental state. He was the source of the king's legal authority as the head of the state, and I know of no monument of the early east which more forcibly pictures this concept of the state than the shaft which bears the laws of Hammurapi, the oldest surviving code of law. The 3,600 lines of text containing the code, engraved around the shaft below, are surmounted by a noble relief scene in which the Babylonian king is depicted receiv-

¹ See the remarks of Schaefer on this whole question in *Klio*, VI.

ing the code from the sun god. There is an intimate coalition here which makes the king the infallible representative of the god, a representative whom no mortal would venture to challenge.

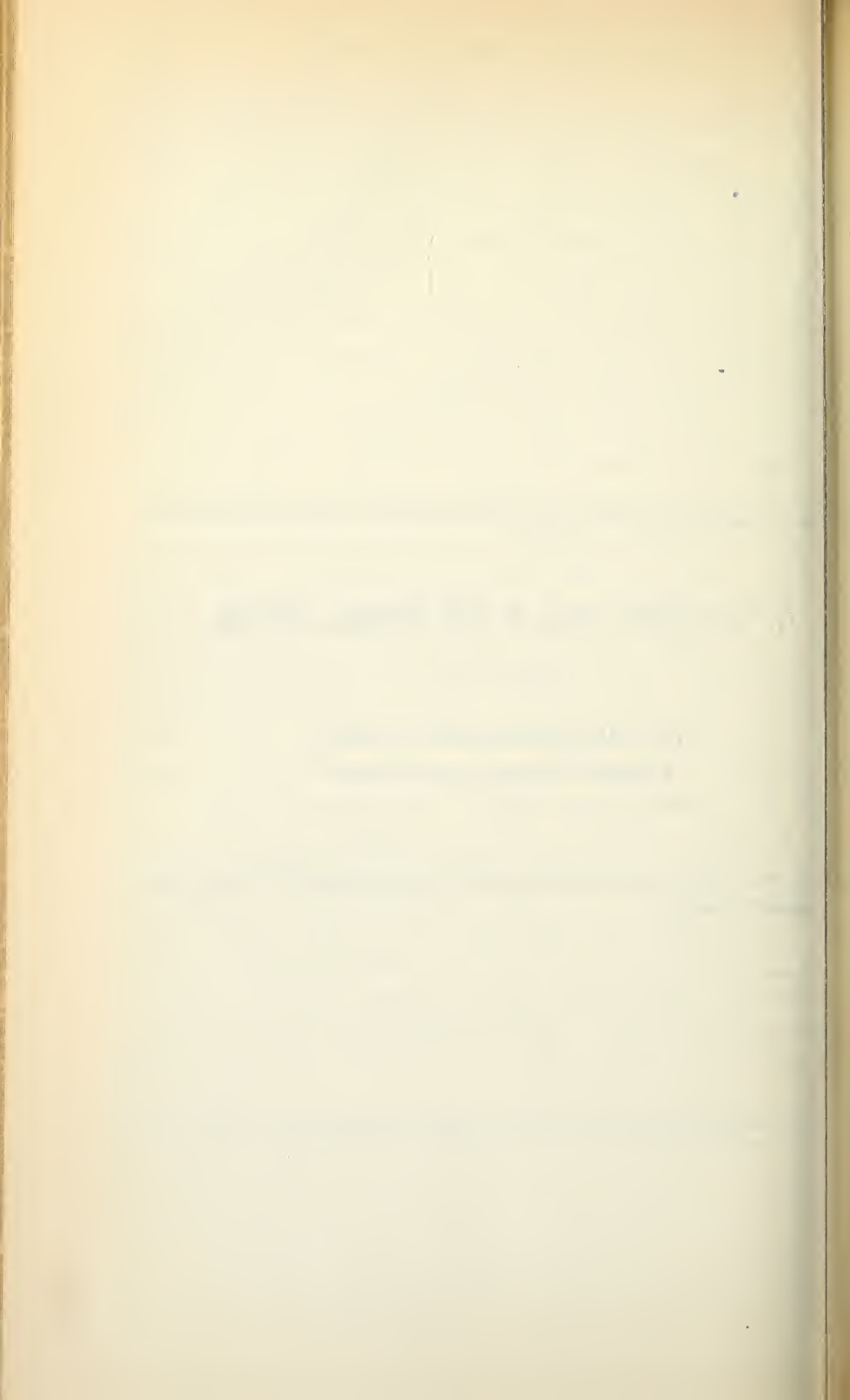
We have here a state which is a divine institution administered by a ruler who is the recognized agent of divinity. In his *History of the Roman Empire* (3d ed., p. 3), James Bryce remarks, that "in order to make clear out of what elements the imperial system was formed we might be required * * * to travel back to that Jewish theocratic polity, whose influence on the minds of the mediæval priesthood was necessarily so profound." Had this distinguished writer's studies chanced to carry him back into the remoter reaches of the ancient Orient he would of course have discerned that what he calls "Jewish theocratic polity" was in fact only a very late manifestation of a conception of the state common to the whole east thousands of years before the Hebrew theocratic monarchy arose.

It should be noticed that this conception of the state accepted absolute monarchy as a matter of course and never raised the question of entering upon a discussion of the proper form of the state. With the decline and final disappearance of the economic initiative and democratic responsibilities of the individual citizen in the late Roman Empire, it was this oriental conception of the state, in the form of monarchical absolutism, ruling by divine right, which triumphed in Europe for centuries. In spite of democratic progress in modern Europe, this ancient oriental notion of the nature of a sovereign's rights still persists and is taken seriously by at least one of the warring European rulers. Indeed the definiteness with which all the European belligerents of 1914 continue to announce their alliance with the heavenly powers, must raise a conflict of treaty obligations very embarrassing to the celestial chancellery. But this hoary oriental concept of the state, although much modified by democratic tendencies, did not stop on the other side of the Atlantic. Its influence is still discernible in the early New England town meeting although our Pilgrim forefathers little dreamed that in the distant vista behind the venerable figure of Moses, dominating their assemblies, there loomed the remote and colossal shadows of Cheops and Hammurapi.

¹ There were of course differences between the Egyptian and the Babylonian conceptions of the state as a theocracy, but these can not be taken up in this rapid sketch.

V. A POLITICAL IDEAL OF THE EMPEROR HADRIAN.

By WILLIAM DODGE GRAY,
Associate Professor in Smith College.



A POLITICAL IDEAL OF THE EMPEROR HADRIAN.

By WILLIAM DODGE GRAY.

While collecting material for a life of Hadrian, which I hope some day to complete, I have arrived at a theory in regard to his administration which I have not found clearly and fully stated in any of the accounts of his reign, and which has provided me with a clue to the meaning of, and a bond between, many of his apparently heterogeneous acts.¹ It is this: One of Hadrian's main purposes was to protect the Graeco-Roman civilization of the Roman Empire from corrupting influences, particularly from the influences of northern barbarism and of orientalism, and to give to this civilization a more Roman character. It is a corollary of this theory that there were limits to Hadrian's far-famed cosmopolitanism. It has been said that Hadrian summed up in his character and policy all the tendencies of his time.² On the contrary, there were some of these tendencies against which he set his face. In spite of certain traits in his character that seem un-Roman, he appears in his administration fundamentally Roman. He endeavored to realize the purpose just referred to by what may be called a policy of conservation and Romanization. I shall attempt first to indicate some of the causes that led him to adopt this policy, then to trace the workings of the policy in some of the principal acts of his administration, and finally to show why his efforts were not crowned with any permanent success.

The influences that helped to determine Hadrian's administrative ideal are to be sought in the facts³ of his career before his accession.

¹ This paper is the by-product of an investigation that is still in progress. Some of the views expressed must therefore be regarded as tentative.

² For expressions of the current view of Hadrian's cosmopolitanism, see Pelham, *Introduction to Gregorovius*; *Emperor Hadrian* (Robinson's translation); Bury, *Students' Roman Empire*, 493; Jones, *Roman Empire*, 179. Hadrian was cosmopolitan in that his tastes and interests were catholic, and in that he displayed in his treatment of the provincials "a new, liberal, and humane spirit." But his cosmopolitanism did not involve the boundless hospitality to the ideas of his time, with which he has been credited.

³ For these facts see particularly the Athenian inscription, *CIL*, III, 550 and the *Vita Hadriani*, 1-5, in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. It is impossible for me in a short paper fully to define my attitude toward the S. H. A. In my opinion the researches of Geier (*Der Historische Wert der Vita Commodi*), Schulz (*Leben des Kaisers Hadrian*), Scrivain (*Études sur l'Histoire Auguste*), Kornemann (*Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom*), and Weber (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrians*), not to mention others, have made it possible to use certain portions of the lives that have been examined, with a good deal of confidence. The *Vita Hadriani* in particular has been subjected to searching analysis, and tested in part by the archaeological evidence, particularly by Weber, whose work is perhaps the most important contribution to the study of Hadrian's reign since the appearance of Dürr's *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*. The works above mentioned will be cited by the names of their authors.

He spent much of his youth in military service on the northern frontier, particularly in Moesia and Pannonia. He received a lively impression of barbarian warfare in the merciless Dacian wars. As Legatus of Lower Pannonia, in 107 A. D., he had to suppress a revolt of the Sarmatians. He was in Syria in the year 116-117, when the fearful Jewish revolt was raging in Mesopotamia, Cyprus, Egypt, and Cyrene. He was Legatus of Syria at the conclusion of the Parthian war in 117. He must then have heard eyewitnesses speak of the horrors of Trajan's unfortunate return journey through Mesopotamia. Thus Hadrian before his accession received exactly those impressions of the northern and Asiatic barbarians and their ways which were calculated to inspire in him a profound antagonism to these peoples and to lead him to adopt against them a policy of exclusion and defense. I do not mean merely military defense, though this was included in Hadrian's policy.

The workings of his policy appear first in his regulations on the frontiers. His most conspicuous act immediately after his accession was the surrender of Trajan's conquests. The surrender of Mesopotamia and Assyria can be explained on military grounds; the Emperor did not have soldiers enough for the defense of this territory. But the case is different with Armenia.¹ This country occupied a position of capital strategic importance, commanding the important approaches to Asia Minor and Syria; it could have been garrisoned with a small force; and its retention as a province would have put an end to its old ambiguous and dangerous position as a client state. So Hadrian has been blamed by historians for surrendering Armenia. But the country would have offered a more difficult field for Romanization than the half-Hellenized Mesopotamia; it was thoroughly oriental.² To Hadrian the retention of Armenia meant the incorporation into the empire of peoples who could not assimilate its civilization; it meant the opening up of a new avenue for oriental influences.³

As we proceed westward through the frontier provinces, we find further evidences of Hadrian's policy of conservation and Romanization. If we can believe Dion,⁴ Hadrian partly destroyed Trajan's

¹ Cf. Schiller, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, I, 2, 606; Duruy, *History of Rome* (Ripley's translation), V, 296.

² Cf. Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II, 75.

³ I do not claim that other considerations also may not have influenced Hadrian. In this, as in other cases, I mention the motive pertinent to my argument. It must be remembered that the civilization of Armenia was mainly Parthian; and that Armenians, Parthians, and Jews had become unpleasantly associated in Hadrian's mind through the events of the years 114-117.

⁴ Dion, 68, 13, 5, 6. Dion's statement has been much questioned; but the destruction of the bridge is in harmony with Hadrian's other measures of exclusion. Dion assigns a military motive to Hadrian's act, but scholars have not been inclined to attach much importance to his statement. To Schiller (I, 1, 607), for instance, the act is "unverständlich." Supposing an invasion to have been made through Dacia, in summer the river could have been crossed in boats, and as Tillemont said long ago (II, 382), "Toute le Danube était un pont pour les barbares durant l'hiver."

famous bridge over the Danube at Turnu Severin. This act can have had little military significance. But the destruction of the bridge restricted communication between an old province, Moesia, and a new, and as yet little Romanized Province, Dacia.

Hadrian gave municipal rights to a number of towns, chiefly in the Danube region, which had developed from the stationary camps—to Carnuntum, Aquincum, Viminacium, and others. But he did not, after granting these rights, withdraw the garrisons from the towns, though this had been the practice of the emperors before him in dealing with the new municipalities.¹ How are we to explain this break with tradition? It was due apparently to Hadrian's desire to retain in these towns, which from their positions were likely to relapse into semibarbaric communities, centers of Roman discipline and of Roman ideas—in short, of Romanization.

On the frontiers between the Danube and the Rhine Hadrian's defenses are somewhat peculiar in character. Besides the forts, whose purpose is obviously military, he erected between these rivers a huge wooden fence or palisade. The military value of the palisade has been declared by the experts of the German Reichslimes-Kommission to be practically nil.² We have, then, on this frontier a *limites* that was sufficiently troublesome and costly to make, but whose military value and purpose are doubtful. It has been called, therefore, a customs barrier. My study of the evidence relating to Roman trade with Germany has not led me to believe that it was important enough to demand the construction of this formidable barrier.³ In erecting this palisade the Emperor may have had in mind, among other purposes, the regulation of traffic. But his chief purpose, it would seem, was to defend the least Romanized of his subjects from enemies more intangible than smugglers or marauders. He wished to put a stop to the informal intercourse between Roman and barbarian that would be going on across the frontier, to exclude barbarian ideas, customs, and beliefs.⁴ This

¹ The practice was not always adhered to; Trajan, for instance, retained the garrison *Vetera* after promoting the town to a colony. But under Hadrian the exception seems to have become the rule. Cf. CIL, 3, p. 711; Schiller, I, 1, 610.

² Convenient accounts of the discoveries of the Kommission will be found in the title of Fabricius, *Das Römische Heer in Obergermanien und Raetien*, Westdeutsche Zeitschrift, 1906, and in Pelham, *A Chapter in Roman Frontier History*, in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, new series, XX.

³ Cf. Speck, *Handelsgeschichte des Altertums*, III, 785. For a summary of evidence and other references, see Appendix XX, by Tischler, to Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte*. The Germans tend to regard this trade as important, but their opinions do not seem to be supported by their evidence. No one has succeeded in showing what it was of importance to the Romans imported from the Germans.

⁴ The passage in the *Vita Hadriani* (12, 6) relating to Hadrian's *limites* contains no hint of traffic regulation. The author says: "In plurimis locis in quibus barbari non terminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sæpis funditis suis atque conexis barbaros separavit." This passage deserves great respect; its description of a Hadrianic palisade corresponds not only in general but in detail with the discoveries of the Kommission.

purpose of exclusion, along with that of defense, was served by the wall across Britain, whether we ascribe to Hadrian the famous stone wall or the recently discovered wall of turf.¹ It is noteworthy that the British wall did not mark the limit of military occupation; there were forts beyond it—at High Rochester, for instance. It may be remarked here that there were similar strongholds outside of the limits in the Danube region.² These facts seem to show that the “mechanical barriers” had other purposes besides that of military defense. Thus it seems possible to detect in Hadrian’s regulations on the frontiers, from Armenia to Britain, a pervading idea that was by no means solely military.

The policy of which I speak appears also in Hadrian’s military reforms. These as recounted in the sources³ are well known. They represent an attempt to restore to the army the ancient Roman discipline and efficiency and the Roman character. The emperor was strict in demanding military service of the inhabitants of Romanized communities in the provinces⁴ (if his treatment of the Spanish provincials can be considered as typical), and he assigned important military commands only to Romans or to thoroughly Romanized provincials. An interesting fact connected with Hadrian’s military reforms has recently come to light in inscriptions found in the Rhine country. Under him apparently begins the extensive use of the new military formation known as the *numerus*, though it was instituted perhaps under Trajan.⁵ These *numeri* were organized on the basis of nationality, and were made up of the least Romanized provincials or of the “new-caught, sullen peoples,” whose loyalty was as yet doubtful; under Hadrian, for instance, a number of Britons organized in *numeri* were transferred from their own country to the German frontier. The *numeri* occupied a position of great inferiority in the service, standing to the regular auxiliary troops in about the same relation as these latter did to the legionaries. They were stationed on the frontiers in positions where they might keep guard

¹ For recent theories and literature as to the wall see Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, 130 ff. Prof. H. Stuart Jones, in a reply which he kindly sent to a letter of inquiry, says that recent discoveries of pottery under the stone wall seem to confirm the older theory that this wall is Hadrianic.

² I have omitted the discussion of these *limites*, as the questions connected with them are too complicated for brief treatment. But some of them (in the Dobrudja, and Dacia, for instance) seem to be the work of Hadrian. Cf. Kornemann, *Die neueste Limesforschung im Lichte der Römischkaiserlichen Grenzpolitik*, in *Klio*, 1907, 73 ff. The peculiar nature of the *limites* in the east and elsewhere has given rise to the theory that they are not only customs barriers but “civil boundaries.”

³ The chief sources are: Vita, 10–11; Dion, 69, 9; Arrian, *Tactica*, 33–44.

⁴ Cf. Vita, 12, 4. On the passage see Schulz, 55; Kornemann, 45; Weber, 115. For Hadrian’s attempt to restore the Roman character to the army, see von Domaszewski, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiser*, II, 191 ff.

⁵ On the *numeri* see Mommsen, *Hermes*, IX, 50; von Domaszewski, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XIV, 29; Fabricius, *Ein Limesproblem*, in *Festschrift der Universität Freiburg für 1902*, 275 ff.; Kornemann, *Die neueste Limesforschung im Lichte der Römischkaiserlichen Grenzpolitik*, in *Klio*, 1907, 101 ff.

and at the same time be guarded by the regular troops. In Hadrian's employment of the *numeri* we have an attempt on his part to segregate the least Roman part of the army in order that the Roman character of the more important and dependable parts might be preserved. It is true that Hadrian's general, Arrian, made use of barbarians (e. g., Armenians) in his war against the Alani¹ (an unimportant war in a remote part of the empire), and that barbarian tactics were adopted to some extent in Hadrian's army. Nevertheless, Schiller's remark² that the cosmopolitan character of the army of the later empire dates from the cosmopolite Hadrian, is contrary to the spirit revealed in Hadrian's military reforms taken as a whole.

A significant measure of Hadrian, relating at once to the frontiers and to his military organization, is the extensive use made by him of alliances with the barbarian kinglets and chieftains on the borders of his empire.³ Under few of the emperors was this system of alliances so much employed. Among Hadrian's allies were the princes of the Alani, the Roxolani, the Iazyges, and the Germans. They were charged apparently with the defense of the frontiers of the empire, and to some of them at least salaries were paid.⁴ In this way Hadrian employed barbarians to fight for him, but he employed them outside of the empire. Thus he strove to erect between the domain of civilization and the dangerous barbarism of the farther north a living wall, as it were. In view of all the facts we have been considering, the charge often made against Hadrian that he depended too much upon "mechanical barriers" for the preservation of peace seems hardly justified. If I understand his methods, he did not depend upon them; he depended rather upon the increased efficiency and mobility of his army and upon the relations which he had established with the neighboring barbarians.

The idea of conservation and Romanization is prominent in a number of Hadrian's reforms in Rome and Italy,⁵ but I shall mention only the one in which it is most conspicuous. I refer to the great codification of the prætorian edicts made by Salvius Julianus. The law was to be no longer modified by judges, but only by the legislation of the emperor and the senate. In this code, the first forerunner of the *corpus juris civilis*, we have certainly an effort to

¹ Ἑκταῖς κατ' Ἀλανῶν, 89 ff.

² Geschichte, I, 2, 609.

³ Vita, 6, 8; 13, 8; 17, 10; Dion, 69, 9, 5; Arrian, Periplus, 11, 2, 3; CIL, V. 32, 33; Ober, 72; Kornemann, 28.

⁴ These are often called "subsides" and represented as humiliating bribes. On this point see Weber, 72; v. Domaszewski, Der Völkerbund des Markomannenkriegs, in Serta rtellana, 9 ff.

⁵ His legislation as reported in the Vita (18) and as found in the Digest (29, 36, 47, etc.) bears the stamp of the austere Roman moralist, the disciple of Cato and Cæcilius. It is, however, very humane.

crystallize and to preserve for posterity one of Rome's greatest gifts to civilization.

The well-known facts of Hadrian's provincial administration, his great journeys by which he acquainted himself everywhere with the state of that imperiled civilization which he was striving to foster and protect, his gifts and buildings, his generosity with the franchise, his multiplication of Roman communities—are all in harmony with his conserving and Romanizing tendency. Even in his treatment of the Greeks, where he appears as the great philhellene, Roman motive can be detected, as we shall see. It may be remarked here that there were limits to Hadrian's philhellenism, and that perhaps too much stress has been laid on his nickname, the "Greekling." He had, no doubt, a real love for the art and literature of the Greeks; he showered gifts and privileges upon their cities, and encouraged and rewarded their artists and men of letters. But he gave them little share in his government, and did not, as a rule, assign to them important administrative and military posts.¹ Arrian, the Legatus of Cappadocia, is conspicuous because he is an exception. Ordinarily the emperor's helpers were such thorough Romans as Attianus, Similis, and Turbo.

In regard to Hadrian's religious policy his naïve biographer is very explicit. He says: "*Sacra romana diligentissime curavit, pergrina contempsit. Pontificis maximi officium peregit.*"² There seems to be no reason to doubt the accuracy of this general statement. The great religious center which Hadrian founded in Rome in 121³ was no monstrous pantheon crowded with the gods of east and west, such as might have been expected from the universally tolerant Hadrian of tradition. On the contrary it was dedicated to two thoroughly Roman deities—Venus, the divine ancestress of the imperial family to which Hadrian by apostolic succession belonged, and the goddess Roma herself. It is apparently under Hadrian that the name "*Roma Æterna*" first comes into common use.⁴ And the number of western inscriptions dedicated to oriental deities and assignable to the reign of Hadrian is small.⁵ This is particularly true of Rome, but it is true also of the provinces.

Let us now consider Hadrian's attitude toward the Greek religion. Naturally he desired to revive it; Greek religion was the mother of

¹ This fact is well brought out by v. Domaszewski, *Geschichte d. Röm. Kaiser*, II, 191 f.

² *Vita*, 22, 10. This is one of the "good" passages; cf. Schulz, 96. Historians tend to represent Hadrian as a skeptic, or as indifferent to religion. What his personal religion may have been, I do not pretend to say. But indifferent to religion he was not. Cf. Pausanias, I, 5, 5.

³ On the temple of Venus and Rome, see Hülsen, *Forum Romanum*, 234; Weber, 104.

⁴ Cf. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, II, 357. For the legend on the coins, see Eckhel, VI, 510 ff.; Cohen, 1299–1303.

⁵ Cf. Dwight N. Robinson, *Quibus temporibus religiones ab Oriente ortæ et Romæ et in provinciis Romanis floruerint desierintque quaeritur*.

he arts, which he wished also to revive. But his revival took a peculiar form. At first glance it would seem that he appointed as the official cult of the Greeks, the worship of the Olympian Zeus. The centers of this official religion were to be found in Hadrian's new city at Athens. One was the great Olympieum, which Hadrian completed; the other was the temple of Zeus Panhellenios. We are told that in these temples the worship of Hadrian was associated with that of Zeus. But this is an understatement. From 128¹ Hadrian is called Olympios, Panhellenios, and Eleutherios, in numerous Greek inscriptions. A number of the most important of these will be found in Weber's *Untersuchungen*; ² it is to Weber that I owe this interpretation of Hadrian's policy with regard to the Greek religion. Hadrian was worshipped not merely as the associate of Zeus, but as his incarnation on earth. The god of the new religion was Zeus-Hadrian. By this arrangement the emperor secured a number of desirable results. The emperor-worship was the worship of the Roman state embodied in its head. It was the one common expression of patriotism in the heterogeneous empire. This worship had never taken root in Greece. Now Hadrian commended it to his Greeks by giving to it a Greek form; and thus he attached them more firmly to himself and to the empire. It is here that the Roman basis of his phil-Hellenism appears. Moreover he effected, through this new religion, a new pan-Hellenic union—the historical basis of pan-Hellenism had always been the worship of the Olympian Zeus. By means of this union he drew more sharply the lines that separated the Greeks from the barbarians; and he protected the Greeks more effectually from the insidious oriental cults that were lurking at their very doors. And by admitting to his pan-Hellenic union the non-Greek cities of Asia Minor, which had become Hellenized and had abandoned their old gods and their old customs, Hadrian made his new religion a powerful instrument of Hellenization and of Romanization.³

Hadrian's opposition to orientalism on the other hand, is seen most clearly perhaps in the warfare which he waged with the religion of the Jews. I know that Mommsen ⁴ and others claim that Hadrian, in founding Aelia Capitolina on the site of Jerusalem, had no political or religious object in view, and that he was simply adding another to the number of his camp cities. But how can this view be reconciled with the facts that Jews were exiled from the walls of the colony, that it was dedicated specifically to the emperor worship

¹ The date of Hadrian's visit to Athens during his second great journey. During his first visit to Greece (124) he experimented with the hero cults. He was, of course, to be the greatest of the heroes.

² Pp. 209 ff.

³ Cf. v. Domaszewski, *Geschichte d. Röm. Kaiser*, II, 202 ff.

⁴ *Provinces of Rom. Emp.* (Dickson's translation), II, 243.

and to that of the Capitoline Jupiter, and that pagan altars were reared in it on the site of the temple?¹ Besides all this, Hadrian forbade to the Jews the right of circumcision.² His treatment of the Jews is accounted for by his experience with this people at his accession. From his point of view he was right in making war on a religion that was always an inspiration to sedition, and that could by no means be welded into his political and religious scheme.

There is evidence also that Hadrian opposed other oriental cults. The Baal of Emesa had a great number of worshippers; he had, like Jahveh, a powerful, highly organized priesthood, equipped with an elaborate theology.³ Hadrian viewed this cult with disfavor, and in order to keep its priesthood and its worshippers within bounds he stationed the legion Tertia Gallica beneath the walls of Emesa just as he had settled soldiers in Jerusalem. There is some reason to suppose that he took measures to repress the excesses connected with the Mithras cult and with that of the Carthaginian Baal.⁴ And, to repeat what has been said, the number of western inscriptions dedicated to oriental deities, which can be assigned to Hadrian's reign, is small.⁵

But Hadrian tolerated and even encouraged the worship of the Egyptian deities, Isis and Serapis.⁶ This constitutes, however, no special exception to his general religious policy. These gods were Hellenized enough to be harmless. Serapis was particularly favored by the emperor found in him a civilized divinity with Egyptian antecedents and Greek attributes, a divinity who could be commended to the oriental provincials. The strong Roman hand of Hadrian appears as clearly in Egypt as in any other province. We have learned recently from the papyri⁷ that he made the Ididiologos, the imperial financial officer in Egypt, high priest of all the land and of all its gods. And he planted Antinoopolis, the city founded in honor of his dead favorite, in the heart of Egypt as a center of Hellenism and of municipal life. The names of the tribes and demes into which the inhabitants of the city were divided have come down to us in the papyri.⁸ There is but one Egyptian name among them; the

¹ Dion, 69, 12; Epiphanius. *De Mens. et Pond.*, 14; Schiller, 1, 2, 613; Weber, 240 ff.

² Gregorovius (*Emperor Hadrian*, 157) and v. Domaszewski (op. cit., II, 204) regard this prohibition as a result and not a cause of the terrible Jewish war. But in this they run counter to one of the best passages in the *Vita* (14, 2).

³ Cf. v. Domaszewski, *Die Politische Bedeutung der Religion von Emesa*, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XI, 223 ff.; *Gesch. d. r. K.*, 207.

⁴ Porphyrius, *De Abstinencia*, II, 56. Porphyrius speaks of human sacrifices connected with the Mithras cult. Cf. *Vita Commodi*, 9, 15.

⁵ Cf. D. N. Robinson, *Quibus temporibus religiones ab Oriente ortae*, etc.

⁶ Cf. Weber, 260 ff., where the important evidence is given. Weber's theory in regard to Hadrian's partiality for Serapis is that the pantheistic idea had acquired great influence over Hadrian in his later years and that Serapis became to him a "Träger der Einheitsidee."

⁷ *Berl. Gr. Urkunden*, I, 250; Otto, *Priester u. Tempel in hell. Ägypten*, I, 59, 63.

⁸ Kenyon, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, II, 70 ff.; Weber, 249 ff.

others are taken from Greek mythology or from the names of the members of the imperial house. Here we have further evidence of that Hellenized version of the emperor cult that Hadrian was striving to promote among his eastern subjects.

It must be admitted that Hadrian did not recognize the formidable character of his most dangerous enemy—Christianity. Hadrian was no friend of the Christians. No ingenuity can make of the *Undanus* rescript an edict of toleration; and it seems clear that the persecutions went on under Hadrian.¹ Yet Hadrian was not one of the great persecutors. Apparently he knew² and cared little about Christianity. It was as yet strongest in the east, where the emperor, preoccupied with his Hellenic cults, festivals, and buildings, failed to detect the workings of this new force. Christianity had offered him no such conspicuous example of opposition to his imperialism as had Judaism.

I wish finally to touch on the question, Why were Hadrian's efforts not crowned with any permanent success? Many reasons could be assigned for his failure, but one of the most important was this: Hadrian found in his policy no real successor. Scholars have come to regard Hadrian as the founder of the later imperial system; he has been compared to Septimius Severus, and Caracalla, and Kornemann says of the Byzantine empire: "Sein Vater ist Kaiser Hadrian."³ This view is tenable if we fix our eyes on Hadrian's political institutions and forget the spirit that informed them. Undoubtedly we can detect in some of his innovations something of the despotism and bureaucracy that characterize the later empire. But Hadrian's despotism was, for the most part, enlightened and beneficent, his bureaucracy made for efficiency and protected the interests of his subjects.⁴ But it is especially as the defender of a civilization that Hadrian stands as one of the last great representatives of classical antiquity. The great break with his policy comes in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The facts are familiar. The tireless traveler, the ceaseless diplomat, the man who carried personal government to its farthest limits, was succeeded by the estimable stay-at-home. And the

The Christian writers speak of persecutions under Hadrian; cf. Sulpitius Severus, *Historia*, 31. The *Acta* actually assign more martyrdoms to Hadrian's reign than to those of Trajan and Domitian. Granting that the details are largely fictitious, the tradition can hardly be wholly unfounded. This reign is marked by the rise of the apologies, and apologies argue persecutions.

I am aware of the tradition of Hadrian's omniscience and of Tertullian's oft-quoted phrase, "*Curiositatum omnium explorator*." But there is more than one tradition in regard to this emperor which calls for revision. The notice in the *Vita* of Alexander Severus (43, 6) that Hadrian thought of enrolling Christ among the gods is a sample of the worthless gossip with which the *Historia Augusta* is filled. The references to the Christians in the "Letter of Hadrian" in the *Vita* of Saturninus (8, 1) are the most suspicious passages in that highly suspicious document.

P. 3.

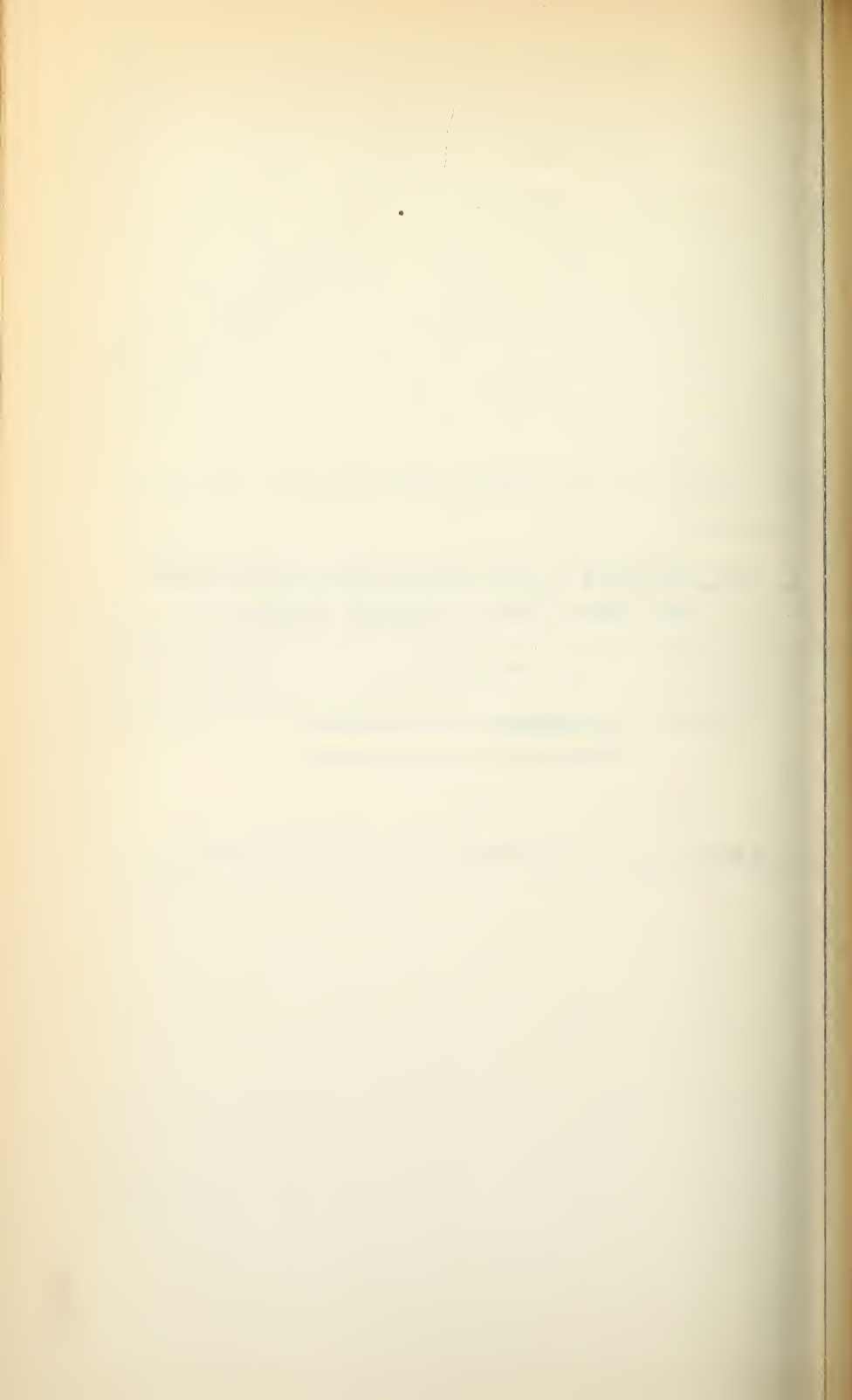
Further confirmation of this already well-attested view will be found in Rostowzew, *Siedlen zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonates*, cf. p. 207.

results of the indolent policy of Antoninus were not slow to appear. The clouds which began to lower over the empire in the latter part of his reign, broke on the head of Marcus Aurelius. Hadrian had settled his difficulties with the Parthians by a personal conference with their king. Under Marcus we find them overrunning Armenia, and the empire involved in another Parthian War. Troops were withdrawn from the Danube frontier for this war; and across this weakened frontier swept the hordes of the Marcomanni and the Quadi. Perhaps not even Hadrian could have averted the wars with these people, but under him these wars might have assumed a very different character; the enemy might have been confronted successively by a line of barbarian tribes friendly to the empire, a strongly guarded frontier, and a more efficient army. Moreover, when we see Marcus settling barbarian *coloni* within the empire and dreaming of founding new provinces in the north, then we recognize in him the antithesis to Hadrian. And it is under Antoninus and Marcus that the reign of the oriental cults begins.

Doubtless the future belonged to the northern barbarism and to the orientalism that Hadrian lived to combat. The former was destined to coarsen and corrupt the social and cultural life of the empire, the latter to transform its spiritual life out of all resemblance to its former self. But the triumph of these two forces might have been postponed by the miracle of a succession of Hadrians.

VI. THE INFLUENCE OF THE RISE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS
UPON THE ROUTES OF ORIENTAL TRADE.

By ALBERT H. LYBYER,
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THE INFLUENCE OF THE RISE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS UPON THE ROUTES OF ORIENTAL TRADE.

By ALBERT H. LYBYER.

A generally prevalent view is expressed in the following three quotations put into print within the last 10 years in well-received books by reputable authors:

The old trade routes between Asia and Europe were effectually and permanently blocked by the Turkish conquests. . . . This is the explanation of that eager search for new routes which lay at the back of so many voyages of discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The search for new routes to India that led Columbus to the discovery of the New World was caused by the advance westward of the Ottoman Turks and their interference with the old paths of commerce in the east.

The closing of the trade routes by the advance of the Ottoman Turks led traders to endeavor to find new channels and issued in the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope and the discovery of America.

A pamphlet printed privately within a year or two states that the Turks built, as it were, a wall across the old trade routes, and absolutely forced the western Europeans to seek other paths to the lands of silk and spices.

All of these statements express a firm belief that the closing or the serious obstruction by the Ottoman Turks of the routes of oriental trade was the principal cause of the great maritime discoveries at the beginning of the modern age. It follows logically that the Turks, albeit unwittingly and negatively, belong among the greatest benefactors of mankind. But is this belief true? I formerly accepted it upon authority, but three or four years ago I noticed that it involves an anachronism. Obviously the Turks could not have caused the discoveries by obstructing the trade routes unless their obstruction antedated the discoveries. But the Turks had nothing to do with the two most important trade routes until they took Syria and Egypt in the winter of 1516 and 1517, while the greatest of the discoveries were made in 1487, 1492, and 1498, from 18 to 30 years before. The doubts raised by this serious anachronism have been justified by investigation. The Turks must be ethroned from their place beside Columbus.

The idea before us may be separated into simpler elements, which may be stated thus: The routes of oriental trade were closed (or permanently obstructed) before the year 1498; the closing of these

routes caused (or strongly influenced) the great discoveries; the Turks closed (or were important agents in closing) the trade routes; therefore the Turks by closing the trade routes caused (or had powerful influence upon) the great discoveries. Now, this chain of propositions hangs upon the first; if the routes of oriental trade were not closed (or permanently obstructed) before the year 1453, then the whole idea falls to pieces; the great discoveries were otherwise caused and the influence of the Turks, at least as far as closing the trade routes is concerned, is eliminated.

Now, it is very easy to show that the routes of oriental trade were neither closed nor permanently obstructed before or during the period of the great discoveries. Certain wares were produced only in the east. To reach the west they must pass along the trade routes of the Levant. If these routes had been closed the wares could not have come. But pepper, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, mace, nutmeg, rhubarb and the like, never ceased to be obtainable in western Europe from the Roman times to the present. The trade routes, then, were never permanently closed. But perhaps they were closed at times, or permanently obstructed, so that spices and other products of the east became very difficult to get in western Europe. What would be the evidence of such a permanent obstruction? Obviously, a permanent elevation of prices. If in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the advance of the Ottoman Turks or any other cause progressively obstructed oriental trade, the west would learn of it quite promptly by a progressive rise in the prices of oriental goods.

The extensive researches of Prof. Thorold Rogers and the Vicomte d'Avénel have put us in possession of much information about prices in England and France from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries.¹ The averages of the items found for each 10 years by Rogers and for each 25 years by d'Avénel, give a very fair idea of the general fluctuations of prices. Now, what do these show as to the price of pepper between the close of the Crusades and 1500, and particularly between 1453 and 1498, the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and the arrival of Gama at Calicut? In England the price of a dozen pounds of pepper averaged 15s. 7d. in the fourteenth century and 15s. 8d. in the fifteenth century. From 1451 to 1500 the average price was 15 shillings. From 1431 to 1480 the average was only 12s. 9d. It rose to 17s. between 1481 and 1490, but fell again to 13s. from 1491 to 1495.² There was then, on the whole, an actual decline in the price of pepper in England during the incubation of the great discoveries. In France the average price for a kilogram of pepper, as reduced to modern money by d'Avénel, was in the thirteenth century

¹ J. E. Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England, 1259 to 1793*, Oxford, 1866-1902; Vicomte Georges d'Avénel, *Histoire Economique de la Propriété, des Salaires, des Denrées, et de tous les Prix en Général, 1200-1800*, Paris, 1894-1912.

² Rogers, *op. cit.*, III, 518-543; IV, 680-691.

fr., in the fourteenth century 11.12 fr., and in the fifteenth century only 4.17 fr. From 1450 to 1475 the price was 4.70 fr. and from 1475 to 1500 it was 4 fr.¹ Thus, in France also the price of pepper declined at the time of the great discoveries. Prices of other spices and of home-grown commodities fluctuated in the two countries quite similarly to those of pepper. It is therefore clear that there was no permanent elevation in the prices of oriental products, and therefore there could have been no serious obstruction of the trade routes before the year 1500.

More direct evidence can be found than that of the price of pepper in England and France. The Venetian diarists, Marino Sanuto the Younger and Priuli, who recorded the noteworthy events which came to their knowledge between 1496 and 1533, show that although succession disturbances of the Mameluke throne and the plague caused fluctuations of quantity, the old flow of oriental wares through Syria and Egypt was maintained unbroken down to 1502.² In that year a new thing happened. The galleys from Beirut and Alexandria brought very few spices to Venice. In 1504 they brought none at all.³ The southern trade routes of the Levant had been emptied by the purchases of the Portuguese in India. Beginning with 1508, the Portuguese sent fleets to blockade the mouths of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. This seems to have been the first deliberate attempt on the part of anyone to stop permanently the passage of wares along any of the routes of oriental trade. It was not entirely successful. The Venetian galleys which continued to sail to the Levant usually found some spices. But the old certainty was gone, and the prices, low at Lisbon, were high at Beirut and Alexandria.⁴ The total quantity of spices which came by the old routes from the east to Europe was greatly reduced. Venice sent fewer ships to the Levant and thought it imprudent to build new galleys for the trade.⁵

This was the situation when Selim I overthrew the Mameluke sultans in 1516 and 1517. Instead of blocking the southern routes further, he took up the situation exactly where the Mamelukes had left it. He renewed the old treaties with Venice and the west, and took over the intention to crush the Portuguese naval power in the Indian Ocean by a fleet sent down the Red Sea.⁶ Except for the

d'Avénel, op. cit., IV, 482-486, 502-506, 598.

¹ Marino Sanuto, *Diarii*, 1496-1533, Venice, 1879-1903; Rinaldo Fulin, *Diarii e diaristi veneziani*, 1881, 155 ff. (del *Diarii di Girolamo Priuli*, 1494-1512).

² Fulin, op. cit., 165, 173, 175.

³ Fulin, op. cit., 160, 164 ff.

⁴ Marino Sanuto, op. cit., XXIV (1517 A. D.), cols. 22-36, *passim*.

⁵ J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, Gotha, 1840-1863, "Venetiani e che nel principio del nuovo imperio procurava d'accrescere i traffichi in quella provincia per particolare utile e commodo di quei sudditi e per interesse dell'entrate politiche.")

beginning of French participation in the Mediterranean trade,¹ there was no marked change from this policy down to the time Sanuto's death.

It has been shown that the main or southern routes of oriental trade through the Levant were never closed before the great discoveries, and that the Turks, after conquering Egypt and Syria, made no effort to close them. The main contention is established then. The Turks did not cause the great discoveries by blocking the routes of oriental trade.

It is desirable to examine some lesser possibilities. Perhaps the acquisition by the Turks of the northern routes stimulated the great explorations, through causing fear that the Turks would some day control and close all the routes, and through diverting the energies of trading powers from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. As for the first supposition, it lacks both probability and evidence. The Turks did not fight the Mamelukes before the war of 1485 to 1499, and then they were soundly beaten. Even in 1516 the outcome of the impending second war was believed to be uncertain. How, then, could westerners have expected that the Turks would one day close all the trade routes? Nor can I find the least evidence of such an expectation. The second supposition, that the Turks diverted the energies of Mediterranean trading powers so that they set out to seek new routes to India, is easily seen to be untenable. The governments of none of these, Venice, Genoa, Aragon, or Florence, had any part in the great discoveries. That was the work of the Atlantic powers, Portugal and Castile. Nor were the well-to-do citizens of the Mediterranean States more active. In 1291, or thereabouts, it is true, certain Genoese went out at the Straits of Gibraltar to seek a new way to the East Indies.² But this was before there were any Ottoman Turks. No such expedition went forth from any Mediterranean port after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, of Trebizond in 1461, or of Kaffa in 1475. It becomes then impossible to discern any influence of the Turks through fear that they would close the oriental trade routes, or through the diversion by them of the large activities of Mediterranean cities.

One further line of possible influence of the Turks upon the great discoveries may be discussed. Christopher Columbus and John Cabot were Genoese by place of birth. Had not the northern regions of the Levant trade been reduced by the Turks, these men might have spent their lives in that trade, and never have become discoverers. But this is mere speculation. I believe that neither their own words nor those of their contemporary and later biographers express an

¹ Marino Sanuto, *op. cit.*, LVII, cols. 267, 436, 503; LVIII, col. 86, etc.

² Beazley, *Introduction to Azurara's Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, Hakluyt Series 1899, pp. lxi ff.

consciousness of connection between their enterprises and the rise of the Turks. Columbus seems to have found his inspiration in Portugal and Cabot in Arabia. The same documents, I may say, fail also to reveal any thought in the minds of these men that the old trade routes were or were likely to become closed or seriously hindered. Similar things may be said, by the way, of the documents that deal with Prince Henry the Navigator, of the histories of Turkey, and of Venetian writings and history, so far as I have been able to examine them.¹

It does not belong to this discussion to determine the true causes of the great discoveries, after the influence of the Turks has been eliminated. The intellect and enterprise of Renaissance Europe were adequate to the project and its execution. There is a negative bearing upon the argument, however, in the fact that Mr. Payne seeks to eliminate all effort to find a new route to the East Indies from the motives of Henry of Portugal, while M. Vignaud tries to do the same for Christopher Columbus.² M. Vignaud would in fact postpone the date when even the Portuguese thought of the eastern spice trade until the report of Covilham's journey to the east reached King John II, about the year 1490. In any case, two or three other motives, related to religion, crusading, conquest, and adventure, probably outweighed the seeking of spices in the minds of the great explorers and their royal supporters.

How did the legend of the great influence of the Turks upon the maritime discoveries originate? I have not been able to trace it back of Thorold Rogers, but does it not bear the marks of being a survival of the catastrophic theory in that particular phase which makes the fall of Constantinople the determining event of modern history? Deprived some time ago of the distinction of causing the Italian Renaissance and the German Reformation, this theory has maintained a while longer its hold upon the great discoveries and the desolation of the Levant. It must certainly give up the great discoveries. I think it must also surrender the desolation of the Levant, for the decay of the regions through which the old trade routes passed was probably caused less by the presence of the Turks than by the absence of trade, inevitably attracted away by the superior advantages of the cape route.³ The possibility of climatic change also deserves consideration.

¹ Examination was made, for example, of Azurara's *Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, the histories of commerce by Depping, Cibrario, and Heyd, histories of Venice by Molmenti and Brown, and histories of Turkey by Zinkelsen, La Jonquière, and Jorga.

² E. J. Payne, *The Age of Discovery*, in *Cambridge Modern History*, I, 12; Henry Vignaud, *Histoire critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1911, p. 213.

³ Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, Leipzig. 1885, p. 547.

Thorold Rogers appears to reveal his relation to the catastrophe theory when he asserts that "the fall of Constantinople beyond doubt stimulated research into the unknown oceans of the west and south." He affirms that before the Portuguese discoveries the Turks "appear to have blocked every passage but one," and that Selim "by his conquest of Egypt, proceeded to 'block the only remaining road.'" ¹ Most of these matters have been sufficiently dealt with. Prof. Rogers does not appear to have sought proof of his assertion outside of his own field of work. Within this, however, he thinks he has found confirmation of them in the rise of the prices of eastern wares in England for the decade 1451-1460 and the two decades 1521-1540. Aside from the obvious consideration that many elements enter into price fluctuations, such as weather conditions in the country of production, war and peace along the road and in the country of consumption, piracy and extortion, and monopolies and combinations, it would seem that Thorold Rogers has not considered his own figures with sufficient thoroughness. It is true that the price of pepper rose in England from 9s. 5d. per dozen pounds between 1441 and 1450 to 13s. between 1451 and 1460. But it is also true that the former price was the lowest of all the 10-year averages and that the latter price is well below the average for the fifteenth or any other century until much later. Again, the Wars of the Roses began in England in 1455. It is true also that 12 pounds of pepper averaged in England 16s. 2d. between 1501 and 1520, and 23s. 2d. between 1521 and 1540. But why did Prof. Rogers not observe that this was only part of the general rise of prices which is evident both in England and in France in the sixteenth century and which was almost certainly caused by the addition to the European stock of gold and silver from the Americas? Compare, for example, the price of pepper with that of wheat. For the first four 20-year periods of the sixteenth century the price, by Rogers's own tables of a dozen pounds of pepper (pence being neglected) was 16, 23, 26 and 39 shillings; the price of a quarter of wheat was 6, 7½, 13, and 15 shillings. Pepper and wheat each rose in the fourth 10 years to about two and one-half times the price in the first 20 years. Surely Prof. Rogers would not have affirmed that the Turks raised the price of wheat in England. In the light of the whole scheme of prices it is not possible to affirm that the fall of Constantinople and the Turkish conquest of Egypt had any appreciable permanent effect upon the prices of oriental wares.

Thorold Rogers is led by this last error into several others. Being partly conscious of the anachronism of his catastrophic view, he strove to explain how the Turks could have raised the price of pepper by conquering Egypt 19 years after the cape had been turned. He

¹ Rogers, *op. cit.*, IV, 653-657.

concludes that the growth of Portuguese trade with the east was slow; that most of the oriental trade continued to come through Egypt; and that the Turks so burdened this trade with new exactions that the price of oriental wares was raised in the west. Truly a stupendous edifice of false fact erected by erroneous reasoning. It was shown above that the Turks put no new burdens on the oriental trade, and that after 1500 only a greatly reduced and uncertain part of the eastern wares came through Egypt and Syria. As for the rate of growth of the Portuguese trade, Gama took out 4 ships in 1497; Cabral, 13 in 1500; Nova, 4 in 1501 or 1502; Gama, 20 in 1502; Albuquerque, 9 in 1503; and after that from 12 to 15 Portuguese ships went every year.¹ Perhaps one-third were lost, while others remained awhile to fight and explore, but the one-half or thereabouts which returned sufficed to supply western Europe with spices more abundantly than ever before. As for a last statement from Thorold Rogers to the effect that "the commercial decline of Venice, Genoa, Florence, and of the free German cities near the sources of the Danube and the Rhine, begins with the conquest of Egypt by the Turks," it needs but one correction. This may be made by striking out the words "the conquest of Egypt by the Turks" and substituting these: "The turning of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese."

¹J. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India*, London, 1829, IV, 61 ff. (from an epitome of Faria-e-Souza).

VII. SOME INFLUENCES OF ORIENTAL ENVIRONMENT IN THE
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

By FREDERIC DUNCALF,
Professor in the University of Texas.



SOME INFLUENCES OF ORIENTAL ENVIRONMENT IN THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

By FREDERIC DUNCALF.

Of all Europeans who at different periods of history have undertaken colonial ventures in Asia the Crusaders of the twelfth century had the least preparation for such a task. All the breadth of view that can come from an advanced stage of civilization was lacking, for western society was still in the early stages of development. The awakening of the twelfth century was just beginning, and the Crusades themselves were but a more or less unconscious expression of the new spirit and the forces that were to hasten progress. Before they understood their own civilization or what they were striving for, the Crusaders went forth to found colonies in the Mohammedan east. Not only had these westerners no practical knowledge of the east or the problems that they must face but they did not go forth in the proper spirit to learn. Before they could hope to know how to deal with eastern peoples they first had to forget their intolerance and prejudice and acquire a new viewpoint. Under such circumstances the Kingdom of Jerusalem was an interesting experiment in the possibilities of western adjustment to oriental environment.

What might seem the most difficult phase of the work before these westerners, if they were to establish permanent colonies, was that which involved their relations to the oriental peoples. The circumstances of their life in the west had developed a robust vigor and the military qualities that the work of conquest required. However, once the majority of the Crusaders had returned home, it became necessary for those who remained to defend the conquered territory and to secure their position in other ways than by mere military superiority. Much depended on how well they could learn to understand the native people that they must govern and upon their relations with the hostile Mohammedan states about them. It was for this phase of their task that their western training and the crusading enthusiasm that brought them east had least prepared them, and, strangely enough, it was just here that they seem to have been most

successful. It is now well established that friendly relations can to exist between the two races, and more evidence is available to support this fact than has yet been used.¹

Before the westerners could hope to understand the oriental peoples, it was necessary for them to become tolerant and to learn to respect the easterners and their civilization. The chronicles of the First Crusade show very clearly the contempt and hostility with which the westerners went east. They believed that the infidel could not fight. Fulk of Chartres, after telling of the demoralization produced by the Turkish onslaught at Dorylæum, says: "Nor was it to be wondered at, for such warfare was unknown to all."² If there was anything that the westerners could appreciate it was military prowess. Prutz points out that there was something very similar in the spirit with which Mohammedans and Christians fought. Thus, in learning to respect the bravery of the Musselman the Crusader made an important mental adjustment. Other changes in viewpoint were forced upon them in similar fashion, so that they came to respect the oriental and his higher civilization.

Self-interest furthered this process of adjustment. The leaders of the Crusade had ambitions of personal gain. The disordered political condition of the Mohammedan world led the Christians to recognize a situation very similar to that of western feudalism. Just as there were quarrels between Christian lords, so were there rivalries between Musselman emirs. Such a state of affairs the westerners could readily comprehend. He began to turn it to his advantage. With a better understanding of the easterner, the Latin treated him less as an enemy of his religion than as a hostile neighbor, and the Saracens responded in similar fashion. At times jealousies between Christian lords became stronger than religious or social antipathies. In 1108, when Baldwin of Burg was besieged by Tancred, he was rescued by a Moslem ally.³ This hope of personal advantage was a strong factor in promoting relations with the Mohammedans.

The friendly understanding which existed between the two races in Syria is nowhere shown more clearly than in the autobiography of Ousâma.⁴ In their chivalrous spirit and love of fighting the Saracens and the Christian found common ground for mutual appreciation. Ousâma fought the Christians in much the same spirit that knights fought each other in the west, and he pictures a state of affairs that indicates how far the Franks had learned to forget their racial and

¹ Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1883; Rey, *Les Colonies Françaises de Syrie aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles*, Paris, 1883; Munro, "Christian and Infidel in the Holy Land," in *Essays on the Crusades*.

² Fulch. Car., *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Occidentaux*, III, 335 A.

³ Albert, *Aquensis*, *Rec. Occ.*, IV, 649.

⁴ *Autobiographie d'Ousâma*, trans. Hartwig Derenburg, "Rev. de l'Orient Latin," II 329-565 (1894).

religious prejudice and to accept the east as it was. It is difficult to say just how real an appreciation of the people of the east the westerner acquired. Ousâma shows the twelfth century Saracen accepting the friendship of the Franks with a typical eastern reserve. He did not believe that they had any superiority except that of elemental courage.¹ He also says that he was surprised by the lack of intelligence shown by the Franks, and relates a rather significant incident in this connection. A certain Frank with whom Ousâma was more or less intimate, who called him "brother," asked permission of the Saracen to take his 14-year-old son to the west, where he could learn chivalry, and as the Frank said, "take on the polish of an intelligent man." Ousâma says that he was wounded by such words, for in his opinion his son could suffer no greater calamity if he were taken prisoner than to be taken to the land of the Franks. However, he politely explained to his Frankish friend that his mother could not spare the boy.² It must be said in explanation that this Frank was not a resident of Syria, but the story as told shows the eternal difference between east and west and indicates that the twelfth century Franks fell far short of any complete understanding of oriental character.

Nevertheless, the westerners learned enough about the east for practical purposes. This is shown by their treatment of the native races of Syria. These peoples probably could not have been made loyal to their Frankish rulers, but they seem to have accepted their government with complacency. They were not trusted by the Franks, although Jacques de Vitry may be too violent in his denunciation of these people.³ We find the Patriarch of Antioch, when the city was in serious danger of being captured, arming and driving out the non-Latin Christians as a first defensive precaution.⁴ The problem of governing these Syrian natives was very like the problem of the English in India, for it seems to have been largely a matter of adjusting the differences of race and religion that prevailed. The laws of the Kingdom of Jerusalem show that the Frank had learned his lesson in toleration. There was apparently no effort to change the customs of the subjects, except in so far as the practical necessities of government warranted. On the whole, the western rulers dealt generously with the native races. There is the familiar testimony of Ibn Jubair, that the Musselman farmers in the Syrian littoral lived in greater comfort under the Franks than those who remained under Mohammedan rule. "The hearts of most Musselmans are filled with the temptation of settling there

¹ Autobiographie, pp. 393, 456.

² Autobiographie, pp. 456-457.

³ Bongars, 1089, 1090, 1094.

⁴ Röhrich, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, Innsbruck, 1898, p. 136.

when they see the condition of their brethren in the districts governed by the Musselmans, because the state of the latter is the reverse of comfortable."¹ He further said, "They are masters of their own dwellings and govern themselves as they wish." According to the laws of Jerusalem, the Syrians at first had their own courts, presided over by a native official, the *reis*.² If this was true such autonomy was later reduced, probably because of the incompetence of the natives, for they were put under the jurisdiction of the court of the market, which, however, had four Syrians and two Franks as jurors.³ The tolerance of the rulers is further evident in certain features of judicial procedure. The native prejudices were recognized in the matter of oaths. The Mohammedan was permitted to swear on the Koran, the Jew on the Torah, the Samaritan on the books of the Pentateuch which he observed; Armenians, Syrians and Greeks on the Cross.⁴

Moreover, a Saracen was permitted to clear himself of a charge of debt by such an oath if the accuser, who might even be a Frank, could not produce witnesses.⁵ In suits between people of different races or religions no one could be convicted except by witnesses of the same race as the accused.⁶ Thus a Frank, if he brought suit against a Syrian, must have Syrian witnesses to convict. Such legal arrangements indicate a consideration for the subject races that is proof of the adjustment to the eastern environment that the westerners had made.

Fulk of Chartres indicates the spirit in which these colonists accepted the east:

Those of us who were earlier westerners have now become orientals. The Roman or the Frank has here in this country become a Galilaean or a Palestinian. We have already forgotten the cities where we were born. One of us already possesses houses and servants as a patrimony or by right of succession; another has perhaps married, and not to a woman of his own country, but perhaps to a Syrian or Armenian, sometimes even to a converted Saracen.⁷

There could be no more complete acceptance of the new environment than this testimony indicates; but the real colonists, who had settled permanently in the east, had serious difficulties to contend with, in that they were continually subject to interference from the west. Though the resident Franks may have forgotten their former homes, as Fulk says, in this land of richer opportunity, their former neighbors had not forgotten them. Every year people made long journeys to the east as pilgrims to fulfil crusading vows or to pra-

¹ Translated in Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, New York, 1907.

² Recuell, *Lois*, I, 26.

³ *Lois*, II, 171-173.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Lois*, II, 53.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-56, 96.

⁷ Quoted by Röhrich, *Gesch. d. K. J.*, pp. 123-124.

at the holy sepulchre, but few of them came with the intention of remaining as colonists.

Unfortunately these pilgrims had the intolerant attitude of the early crusaders, and they did not remain in the east long enough to understand the views or policies of the resident Latins. Their more hostile attitude was evident to the Mohammedans. Ousâma says 'There is no one among those who have recently come from the land of the Franks who does not show himself more inhuman than his predecessors who are resident among us.'¹ It is not necessary to endeavor to show, as Prutz does, that Syria was drawing the worst elements of western society, and infer that the Syrian colonists became degenerate in their new home, to find a serious weakness in the Latin colonies.² It is enough to know the lack of harmony that existed between the westerners, who were constantly coming and going, and the resident Latins. The people of the west had a very real interest in the defense of the Holy Land, but the aid that they sent was too often of little value to the colonists, because the westerners remained ignorant of the demands of the eastern situation. Not that the Latin States did not need men, for the permanent colonists were not numerous. The Latin princes counted on the annual visits of the pilgrims for recruits to swell their armies in their campaigns, but too often they found the newcomers difficult to control, and that such assistance proved an obstacle to the policy that experience had taught them to follow.

Because the permanent fighting strength of the colonists was small, the Latins made no effort to sustain a continuous holy war against all Islam. It was far more advantageous and oftentimes more profitable to maintain friendly relations with Mohammedan princes with whom actual hostilities did not exist and could not be successfully maintained. Owing to the disunited situation in the Mohammedan states during the first half of the twelfth century, this policy was feasible, and the conquest of Syria proceeded piecemeal. As early as 1101 Baldwin accepted tribute from the cities of Ascalon, Cæsarea, Acre, and Tyre, as a pledge of truce, which gave these cities commercial security, and the king money to pay his troops. At the same time, such a truce was refused to Arsuf, which the king planned to attack.³ It was difficult to get the newcomers to fall in line with such a policy. Thus in 1104, when Acre was besieged, Baldwin found it advantageous to accept the terms offered by the defenders of the city, who were allowed to march out with a promise that their lives would be spared. They were massacred by the

¹ Autobiographie, p. 459.

² Prutz, Kulturgeschichte des Kreuzzüge, p. 116.

³ Alb., Rec. Occ., IV, 541 E.

Pisans and Genoese. Baldwin was so angry at this breach of the terms of the capitulation that he wished to punish the offender but was dissuaded by the Patriarch.¹ In 1106 a large number of English, Flemish, and Danish pilgrims aided the king to besiege Sidon. Baldwin found that he could obtain a considerable tribute by raising the siege. In order to get his allies to do this he had resort to deceptions and pretended that other events had made impossible to continue the investment of the city. The pilgrims departed for their homes much disgruntled at their failure to obtain plunder.² At the siege of Tripoli in 1109 the inhabitants showed their distrust of the western allies, but were willing to trust the king to protect them if they capitulated. This the king was unable to do.³ By the middle of the century the failure of the siege of Damascus, during the Second Crusade, led to the bitter denunciation of the Syrian Christians by the westerners. The King of Jerusalem, the Patriarch, the Latin lords of Syria, and the Templars were openly accused of treachery.⁴ The same complaints were to be made again and again, and did much to dampen western enthusiasm for crusading.

In reality such accusations by the westerners show that they could not understand the policy of the Syrian Latins. The colonists were not strong enough to get along without aid, and again and again they were forced to appeal to the west for succor. Doubtless the complaints of the westerners were often just. They deserved consideration, for they were making genuine sacrifices for the benefit of the colonists, but it is only reasonable to conclude that men who had made Syria their home understood the eastern situation far better than men who were recently from the west and lacked the experience that could come only from residence in Syria. The contrast in the point of view of the west and the colonists, and the constant friction that it produced shows very definitely that the Syrian Latins had undergone a very decided transformation in their oriental environment.

Thus far we have touched phases of adjustment in which the westerners showed themselves adaptable. The chief failure of the colonists was in not learning to get along with each other. In governmental organization the west has always been greatly superior to the east. In this particular the crusading states were deficient largely because the political development in the west was not sufficiently advanced to permit these twelfth-century men to found a state that could meet the demands of the eastern situation. The frontier has always required the strongest type of government. The

¹ Alb., Rec. Occ., IV, 607-608.

² Ibid., IV, 631-634.

³ Ibid., IV, 668.

⁴ Röhricht, *Gesch. d. K. J.*, pp. 61-62.

German marks or the palatinate of Durham are medieval examples. Centralization was particularly necessary to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, located as it was as an extreme outpost of Christendom. However, it was the individualism of the frontier, rather than autocratic rule, that developed in the crusading states. This political tendency must be ascribed to the way in which the conquest was made, and to the interpretation which western feudal theory received in the east.

The Kingdom of Jerusalem [says Balian] has not been conquered like other States, by a chief who was able to consider himself the absolute master of its fortunes, but by an army of pilgrims assembled from all countries, under the leadership of God himself. When the land was conquered, the lords by common accord granted the seigneurie of the kingdom to one of themselves.¹

This characterizes the conquest with sufficient accuracy. The leaders of the First Crusade were eager to satisfy their own personal ambition, and each sought to carve out a state for himself in this promising new world. Baldwin became lord of Edessa, Bohemond obtained Antioch, Godfrey was a compromise candidate for the kingship, and when elected "Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre" his actual power was extremely slight. Raymond spent the remainder of his life trying to obtain an independent lordship. Before the kings of Jerusalem could rise to a position of prominence, the foundation was laid for four practically autonomous principalities. As soon as conquered, Syria became a copy of the feudal west. The evil was done because the crusading army was led by a number of leaders of equal authority, and lacked such a single controlling head as had the army that conquered England. It is significant that no king participated in the First Crusade. Furthermore, the organization of the crusading army was not strictly feudal. Men joined as volunteers and not because their obligations as vassals made it necessary for them to follow the lord they were bound to obey in the west. This individualism was predominant from the first.

Such being the result of the conquest, the only possible way in which unification might have come was that by which the French monarchy gained control over the great feudal lords. The men who occupied the throne of Jerusalem must have realized the need of greater centralization. They assumed a general responsibility for the defense and the welfare of all the different Latin States and repeatedly went to the assistance of the lords of Antioch or Edessa, but they made no effort to exact a greater fidelity in exchange for such aid. They seem not to have exerted themselves in the face of opportunities that a Capetian would have considered providential. In 1119, when Bohemond was killed, Baldwin II assumed the complete control of Antioch, and became military chief as well as administrative head of the principality.² When Josclin was a prisoner in

¹ Quoted by Dodu, *Institutions Monarchiques de Jerusalem*, pp. 168-169.

² Guill. de Tyr, *Rec. Occ.*, I, 530-531.

1122, the king took charge of Tripoli,¹ and on the death of Bohemond II, in 1131, Baldwin again took over the government of Antioch. But no effort was made to bring these fiefs permanently under royal control. In each case the king seems to have acted strictly according to his duties as feudal suzerain.

The reason for this weakness in royal power is to be found in the type of feudalism that the Crusades and the frontier conditions of Syria produced. However, in the first place, it must be noted that the feudal conceptions which existed in the west during the early crusading period were responsible in large measure for this trend of governmental development in the Latin colonies. The Crusade came from a society where the vassal was becoming increasingly important. Such tendencies were further developed by the opportunities that the Crusades afforded, so in Syria the vassal became all-important at the outset, and the rights that were secured were never given up in the interest of central authority. The aristocracy was the sovereign power in the state, and this notwithstanding constant warfare against a common foe, which should have brought centralization.

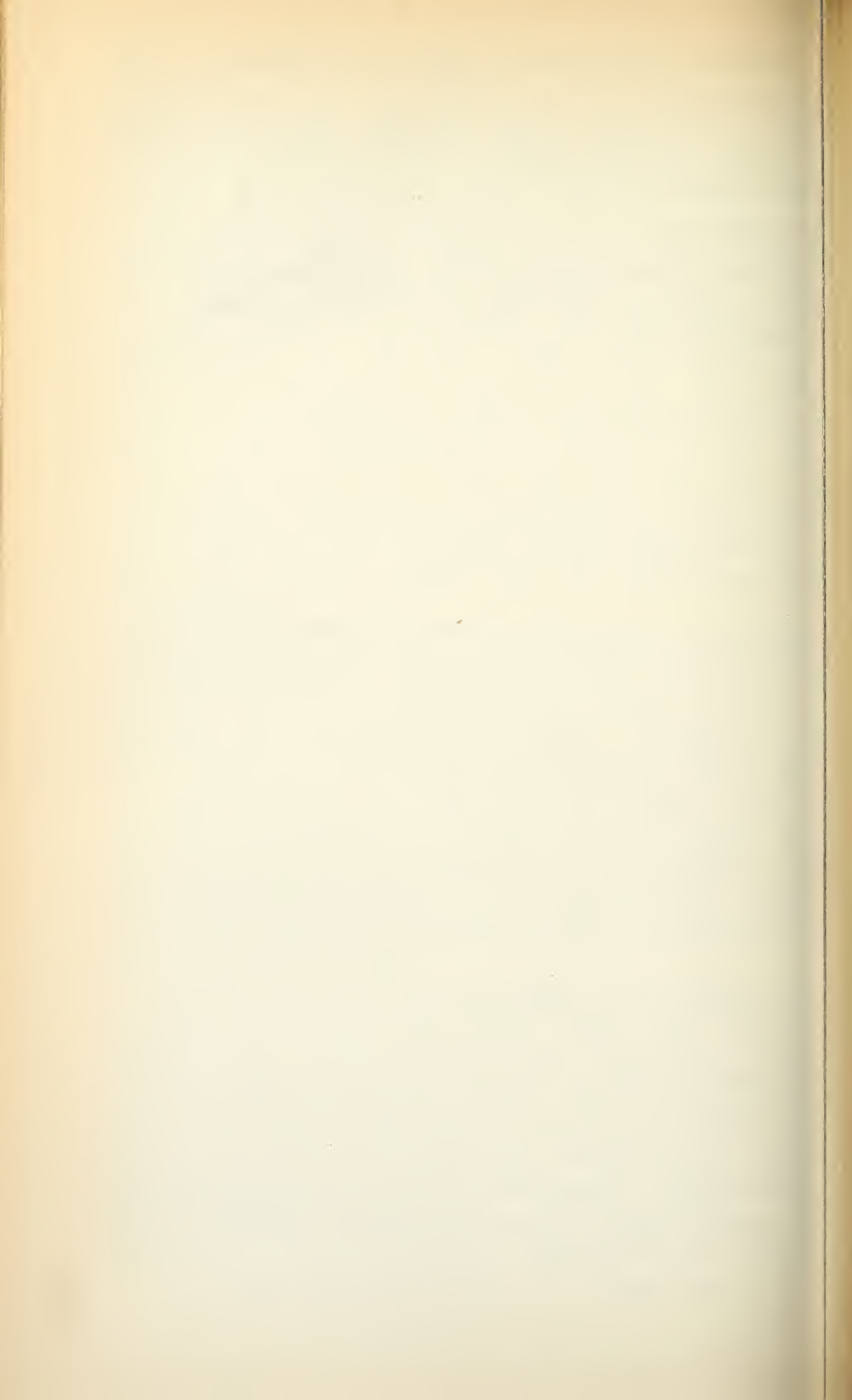
This does not imply that there was not progress in governmental development in the east. The diversity of legal conceptions which were gathered together in Syria necessitated compromise and reconstruction, and a revised system of feudal law was evolved to suit the needs of the Latin society in the colonies. Furthermore, additional change resulted from the need of adapting western customs to eastern conditions. All of this produced a broader and more liberal view of government, and for this reason the feudalism of the Kingdom of Jerusalem is a profitable field for investigation. However, notwithstanding this progress and adjustment in law and government, the colonists failed to acquire sufficient political unity and revealed an inability to make feudal conceptions of government suit the needs of a frontier state.

In general it may be said that the twelfth-century westerners were remarkably successful in their colonial venture. The very lack of preparation that western civilization had given them worked to their advantage, for once the intolerant viewpoint was changed they had little positive knowledge to unlearn. The west had reached the stage of development which made it ready to learn, and the colonists found that the Orient had much to give. Under such circumstances they became adaptable to their new environment. The Crusades and frontier conditions developed qualities of individual initiative that hastened this process of adjustment. This independence aided the

¹ Guill. de Tyr, *Rec. Occ.*, I, 537.

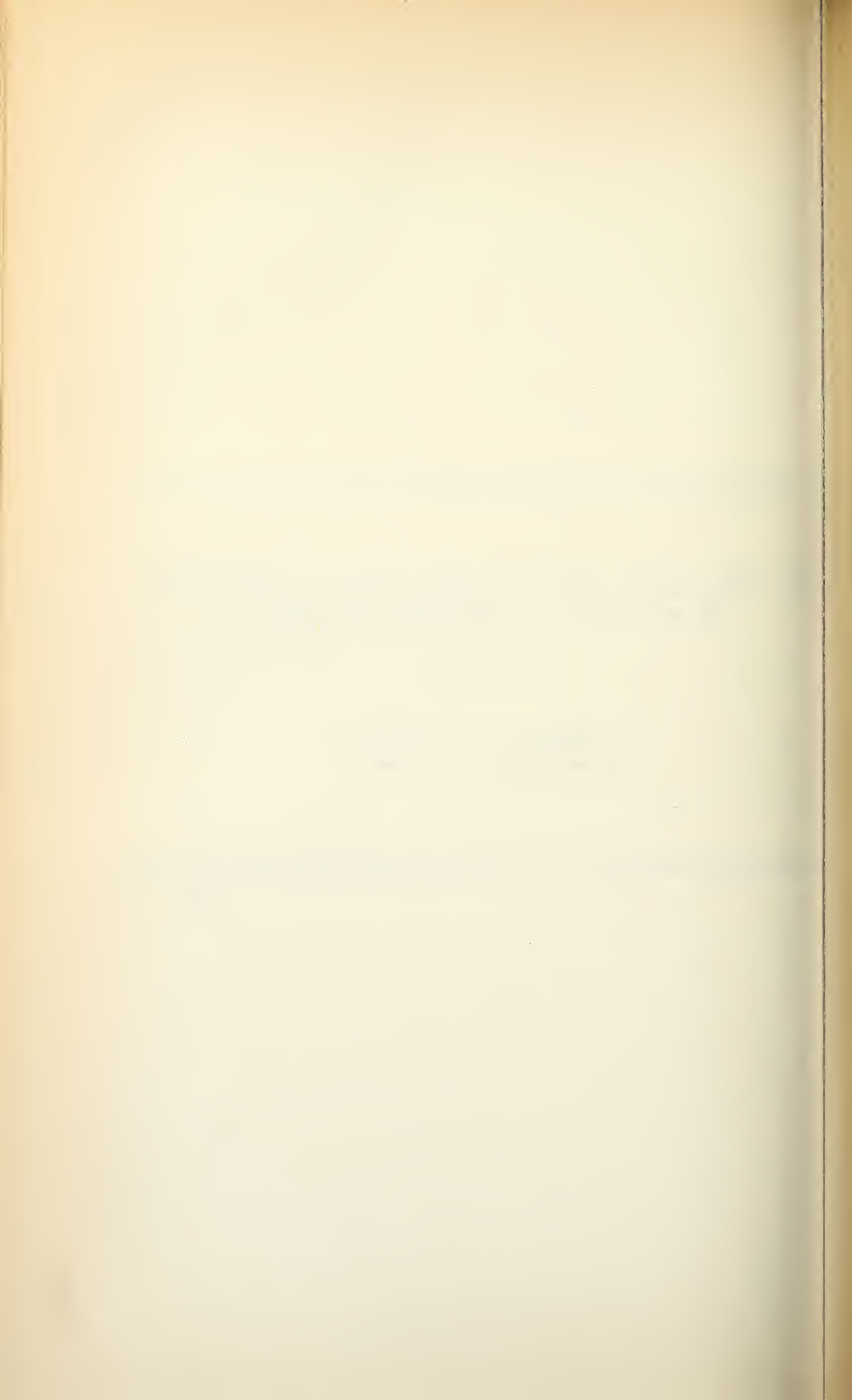
² *Ibid.*, I., 599.

colonists in their task of governing the native races and in all their relations with the eastern peoples. It further explains the trend of development in governmental conceptions, but it was here that western society had not sufficiently prepared them for their task. Western feudal theory, combined with individualism, did not produce a state sufficiently unified to give these colonies any degree of permanence. Europe of the twelfth century had not progressed far enough in its political ideals to establish colonies successfully in the Orient.



VIII. THE FEUDAL NOBLE AND THE CHURCH AS REFLECTED
IN THE POEMS OF CHRESTIEN DE TROYES.

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THE FEUDAL NOBLE AND THE CHURCH AS REFLECTED IN THE POEMS OF CHRESTIEN DE TROYES.

By EDGAR H. McNEAL.

The object of this sketch is to illustrate the way in which the literature of feudal society can be used as historical material. The idea, of course, is not new; I only venture the opinion that more could be made of it by the student of history than has yet been done. For the really considerable work of this sort has been done mainly either by the departments of romance and Germanic languages and literatures or by the specialists in branches of medieval culture.

Viолет-le-Duc's great Dictionnaire and Schultz's *Höfisches Leben* are familiar examples of the latter, while the romantic work of Léon Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, the articles of Gaston Paris, and the great number of doctors' dissertations from the language departments show the scholars and students of literature at work with this material.

It is no invidious reflection on the character of this work to hold that there is still something for the historical student to do along this line. The historical student should come to the study of feudal literature in Old French and Middle High German with a background and consider it with an interest different from the background and the interest of the students who more usually deal with this material. And that this has not been done to any great extent by the historical student will be admitted. Even that monument of recent historical scholarship, Lavissee's *Histoire de France*, is disappointing in this regard.

The most obvious objection is on the side of method—that method which, in despite of all extravagance, remains the glory of the modern school of history, since it is the development of a scientific method alone that has made it possible for the historian to claim for his results the value of facts scientifically established. Now, for the larger problem of the character and condition of feudal society the poetry of the feudal age is neither a chronicle nor a document. Only for certain small phases of life in that age (such as the development of the literary language, for example) can it be used as a

document. And it fails to come within the requirements of a chronicle, since it was not the poet's intention to describe the conditions of his time as he knew them. Psychologically considered, what we have in the allusions that form our material is the setting, the "local color," the atmosphere, which the poet selected for his tale, and which he drew, of course, from his own knowledge of the life about him. It is evident, therefore, that the relation between the facts we wish to know and the material we can examine is only indirect, and the process by which the poet distilled from the facts his poetic conception is difficult, if not impossible, to recover. (I am considering now only the objection; I need not dwell on the obvious consideration that the professional feudal poet would not select for his setting ideas and conditions that were strange or repugnant to his audience.) An objection of another sort lies in this, that the facts about the things alluded to have often to be sought for in other sources of information, since the poet takes for granted a knowledge that is not ours. For some matters these sources are not always available, and when they are we can not always be sure that the allusion is to the particular form of the thing we have found.

These considerations are sufficient to show the limitations of this sort of study. The material can not be compelled, can not be subjected to the rigor of the historical method, without the use of which the results will lack historical validity. This is to say not that it has no value, but that its value is chiefly illustrative and corroboratory. It often happens, however, that it illustrates and corroborates ideas in regard to which our ordinary sources of information need such supplementing. Take the problem which I have ventured to use as an illustration of this kind of work. The extent of the influence which the church exercised upon the actual thinking and living of the feudal noble is a historical fact of real importance and one upon which any additional light will be worth having. But perhaps after all, the chief value of work in this material is the general impressions we gain, and general impressions are clearly not among "historical facts scientifically established."

Coming now to the immediate problem, it will not be necessary nor expedient, in so slight a sketch, to spend much time upon the setting of the problem in time and in stage of development. The facts are familiar. Chrestien de Troyes, writing from about 1170 to 1190, was the first Old French poet to use consistently the Celtic Arthur-cycle as the framework for feudal romances. His poems belong to the romances of chivalry, that literary fashion (corresponding, we may suppose, to a change in literary taste in the audience) which superseded the *chansons de geste* of an earlier and ruder period. The poems of Chrestien reflect the advance in feudal society; more settle

conditions and more definitely fixed relations and customs; greater wealth of the higher nobles, whose residences were becoming courts; more attention to luxury and refinement of manners. It is this advance which must be considered the real cause of the change in literary type, although the features which came to be regarded by the poets as conventional *données* (love as a motive of action, courtliness, magic, etc.) are to be ascribed to borrowings from Provençal lyric poetry, Celtic love tales, and traditions of the late classical period.

Historically our period is the time just before the Third Crusade, the end of the reign of Louis VII, and the first years of Philippe-Auguste. It is the period, therefore, just preceding the great advance in the national monarchy which was made in the latter years of that monarch, but after the foundations for that advance had been laid by Louis VI. The development of the French national monarchy is the central theme of French history in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but it must not be forgotten that the great princes were carrying out similar reforms in the organization of their great fiefs during the same time. Before 1200 this movement had progressed so far as to make of the residences of the greater nobles (such as the Count of Champagne, whose countess, Marie, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine, was the patron of Chrestien) provincial capitals and, what is more important for our purpose, courts in the sense of centers of social intercourse, schools of high manners, and artistic and literary foyers.

In the development of the church, which touches our problem immediately, the end of the twelfth century is a most interesting period. Already the foundations for the marvelous structure of the summits had been laid by the work of theologians from Abelard to Peter Lombard. The seven sacraments had been defined and the fundamental philosophical problems had undergone a century of discussion, from which an orthodox philosophy had emerged. This intellectual phase of the church does not, however, concern us very much, since it seems not to have impinged, even ever so slightly, upon the consciousness of the feudal class. Our background is to be sought rather in the works produced by the church in its relation to the world that was under its charge—sermonnaires, books of private devotion, rituals, religious tales, lives of the saints, moralized fables, such as fables and bestiaries, and the beginnings of religious drama. These writings emanate mostly from the more sophisticated and self-conscious thirteenth century, but such as they are they must be worked to enable us, as far as it may be possible, to reconstruct the religious atmosphere through which the feudal noble, with his mind on quite other things, half consciously moved.

Another preliminary of capital importance is the answer to the question as to whether or not Chrestien was himself a cleric. The answer to this question is to be sought entirely in the writings of the poet, since there is no other source of information about him, and this reveals at once the viciously circular character of the method by which we are reduced. I can not go into this question further than to state that the best opinion is in favor of the negative, and to give it as my own impression that Chrestien reveals an absence of books and of knowledge such as it would have been difficult for a member of the clergy to attain. And if he were one of those half-ecclesiastical personages to be found in courts in all times, the half of him that was ecclesiastical does not emerge anywhere in his writings. We must needs proceed as if that were true which can not indeed be proved, namely, that the religious views and religious interests of Chrestien were those of the society to which he catered.

After so elaborate an introduction, the results I have to show are disappointingly meager. That meagerness is a function, however, of the material itself, and forms no unimportant part of the "general impression" I have mentioned as one of the results of this sort of study. It is accentuated perhaps by the fact that within my limits I can only set the allusions before you in their barrenness and summarize briefly the conclusions they suggest.

The point at which the authority of the church was most unquestionably accepted by the feudal noble was, of course, in the ministrations of religion itself; in those instrumentalities the necessity of which for salvation was universally accepted by lay society. The church had already been organized into the seven sacraments, the chief and most usual of which was the mass, or, rather, the Eucharist in the mass. There are in all the 40,000 lines attributed to Chrestien only 8 or 10 cases in which the hearing of mass is a part of the narrative. There are in addition perhaps half a dozen other cases in which the mass is mentioned. The narrative cases are pretty much alike; two or three examples will serve. On the morning when Yvain was to fight the giant it is said: "As soon as the chamber was opened he rose and heard mass." Again, of Yvain and the daughter of his host: "They rose right early and heard mass in a chapel." Of Erech on the morning of the tournament: "That morning, as soon as the dawn broke, he rose quickly and his host with him; they repaired to the monastery to pray, and heard a hermit chant mass." This is the regular form of the narrative, with no further descriptions or particulars, except that on two occasions mass was said in honor of the Holy Spirit. It occurs early in the morning, immediately after rising, and before some perilous adventure; it is heard at a monastery or at a chapel in the castle. It should be said, however, that there are at least twice as many occasions on which the rising of the hero and his

preparation for an adventure are mentioned without any statement that he heard mass.

In these cases there is no suggestion of the religious attitude of the nobles, except the bare fact that he performed a familiar religious act. In some of the other allusions there are more particulars. On two occasions the expression used is "communicating" and "taking communion." There are two instances also in which a sense of the inner, esoteric, sacramental character of the service is revealed, although that sense is not at all profound. Perceval's mother answers his question as to what is a church: "Son, it is where they make the sacrifice of Him who made heaven and earth and placed men and women in it." "And what is a monastery?" "A most sacred place, full of holy bodies [relics] where they sacrifice the body of Jesus Christ, the Holy Prophet." The other is the well-known explanation of the grail which Perceval receives from the hermit. The grail contains a host and is thereby so sacred and the aged king is so spiritual that he needs no other sustenance. In the former case the poet betrays knowledge of a theological conception, but one of the most familiar; while in the second he treats the sacred element as a piece of magic.

Masses for the dead occur in four instances, with familiar features. Perceval undertakes to have services said for his mother every year, so that God and St. Abraham may place her among the blessed souls. Services for the dead are the occasion for gifts to the poor and to the church.

Of the other sacraments there are only a few instances. There are four instances of confession, or mention of confession (which is part of the sacrament of penance): Perceval after his five years of aberration in which he had not entered a church; the dying knight found by Gawaine; Lunete about to be burned; and the knights and ladies whom Perceval meets on Good Friday. Confession is alluded to as necessary for the remission of sins, as a means of saving the soul from the devil, as involving the saying of "culpa," and praying God for pardon and mercy. In the case of Perceval penance is also described; as penance he is to go to the chapel or monastery in whatever place he may be and stay until the priest has completed the mass, and he is to remain two days with the hermit and eat such fare as the hermit eats. There are five instances of marriage, but in only one of them is the religious ceremony described and that in the simple words, "The archbishop of Canterbury blessed them fittingly." There is no suggestion of the sacramental character of the ceremony. Baptism is merely mentioned in two or three cases, in which personages of the poem announce their given names.

Next in significance to the sacraments were the private religious acts taught by the church as aids to religious life, and attested to us by

the private altars, the diptychs and triptychs, the illumined book of hours, that form so beautiful a part of our inheritance from the Middle Ages. That we do not find descriptions of such devotion in Chrestien is understandable, of course, in the light of the fact that he is not concerned with interior scenes, except where they fit into his plot, as love-making, courtly entertainment and hospitality and perilous adventure. There are a few cases of prayer and calling on God and the saints, as of the maiden who, seeking after Yvain a champion, finds herself alone in the forest at night: "She called upon God first and then upon his mother, and then on all the saints and made that night many orisons." In the terrible conflict between Erec and Yvers in the tournament of the sparrow hawk, "Each saw his lady weep and extend her hands to God and pray that He would give to her champion the honor of the battle." Another instance interesting for its naïveté is the prayer which the hermit confides to Perceval, containing many names of our Lord, and which he is to use only when he is in direst peril. This is the prayer as a charm. More usual is the idea of the prayers of Perceval's mother, having saved him unwitting from destruction.

Among religious acts not strictly sacramental are oaths on relics of which there are several instances. Gawaine swears on a most precious "sanctuary" ("saintueire" used regularly for reliquary in Chrestien) to seek the lance that bleeds. So before the duel between Launcelot and Melegant the holy bodies of the saints are brought forth and each kneels and holds out his hand to the relics and swears. The idea of the reliquary is alluded to naïvely in Cligès, when it is said that had Alexandre known that the shirt embroidered by Sagramors contained golden hairs of her head, he would have made of it a sanctuary and prayed to it night and day. Even more naïve is the act of Launcelot approaching the couch of the queen; he adores it and bows, for in no relic of saint did he have such faith.

The influence of the church appears in those involuntary and perfunctory acts of religious character, such as swearing by the name of God or of the saints, using pious or religious expressions, making the sign of the cross, etc. These are very frequent, and call for no extended comment. Oaths are usually ejaculations: "Par Deu" is the commonest. The names of the saints are to a certain extent dictated by the rhyme, we may suppose; they are sometimes local saints, more often the great saints of the church: By St. Peter the apostle, by St. Peter of Rome, by St. Paul the apostle, by St. Martin, by St. Sylvester. Other names used as oaths are: The Holy Spirit, the holy church, the true cross, the holy paternoster. By all the saints one prays to at Rome; by God and all His saints; by the glorious Queen of Heaven and all the angels, are variants. A few longer

formulæ (elaborated by the poet, it would seem, as a device to emphasize the anguish or the entreaty) suggest general theological notions, as "By that God who is Son and Father and made to be His mother her who was His daughter and handmaiden." Oaths also have the form of pledges: "May vile fire and flame burn me," "So help me Lord God," "So amend me God," "So help me the Holy Spirit," etc. Pious wishes have the same general character: "Please God, please the Holy Spirit." The hospitable knight regularly commends his departing guest to God, to God and all his saints. On the departure of Perceval, they all cry with one voice: "Beau sire, that true cross on which God suffered His Son to hang, guard you from mortal peril."

The church always furnished some religious instruction to laymen, but the evidence of this in Chrestien is of the slightest. The case of Perceval is unusual, since the theme which Chrestien worked up was in some sort a religious one (in what sort is a problem, for it is well known that Chrestien left his grail story unfinished and that the continuators may have used other material than that which he had in mind). On three occasions Perceval receives religious instruction: from his mother as he is about to start out into the world, from the knight who gave him instruction in knighthood and knighted him, and from the hermit to whom he came for absolution. His mother's instructions consist simply in urging him to be constant in attendance on church and in telling him in terms already mentioned the significance of church and monastery. The elderly knight instructs him to go willingly to the monasteries and to pray to Him who made all things "that He may have mercy on your soul and keep you His faithful Christian in this world." And the hermit: "Go to mass, believe in God, love and adore Him, honor knights and ladies, rise to greet the priest; if a maiden require thine aid, aid her, or a widow or orphan." These instructions are elaborated at certain points into what are virtually confessions of faith. Thus, his mother instructs him in regard to "Jesus Christ, the Holy Prophet, to whom the Jews did much shame; and He was wrongfully condemned to the cross, and suffered for men and women, whose souls went to hell when they left their bodies, and He brought them out. He was bound to a pillar and beaten and then crucified, and He wore a crown of thorns." So also the knights and ladies who tell him the meaning of Good Friday:

The day on which a man should adore the cross and bemoan his sins, for on that day He was hanged on the cross who was sold for 30 pennies. He who pure of all sins saw the sins in which the world is entangled and bound, and became man for our sins; true it is that He was man and God, that a virgin brought forth a son, that she conceived of the Holy Spirit, when God took on flesh and blood.

Evidence of religious instruction is found also in the few allusion to Biblical history, though they are of the most familiar sort: From the days when Noah made the ark; Yvain called the noblest of the line of Abel; a sycamore planted in the time of Abel; Gawaine saying of the queen that never so renowned a lady had been formed from the rib of Adam. A few references to the significance of feast days such as the one already mentioned of the meaning of Good Friday and the reference in Yvain: "On that feast day which so much costs that it should be called Pentecoste." These, however, are about the only significant allusions to religious notions, and it is evident that they concern matters of the commonest knowledge.

A field in which the church enjoyed a practical monopoly was that of science and learning. There is one allusion to the curriculum of the monastery schools in his description of the mantel embroidered with the four allegorical figures of geometry, arithmetic, music, and astronomy. This Chrestien could have found in any one of several popular sources, and moreover it may well have been a display of erudition on his part rather than an allusion to something familiar to his audience. The only branches of knowledge presupposed in his allusions are geography and medicine; the geographical allusions must have been matters of the commonest knowledge, and the medicine is mostly magic.

There remains the large question of the influence of the church on morals, both ideals and practice.

This is a very important question, but one so complicated as to make it impossible to give it a fair consideration within the prescribed limits. A mere statement of conclusions would not carry any weight. The problem should be stated and the conclusions given in terms of an *x* representing the moral teachings of the church which it sought by various means to instill into lay society, and a *y* representing the notions of conduct upon which the nobles acted. Material exists for making those determinations; on the one hand in the varied works of edification produced by the church of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; on the other, in the acts and words of the poet's characters, as also in his own occasional dissertations. The results should enable us to approximate roughly to a conclusion as to how far the implied recognized code of conduct was influenced by the teachings of the church and in how far it was composed simply of "noble virtues"—the ideals of a ruling and superior class. It goes without saying that such a detailed discussion must form a part of any complete treatment of our general problem.

The conclusions we can make from this examination of the allusions in Chrestien seem to lack significance, but I need not repeat the earlier admissions as to the limitations of the value of this sort

of study. Moreover, it should be noted that we are not expecting any new light on the character of the church. Our problem is to make out as far as we can how the church (the facts in regard to which we presuppose) was conceived of by the poet as having a part in the life and the consciousness of his feudal audience.

He pictures attendance upon mass as a usual incident of the life of the noble, but by no means as a preoccupation. Of each of his heroes, Cligès, Alexandre, Yvain, Erec, Launcelot, Gawaine, and Perceval, he mentions this act only once or twice in the course of his adventures. The insistence in the case of Perceval on the duty of going to monastery and church to hear mass is a note not found elsewhere and is probably a *donnée* of the plot. The sacramental significance of the mass as communion and as a sacrifice is supposed to be understood, though both of these cases are from Perceval, where occurs also the popular idea of the host as magic. On the whole it may be said that in Chrestien the noble goes to mass as a conventional act without much idea of its significance. The necessity of confession occurs to the hero only four or five times, and these are instances of extremity. The other sacramental services are barely mentioned. Saving his soul was evidently not a preoccupation of the hero of feudal literature.

The religious notion of God's governance is hinted at in the very few instances of prayer, but it is purely conventional; there is no case in which the hero prays for success. Oaths on relics show that the church had impressed the noble with the importance of that sanction. Swearing by holy names and using pious expressions such as "Please God" and "I commend you to God" are frequent; they are, of course, only half conscious or perfunctory acts, but they do attest an unconscious absorption of religious notions.

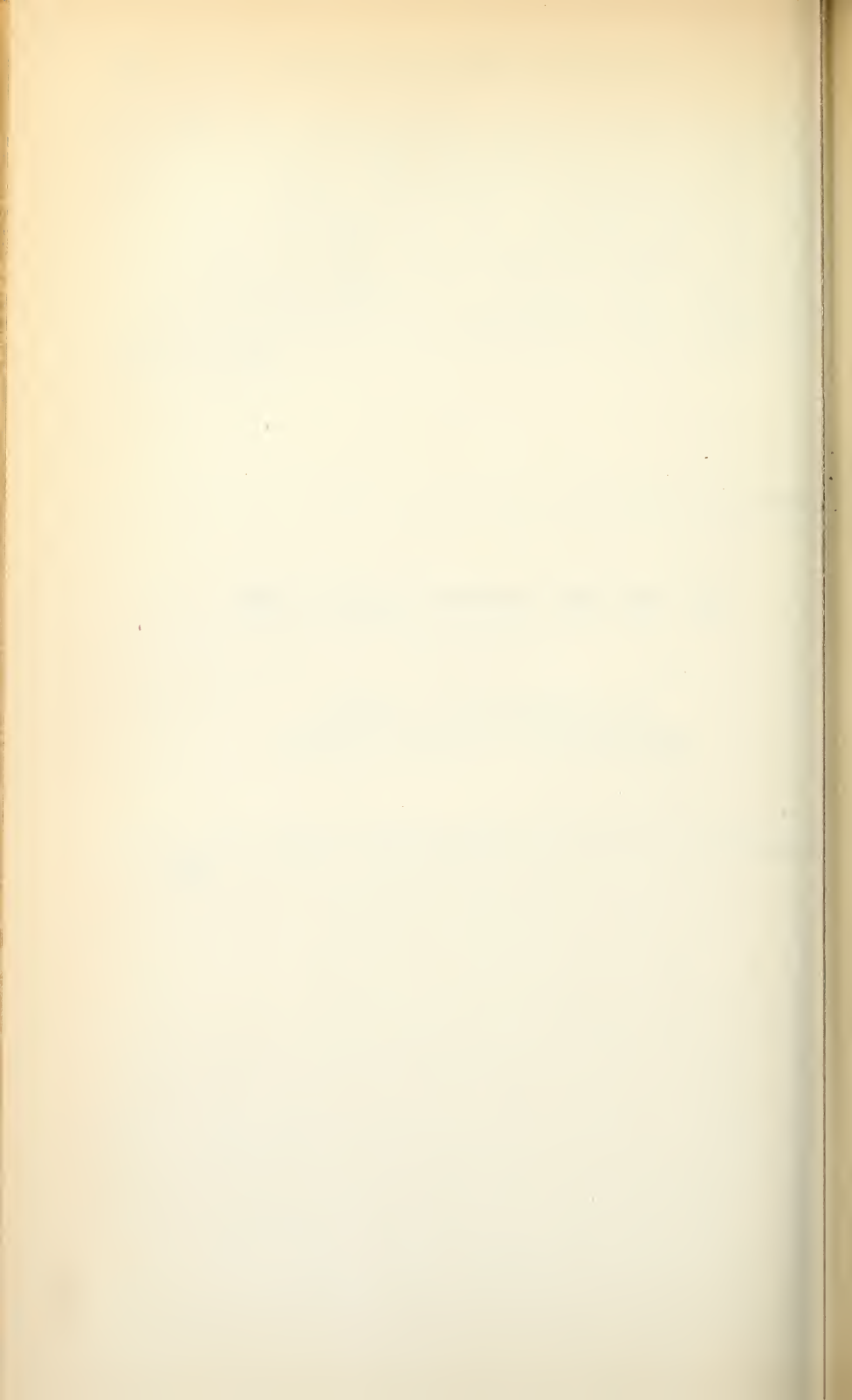
Evidence of an understanding of religious ideas, such as the church (we know from the sources) had developed elaborate means of conveying, is of the slightest. Half a dozen Biblical allusions of the most familiar sort, the elementary religious instruction of Perceval to go to church and hear mass, the two short credos in Perceval, and the reference to the meaning of Good Friday and Pentecost, are about the whole list.

This evidence can not, of course, be treated with rigor. It does not prove that the noble of the end of the twelfth century did not know any more about the church than Chrestien's heroes are supposed to know. It may serve as an illustration, however, of the extent to which the church influenced feudal society, since it gives us Chrestien's idea of the amount of that preoccupation with religious things and the relative importance of the church to feudal society in its lighter moments. And this may remain as our gen-

eral impression: The great church of the twelfth century, with its wonderful organization and its immense activities in intellectual, artistic, and religious fields, affected the life of the feudal noble after all, very slightly. He accepted its teachings half consciously and without questioning, but it did not occupy very much of his consciousness nor affect very materially his attitude toward life. And if this general impression is a perfectly familiar one, it at least receives some illustration, some confirmation from a study of the literature written for this class, of which our poet was one of the chief purveyors.

IX. THE TURCO-VENETIAN TREATY OF 1540.

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THE TURCO-VENETIAN TREATY OF 1540.

By THEODORE F. JONES.

In 1536 the days were past when Venice "held the gorgeous East in fee." The opening of new markets and the discovery of new routes to old ones, on the one hand, and, on the other, the rapid rise of the Ottoman power had weakened her prestige and undermined her wealth. Territorially, to be sure, her Levantine empire was, though not intact, yet not seriously diminished. Her nobles still lorded it over the isles of the archipelago; and the Republic itself still controlled Crete, Cyprus, the Ionian Islands, and at least two ports in the Morea.

In that year, 1536, however, much against her will she became involved in a war with the Turks which was destined to humble her naval pretensions and begin the disruption of her empire. Of how the Republic was, as a result of a bit of misplaced independence on the part of one of her captains, attacked by Barbarossa; how the Barbary corsair became admiral of the Porte; of the unsuccessful attack by the Turks in 1537 upon Corfu; of how Venice was compelled by self-respect to join in a crusading league with the Pope and the Emperor; and, finally, of the naval fiasco at Prevesa in 1538, we need not here treat in detail. By the end of 1538 the Venetians saw their commerce ruined and their naval reputation lost; the only result of their efforts was that they saw Castelnovo, at the entrance of the Bocche di Cattaro, which had once been a Venetian fortress, in the hands of a Spanish garrison. In despair, they concluded that they must sue for peace as best they could. Their negotiations for peace, and the aftermath of the treaty they secured form a dramatic chapter in history.

The Venetian Government had reason to believe that its request for peace would not be unheard at the Porte. The first vizier, Aias Pasha, had always been fairly friendly; and Jonus Beg, the first dragoman, was always willing—for a compensation—to serve as an intermediary. On November 10, 1538, the Heads of the Ten had received a letter,¹ written six months before in the Seven Towers at

¹ Letters at Capi da Constantinopoli, No. 133 (in Venetian archives).

Constantinople by da Canale, their *bailo*. He told how urgently he had explained to the viziers the peaceful intentions of the Republic.

I tried dexterously to show them [he writes] how wrongly they had acted in offending so unjustly the dearest friends they had in the world—so effectively that I swear that when I had finished I saw Aias blush, and heard him mutter, "God pardon the man who was the cause of these mistakes." I continued, "Sir, I beg you no longer to make your best friends despair by doing to them daily so many injuries. We honor you, we respect you, and yet you persist in treating us as your worst enemies." "Say no more," Aias replied, "tell the signory to send an ambassador."

Late in February, 1539, moreover, when the Spanish occupation of Castelnovo was beginning to rankle, there arrived in the city a Venetian subject from Zante, named Antonio da Modon, a friend of Jonus Beg.¹ He had,² apparently, because of this friendship, been commissioned, either by the signory or by its *bailo*, to approach Jonus and ask him whether the Sultan would be inclined favorably to receive a Venetian envoy who should come to discuss terms of peace. Among the papers of the Heads of the Ten is preserved a curious letter which Antonio brought in reply to their request, written³ for the Sultan, to the Doge, in January, at Adrianople, giving a safe conduct for such an envoy.

The Ten, therefore, at once dispatched an agent to start the negotiations. They picked out Lorenzo Gritti, the youngest of the late Doge's illegitimate children⁴ by a Greek mother, born while he was resident *bailo* at Constantinople. Lorenzo's brother Zorzi had just died in the latter city, leaving a certain amount of property, and the attempt was made to hoodwink the Spanish and papal ambassadors by giving them to understand that Gritti went on purely family business.⁵ But the Spanish ambassador, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, guessed the truth at once, and protested at this attempt to desert the league.⁶ Gritti was asked to secure, if possible, a general truce for the whole league (the Pope wanted one in order that Charles might devote his whole time to the crushing of the Lutherans), but if that proved to be impossible, to secure a separate peace for Venice on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*, i. e., restoration of Castelnovo to the Turks, and of the Aegean Islands to Venice.

¹ Jonus Beg, the first dragoman of the Porte, plays a great part in Venetian history. He often visited Venice and published in 1532 (?), in cooperation with Alvise Gritti, a description in Italian, of the Turkish Government, of which a copy exists in the Harvard College library, and has been translated by Prof. Lybyer in the appendix of his *Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Reign of Suleiman the Magnificent* (Harvard University Press, 1913).

² Paruta, *Storia di Venezia*, V. 342.

³ In Italian, *Letteri ai Capi*, No. 136.

⁴ The three half-Greek illegitimate children of Doge Andrea Gritti, who died in December, 1538, were named Alvise (Venetian for Luigi), Zorzi (Venetian for Giorgio), and Lorenzo. Alvise played a large part in Turkish and Hungarian history, ending his life as bishop of Agala, in Hungary; cf. Kretschmayr, "Ludovico Gritti, eine Monographie" in *Archiv für Oester. Geschichte*, Vol. 83.

⁵ Cf. *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, first series, Vol. IV, pt. 2. Apr. 23, 1539. Farnese to Poggio.

⁶ Paruta, X, 433.

Lorenzo Gritti made an extraordinarily quick trip to Adrianople and back. Leaving Venice late in February,¹ he had already completed his work at Adrianople and left that city on March 21,² and was back in Venice on April 7, 1539.² He reported that Jonus had introduced him to Aias, who had received him graciously but seemed offended that his former offer of mediation had been so long rejected. Aias had, moreover, granted the Republic alone a three months' suspension of hostilities beginning March 20, in which it might send a real ambassador.

On April 11, accordingly, the Senate,³ meaning to select as its envoy the man who would be *persona gratissima* at the Porte, chose, in spite of his great age, Piero Zeno, who, as *bailo*, some years before, had been on intimate terms with the men at the Porte. It was loudly proclaimed, of course, that it was Zeno's duty to get Spain and the pope included in the treaty if possible, now that every one must hear that Venice was negotiating. But at the Curia, we know, they were sure Venice was bound to get peace, by herself, if necessary.⁴

It was impossible for Zeno to start at once; it took time to prepare a suitable collection of presents for the Porte. The Government at once sent back Gritti,⁵ therefore, to tell the Turks it accepted the armistice and that Zeno was coming. More than on Gritti, perhaps, the signory depended on the famous Cesare Cantelmo. Cantelmo was a Neapolitan *fuoruscito* (therefore, like Rincon,⁶ his colleague, very anti-Spanish in his sympathies), who was in the employ of the French king. Francis was in 1539 indulging in a very tortuous policy, trying to remain at peace with Charles in the west and in alliance with the latter's mortal enemy, Suleiman, in the east. Cantelmo was now in Venice,⁷ on his way to Constantinople, where his ostensible mission was to help Rincon, the French envoy, in securing peace for all the members of the Holy League.⁸ Actually, he was probably expected to do his best to keep up the war between Charles and Suleiman; with regard to Venice it was his business, probably, to keep the Republic fighting with the Turks until, in despair at continued defeat, Venice would be willing to make an alliance against Charles with Francis in the west in return for French mediation at Constantinople. Cantelmo stopped in Venice, on his way, between April 15 and 18. When he left, the Ten gave him a present of 500

¹ The letter brought by Antonio which caused Gritti's mission was written in Adrianople on Jan. 29, 1539.

² Nuntiaturberichte, *ibid.*; Senato Deliberazioni (Sen. Del.), Vol. 60, Apr. 10, 1539 (in Venetian archives).

³ Sen. Del., *ibid.*, Apr. 11.

⁴ Nuntiaturberichte, *ibid.*

⁵ Sen. Del., *ibid.*, Apr. 11; and Charrière, *Négotiations de la France dans le Levant* (1848), I, 405.

⁶ French ambassador at the Porte, successor to La Forêt, who had died in the Turkish camp at Valona in September, 1538; cf. Charrière.

⁷ Arrived Apr. 15; cf. Nuntiaturberichte, *ibid.*

⁸ Sen. Del., Vol. 60, Apr. 13.

ducats and urged him to use his best offices to secure peace for the Republic, even before Zeno's arrival, if possible.¹ Zeno himself started overland, via Ragusa and Serajevo, about the end of the month.²

But on April 20 Barbarossa had started on another raid, with the purpose, the Venetians knew, of recapturing Castelnovo. The Venetians, of course, were trying to get the Spaniards to restore Castelnovo to them (to whom by the terms of the league it belonged) in order that they might restore it to the Turks as a preliminary of the peace; they wanted the Turks to get it. What they feared was, after a successful attack by Barbarossa on Castelnovo, that he would sail farther up the Bocche and attack their own fort at Cattaro.³ So they pressed the Spanish more urgently to give Castelnovo to them.⁴ As Barbarossa drew near, the Spanish garrison began to wish for Venetian assistance, and Charles in early July at last offered to give it up to Venice. But on July 13 Barbarossa attacked the fort, and the Venetians, knowing his martial spirit must find vent somewhere, delayed acceptance until it was too late. Castelnovo fell on August 10.

Before this, however, Cantelmo had returned to Venice, on July 15, apparently much grieved because, he said, all his best efforts at securing a favorable peace for the signory had failed.⁵ Zeno had died of exhaustion on June 25 at Serajevo,⁶ and Aias had, in order to allow the arrival of a new ambassador, prolonged the truce until September 20. Cantelmo said that he had done his very best, and the Doge thanked him in public.⁷ But the expression of thanks was no heartfelt. On the day before, July 17, the Heads of the Ten had received a letter from Gritti, which began with praise of Cantelmo and Rincon. "I am sure they could not have done more if they were Venetian themselves," but which ended with a cipher as follows: "I had to write the above about Cantelmo; the truth is that neither he nor Rincon could have acted worse. If it had not been for them, I should have signed an honorable treaty."⁸ Instead, the Sultan demanded the cession of Nauplia and Malvasia and of all the Venetian fiefs⁹ in the Aegean.

When the new ambassador, Tomà Contarini, reached Constantinople, he was compelled to wait three weeks, while Suleiman and his

¹ *Dicci Segrete* (S. C. X.), Apr. 18, 1539 (in Venetian archives).

² Paruta, X, 38.

³ *Sen. Del.*, Vol. 60, May 26.

⁴ S. C. X., May 31, 1539.

⁵ *Nuntiaturberichte*, *ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1539, from Mozone; July 31, from Torea.

⁶ *Sen. Del.*, Vol. 60, June 13 (Zeno *sich.*); *Lettere al Capi*, No. 140, received July 15 from Zeno's son.

⁷ S. C. X., July 18, 1539.

⁸ *Lettere al Capi*, No. 157.

⁹ Held in fief from the Republic by noble families, such as the Querinis, the Saundos, and the Crespos; cf. W. Miller, *Latine in the Levant*.

new first vizir, Lufti, were hunting, and then Lufti demanded impossible terms—a large indemnity besides the cession of all the Levantine seaports. Contarini could get no better terms, and, as he had no power to grant such demands, he was obliged to return to Venice.¹ All the negotiations had failed. When the disheartening news reached Venice, on October 10, as Cantelmo was in the city, on his way back to the Porte, the Ten gave him another 500 ducats and besought his good offices again. That was all they could do. The early winter of 1539–40 was a very bleak one. Famine was prevalent² because of the closing of the Turkish corn market.

When Contarini came home, however, he said that he thought that in the spring the Sultan would be more peaceably disposed. He suggested the sending of another envoy. The younger senators opposed the idea, but on December 27 the senate appointed its best-known member, Alvise Badoer, to the thankless position.³ The senate told him he could cede everything but Nauplia and Malvasia and offer even 300,000 ducats for the right to keep those two towns; he might give Lufti 50,000 ducats and Barbarossa 30,000.⁴ It felt sure he could obtain peace on those terms.

But the Council of Ten was not so sanguine. It felt sure the Sultan would insist on the cession of even Nauplia and Malvasia. Accordingly, without the knowledge of the senate,⁵ it gave him on January 5 and 19, 1540, permission, in the extremity, to cede either or both of the two towns in question; he was, of course, not to do this until all other means failed. Badoer reached Constantinople on March 13. He had to wait until April 25 to see the Sultan and the vizirs.⁶ He found them, to his surprise, absolutely unwilling to start negotiations, save on the basis of the cession of Nauplia and Malvasia and the payment of 300,000 ducats.⁷ He waited a few days, thinking obstinacy on his part might avail, but at last, apparently, guessed the real truth, that the pashas knew of his secret instructions. He therefore bowed to the inevitable,⁸ and on May 4, 1540, signed the first draft of a treaty on the terms the Ten, but not the senate, had allowed.

The senators were surprised, indeed, but the Ten must have told them that Badoer had its authority. The whole Republic regretted deeply the loss of its last strongholds in the Morea, but was very grateful for peace at even that price. In October the definitive

¹ Sen. Del., Vol. 60, Oct. 17.

² S. C. X., Oct. 10, and Nov. 5, 1539.

³ Sen. Del., Vol. 60, Dec. 27, 1539.

⁴ Ibid., Jan. 7, 1539–40.

⁵ But, of course, with the consent of a *Zonta*, elected from the senate. S. C. X., Jan. 9, 1539–40. The text is given in Romanin, *Storia di Venezia*, VI, 58 (ed. 1853–1861).

⁶ Sen. Del., Vol. 61, May 1, 1540.

⁷ Ibid., May 23.

⁸ Paruta, X, 449.

peace was signed;¹ and in November the signory sent the following gifts to the Porte: 10,000 ducats to Lutfi, 5,000 each to the other three vizirs, 6,000 to Barbarossa, 1,500 to the Sultan's physician, and 10,000 to Jonus Beg.²

A very interesting epilogue remains to be told. In April, 1542 Jonus Beg³ visited Venice as a special envoy of the Sultan, and, the signory's dismay, asked it to give up its alliance with the Emperor—made in 1529—and to make one with Francis, in view of the coming war between the two.⁴ After long deliberation, the senate told him that it was its intention to make war on nobody (i. e. not to fulfill its treaty obligations with Charles).⁵ Jonus was not through making trouble, however. Early in his visit he had come into unsavory connections with the law courts.⁶ Now he declared that Badoer had never given him more than 4,000 of the 10,000 ducats promised him in 1540.⁷ While he was making his demand, Badoer returned home from his residence at the Porte, but, although he swore Jonus had received the full 10,000, the Ten, in order to keep Jonus friendly, secretly gave him 6,000 more.⁸

On June 5, meanwhile, Badoer, about to make his *relazione* to the senate, secretly asked the Ten if he might speak freely of all he knew.⁹ The Ten gave him the permission he asked—but ordered each senator to take an oath of secrecy, and appointed three inquisitors to see the oath was kept. But at that moment Giacomo da Canal, the old *bailo*, returned, and declared that it was impolitic to let Badoer speak.¹¹ He apparently never made his *relazione*. The whole affair is quite mysterious. Then on July 13 Badoer is arrested by order of the *40 al criminal*.¹² I find, however, no record of his trial. The senate took especial care to inform the *bailo* that the cause for the arrest was maladministration in Dalmatia and no other; i

¹ Sen. Del., Vol. 61, Nov. 20.

² Ibid., Nov. 22.

³ Sen. Del., Vol. 62, Apr. 15.

⁴ Ibid., May 10.

⁵ Sen. Del., Apr. 28. "Perché firma intention nostra è de star in pace et non s'impazar in guerra con alcuno."

⁶ Dieci al Criminal, May 13, 1542 (in Venetian archives). "Quod iste Nicolaus graecus de Negroponte et Mehmet maurus de Alger, qui sicut ex iis quae nunc lecta fuerunt hoc consilium intellexit, imputati sunt seduxisse duos pueros et mediatores fuisse, quod illi portati fuerunt in domum magnifici D. Jonusbeg, oratoris Sermi. Dn. Turci, ut in conditionem ejus majestatis conducti fierent turci; quod scelestum facinus ut execrabile esset respectu fidelis nostrae christianae, ita punire meretur; maxime ad hanc aliam imputationem in prefatum Nicolaum quod tentaverit de sodomio uno ex dictis pueris: Remaneant bene ritenti ambo et debeant examinari per collegium ordinarium cum facultate torture."

⁷ S. C. X., May 16, 1542.

⁸ Ibid., June 15.

⁹ Ibid., June 5.

¹⁰ Inquisitori Sopra la revelatione de Secreti, who, by the way, as a council sat permanently from now until 1797.

¹¹ Sen. Del., Vol. 62, June 21.

¹² Ibid., July 13. "Questi giorni è stà presa nel consiglio nostro de XLia al criminal la retention del nobel homo Alvise Badoer."

anybody in Constantinople said there was another cause, it must be denied; and the very vigor of the denial makes one suspicious of its veracity.

He possibly was going to make public what he knew about the causes for the treaty of 1540. Giovio says that Suleiman told Badoer he knew of his secret instruction when he gave him his first audience.¹ Before he could make any such revelation, on August 17, 1542, the Council of Ten decreed.²

God having in His mercy sent us the right which we have just received, we ought not to fail in freeing our Republic from the pest of harboring persons who continuously know our secrets. Therefore, whenever we shall hear through that person, as yet unknown, the full manifestation of what he has offered to tell us, according to the letter presented to us in his name by Ser Federigo Badoer, we shall give him 3,000 ducats and a pension of 80 ducats a month for himself and his descendants forever. He will also be freed from all guilt incurred up to to-day. But Ser Alvise Badoer and all his children are excepted from these privileges.

Apparently, Federigo Badoer, trying to help his father, had found some one who could explain how the Turks knew his secret commission. His father was, apparently, under the suspicion of having sold knowledge of his own secret commission to the Turks. The "person as yet unknown" was, it seems, a Veronese named Girolamo Martellosso, who had been on intimate terms with the wife of a man named Abondio,³ and during the latter's absence, staying at his house, had had the luck to find sure evidence that two trusted secretaries of the signory, named Cavazza, one in the Ten and his brother in the senate, had reported Badoer's commission to Abondio, who had reported it to Pellicier, the French ambassador in Venice. By the latter it must have been transmitted through Rincon to the vizirs. If my conjecture is right, Martellosso took this evidence to Federigo Badoer, with the result we have seen.

On the afternoon of the same day, August 17, the three inquisitors appointed on June 5 proposed the arrest and examination under torture of the two Cavazzas.⁴ For a day the Ten refused permission, and Constantino Cavazza escaped.⁵ Nicolò was arrested on August 19,⁶ and Abondio fled to the French embassy,⁷ then in the Calle San Moïse. On August 23 the Republic actually invaded the embassy and removed Abondio. Cavazza and Abondio were hanged, and in November Martellosso was given the reward promised on August 17.⁷ Nothing more is heard of the Badoer prosecution; but it forms a very interesting episode in the history of the sixteenth century.

¹ Zeller, *La Diplomatie Française du XVI^e Siècle*, 1881, p. 198.

² *Dieci al Criminal*, Aug. 17, 1542.

³ Paruta, X, 450.

⁴ *Dieci al Criminal*, *ibid.*

⁵ Paruta, X, 451.

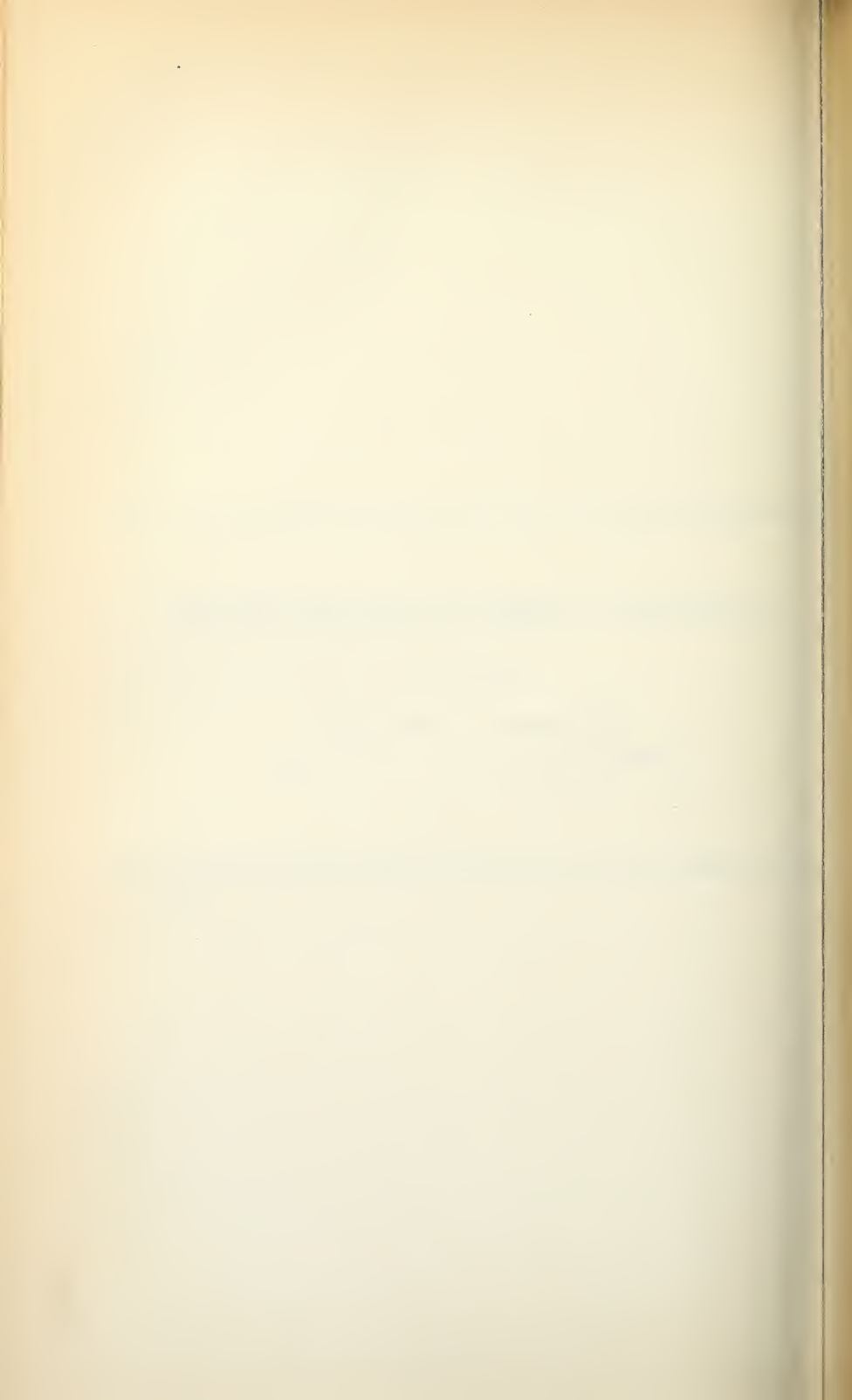
⁶ Zeller, *op. cit.*, pp. 360 ff.

⁷ *Dieci al Criminal*, Sept. 7, Sept. 20, and Nov. 14, 1542.



X. THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND DISPUTED ELECTIONS.

By HENRY R. SHIPMAN,
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THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND DISPUTED ELECTIONS.

By HENRY R. SHIPMAN.

"The Commons claim a right to determine all questions relating to the election of members of their house."¹ Such is the brief statement of Maitland in his *Constitutional History of England*. The history of the "claim" and its validity may be of sufficient interest to detain the attention of the members of the American Historical Association for a few minutes. Old Sir Simonds D'Ewes, the importunate pedant, as Trevelyan calls him, gives us in his "*Journals of All the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*" the first full account of any instance of such a claim. On November 9, 1586, during a week which they spent in preparing a petition for the "speedy execution of Mary, late Queen of Scots, according to that just sentence which had been declared against her,"² and discussing the "designments of the King of Spain to invade England and Ireland,"³ and Mr. Drake's last voyage, the Commons found time to assert a right which it is doubtful at least if they had ever expressed so distinctly before. In the words of D'Ewes:

The Sheriff of Norfolk receives a Writ touching the Election of two Knights for that County but two days before the next County-day, in which he is bound by law to see it executed. By reason of this shortness of time he could neither summon many Freeholders, nor make due Proclamation in the County any one day before the said Election. The Sheriff notwithstanding on the said County day proceeds to the Execution of the said Writ, and Mr. Farmer and Mr. Gresham are duly chosen according to all points and circumstances in such case required; there being not only a just appearance of Freeholders but divers also of the eminentest gentlemen of the said County, who after they had given their Voices to the said Election, did also set their Hands and Seals to the Indenture of the same in that case usual. After this a second and new Writ is delivered to the said Sheriff for a new Election to be made, which is on all points executed without the least colour of misfeasance, and by it Mr. Heydon and Mr. Gresham (being one of the two first that had been before elected) were chosen, and the Indenture of their said Election, together with the Writ, were delivered in unto the Clerk of the Crown, together with the Writ and Indenture of the former Election. After which the Lord Chancellor and the Judges, meeting about it, do resolve, That the first Writ was well executed, the first Election good and the second absolutely void; and of this their resolution do give the House of Commons notice. In which case these points following were resolved by the whole Body of the said House. First: That the said first Writ was duly executed, and the Election good and the second Election absolutely void.

¹ F. W. Maitland, *The Constitutional History of England*, 247.

² D'Ewes, 400.

³ *Ibid.*, 408-409.

Secondly, That it was a most perillous Precedent, that, after two Knights of a County were duly elected, any new Writ should issue out for a second Election without order of the House of Commons itself.

Thirdly, That the discussing and adjudging of this and such like differences only belonged to the said House.

Fourthly, That though the Lord Chancellor and Judges were competent Judges in their proper Courts, yet they were not in Parliament.

Fifthly, That it should be entered in the very Journal-Book of the House that the said first Election was approved to be good not out of any respect the House had or gave to the Resolution of the Lord Chancellor and Judges therein passed but merely by reason of the resolution of the House itself by which the said Election had been approved.

Sixthly and lastly, That there should no message be sent to the Lord Chancellor, not so much as to know what he had done therein because it was conceived to be a matter derogatory to the Power and Privilege of the said House.

So far D'Ewes. During the previous week the Queen had sent word to them that it was a matter "in truth impertinent for them to deal withal and only belonging to the charge and office of the Lord Chancellor, from whence the writs for the same elections issued out and are thither returnable again."²

But it is evident that the House of Commons was obstinate and we hear nothing more of it. The Queen apparently yielded tacitly, for she had more important matters to think of.

This, it has been said, was the first distinct assertion of the privilege. There is a case in the first year of Queen Mary, which we know too little about to base deductions upon it. The celebrated Dean of St. Paul's, Alexander Nowell, prebendary of Westminster, and as a Protestant disagreeable to a Catholic House of Commons, had been by a vote of the House turned out because he had a vote in the convocation, and a writ ordered for another burgess.³ This is all the information that the "Journals" give us.

But evidently the determined stand in 1586 did establish a precedent, for in 1588 the House took action in case of a disputed election, and there are other instances toward the end of Elizabeth's reign.⁴ Under James I comes the well-known Fortescue and Goodwin case in 1604, in which the King, after much opposition, so far yielded as to allow a new election for both claimants to a seat. At any rate, the right received the sanction of the Court of Exchequer in *Barnardiston v. Soame* in 1674, of the House of Lords in 1689, and was further acknowledged by the Statute of 7 William III.

What was the basis for such a right? In Fortescue and Goodwin the Commons claimed the right as an ancient privilege, saying that all parliamentary writs were returnable into Parliament until the 7 of Henry IV, 1406, and that the Commons had been accustomed to appoint special committees "all the Parliament time" for examining controversies about the elections and returns of members.⁵

¹ D'Ewes, 397.

² Ibid., 393.

³ Commons' Journals, 1 Mary, p. 27.

⁴ D'Ewes, 430, 431, 438.

⁵ Commons' Journals, 1 James I, p. 163.

(My use of the word "privilege" may be challenged. The word in this connection is usually used to indicate those privileges of the House which are demanded by the Speaker and granted by the Crown at the commencement of each Parliament, such as freedom from arrest, freedom of speech, etc., but if the Commons had a right to determine questions of disputed elections, this can be properly spoken of as a privilege.)

It is noticeable that in 1604 the House presented no proof of these historical practices upon which they based their claim. The fact seems to be that in an age when the office of representative was regarded rather as a burden than as a privilege, together with the usual shortness of sessions, the House had not yet thought of asserting any such claim. It is true that until the act of 1406 the sheriff had to return the writ in full Parliament, but the King, in or out of Parliament, took direct cognizance of complaints.¹ After 1406 the writ was returnable in Chancery, and by a statute of 1410 the Judges of assize were authorized to inquire into the undue returns.² The validity of the return might still be a question for the King to consider, with the help of the Lords. The earlier practice is illustrated by the Rutland case of 1404. In the words of Stubbs, that county—

elects John Pensax and Thomas Thorpe; the sheriff returned John Pensax and William Ondeby (?) on a representation made by the House of Commons to the King; the Lords were directed to examine the parties; Thorpe was declared duly elected; the sheriff was ordered to amend the return and removed from office.³

In regard to the special committees to determine election cases, I have found no trace of them. The brief note in the Commons Journal in the Nowell case is then our first clue to the right in question.

If it be assumed that the privilege in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth was new, we can perhaps explain its assertion by a new spirit of magnanimity on the part of the House of Commons, but that does not settle the legal question involved. Over and over again the Commons declared that they were the judges of their own privileges, but always it is definitely stated or tacitly assumed that the right is an old one. Two questions therefore suggest themselves.

1. First when does a new privilege become an old privilege?
2. What is the precise jurisdiction of courts of law in matters of privilege?

In regard to the first question, James I's statement that all matters of privilege were derived from him and by his grant⁴ may be dismissed as a deduction from his peculiar theory of the right

¹ Prynne, Reg., II, 119, 122, quoted in Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, I, 437-438.

² Stubbs, III, 438.

³ Ibid., III, 437; Rot. Parl., III, 530.

⁴ Commons' Journals, 1 James I, p. 158.

of kings. The privileges of the Commons are independent of the Crown.

As every court of justice hath laws and customs for its direction, some civil and canon, some the common law, others their own peculiar laws and customs, so the High Court of Parliament hath also its own peculiar laws, called the *lex et consuetudo Parliamenti*.

This unwritten law is collected "out of the rolls of Parliament and other records, and by precedents and continued experience. Whatever matter arises concerning either House of Parliament, ought to be discussed and adjudged in that house to which it relates, and not elsewhere."¹ These quotations from Coke may be placed beside a resolution of the Lords in 1704 communicated to the Commons at a conference and assented to by them, "That neither House of Parliament have power, by any vote or declaration, to create themselves new privileges not warranted by the known laws and customs of Parliament."² At some time then during the history of England, at least before 1704, the Golden Book of new privileges was closed. Blackstone's dictum that the "only method of proving that this or that maxim is a rule of the common law, is by showing that it hath always been the custom to observe it"³ must be applicable also to the *lex et consuetudo Parliamenti*. "Whatever the Parliament has constantly declared to be a privilege, is the sole evidence of its being part of the ancient law of England,"⁴ says Sir Erskine May. There we must leave the matter. Customs must start at some time, but when they become unwritten law it is hard to say.

The second difficult question, "What is the precise jurisdiction of the courts of law in matters of privilege?" becomes serious in the case of the right to decide disputed election cases where the House tried to enlarge an existing privilege. In fact most of the conflicts between the House and the courts were due to the attempt to extend something previously acknowledged.

The facts in the group of cases arising out of the Aylesbury election of 1703 are well known. In *Ashby v. White* an action was brought by an elector for the Borough of Aylesbury against a returning officer who had refused to give him a vote to which he was legally entitled. The right to vote was not in question, only the right to sue for the refusal to allow the voter the exercise of his legal right. The Commons resolved that neither the qualification of any elector nor the right of any person elected is cognizable or determinable elsewhere than in the Commons of England in Parliament assembled; and then further resolved that Ashby was guilty of a breach

¹ Coke, 4 Mat., 15; 1 Blackstone, p. 163.

² Commons' Journals, XIV, 555, 560.

³ 1 Blackstone, Comm., 68.

⁴ May, Parl. Practice, eleventh ed., 62.

privilege in bringing his action into a common-law court, the privilege being, of course, the right to determine the validity of an election.¹ This meant that if they were able to judge of qualifications of electors, they could disenfranchise an elector. But to withhold a common-law right, the franchise, from a person entitled to it is ground for an action. And the Court of the Queen's Bench, in trying this action, must inquire into the right of the plaintiff to vote in order to ascertain if the plaintiff had a cause of action. In the long controversy the Commons said repeatedly that they could not judge of the right of election without determining the right of electors. The issue then is clear: The House in extending their privilege have come in conflict with another jurisdiction, that of the common-law courts. Lord Holt, one of the clearest thinkers of his time, said in the *Paty* case, one of the *Aylesbury* election cases:

Neither House of Parliament hath power, nor both together, to dispose, limit, or diminish the liberty or property of the subject, because by law (which is superior to the actions or determinations of either House) that liberty and property are established and can not be infringed by a less authority than the legislature of the Kingdom, which is the Queen, the Lords, and Commons, assembled in Parliament;² [and again] It hath been said by my brothers and the rest of the judges of the two other courts that each House is the judge of its own privileges, exclusive of all other courts. I must agree that when a privilege of either House is broken, complaint for that breach must be made in that House whose privilege is broken, for no other court, upon any such complaint, can take cognizance thereof. But if a question concerning privilege arise in any cause depending in the Queen's Courts, that Court hath power to proceed thereupon, and to determine that point.³

This may be contrasted with the words of Mr. Justice Powell in the same case:

This court may judge of privilege, but not contrary to the judgment of the House of Commons. This court judges of privilege only incidentally, for when an action is brought in this court it must be given one way or the other. The Court of Parliament is a superior court, and though the Queen's Bench have a power to prevent excesses of jurisdiction in courts, yet they can not prevent such excesses in Parliament, because that is a superior court, and a prohibition has never moved for to the Parliament.⁴

As a practical question the matter was not decided, for the Queen put an end to the session. At any rate, the Commons had not carried their point.

During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries there are many conflicting opinions as to the limits of parliamentary privilege and the jurisdiction of courts of law. The explanation is probably this. To quote the Commons in answering the Lords in *Shyby v. White*:

There are divers laws within this Realm of which the Common Law is but one; as appears in Cook's 1st Inst. where he mentions *lex et consuetudo Parliamenti, et lex communis*, as distinct laws. As there are several Laws, so

¹ Commons' Journals, XIV, 308.

² Lord Holt's Judgment, ed. 1837, 41, in Broom, *Constitutional Law*, second ed., 863.

³ Quoted in Broom, 864.

⁴ Lord Raym, 1105, quoted in May, 134.

there are several Courts and Jurisdictions, and several Causes proper for the several Laws and several Jurisdictions. Of these the high Court of Parliament is the First. *Lex et consuetudo Parliamenti* is a great branch of the Law of England and many causes are to be determined only by that Law. Of such Causes as are in their nature parliamentary, and to be determined by the Law of Parliament, the Common Law and Common Law Judges have nothing to

Men then had not yet completely recognized the modern idea of one law embracing everything. The common law had not yet won its victory. The conflict between the Houses and the law courts was inevitable. In the Norfolk election case of 1586 the point is the same. "The Lord Chancellor and Judges are competent Judges in their places, yet in this case they took them not for Judges in Parliament." They say, "The two spheres are different and neither civil nor common law can apply when a right resting upon the usage and customs of Parliament, or even its lower House, is in question. This House as a law court is superior in those matters."

As a matter of fact, by the Parliamentary Elections Act of the 1 and 32 Victoria the right to try election cases was given over to the ordinary law courts.

But during the eighteenth century the House as a judge of returns was able to give effect to its decision to declare void John Wilkes' reelection in 1770 and the next candidate on the poll to be duly returned. This was a new phase of the continual expanding of privilege. The Earl of Chatham in resounding language expressed his opinion of such a pretension:

What, then, my lords, are all the generous efforts of our ancestors, are those glorious contentions, by which they meant to secure to themselves and to transmit to their posterity a known law, a certain rule of living, reduced to this conclusion, that instead of the arbitrary power of a king, we must submit to the arbitrary power of a House of Commons? If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange? Tyranny, my lords, is detestable in every shape, but in none so formidable as when it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants.¹

If prerogative of the Crown were substituted for privileges of Parliament in the resolutions of 1770 the language would read suspiciously like that of the Stuarts. Mr. Justice Littledale, in *Stoddard v. Hansard*, sums up the matter:

It is said that the House of Commons is the sole judge of its own privileges and so I admit, as far as proceedings in the House and some other things are concerned; but I do not think it follows that they have a power to declare what their privileges are, so as to preclude inquiry whether what they declare are part of their privileges.²

In conclusion, what was the underlying cause of this great contest of some two hundred years, this confusion in the minds of Englishmen as to the limits of jurisdiction of the House of Commons? It was due primarily to the multiplicity of laws. The *lex mercatoria*

¹ Commons' Journals, XIV, 570.

² D'Ewes, 396.

³ Cobbett, Parl. Hist., XVI, 660.

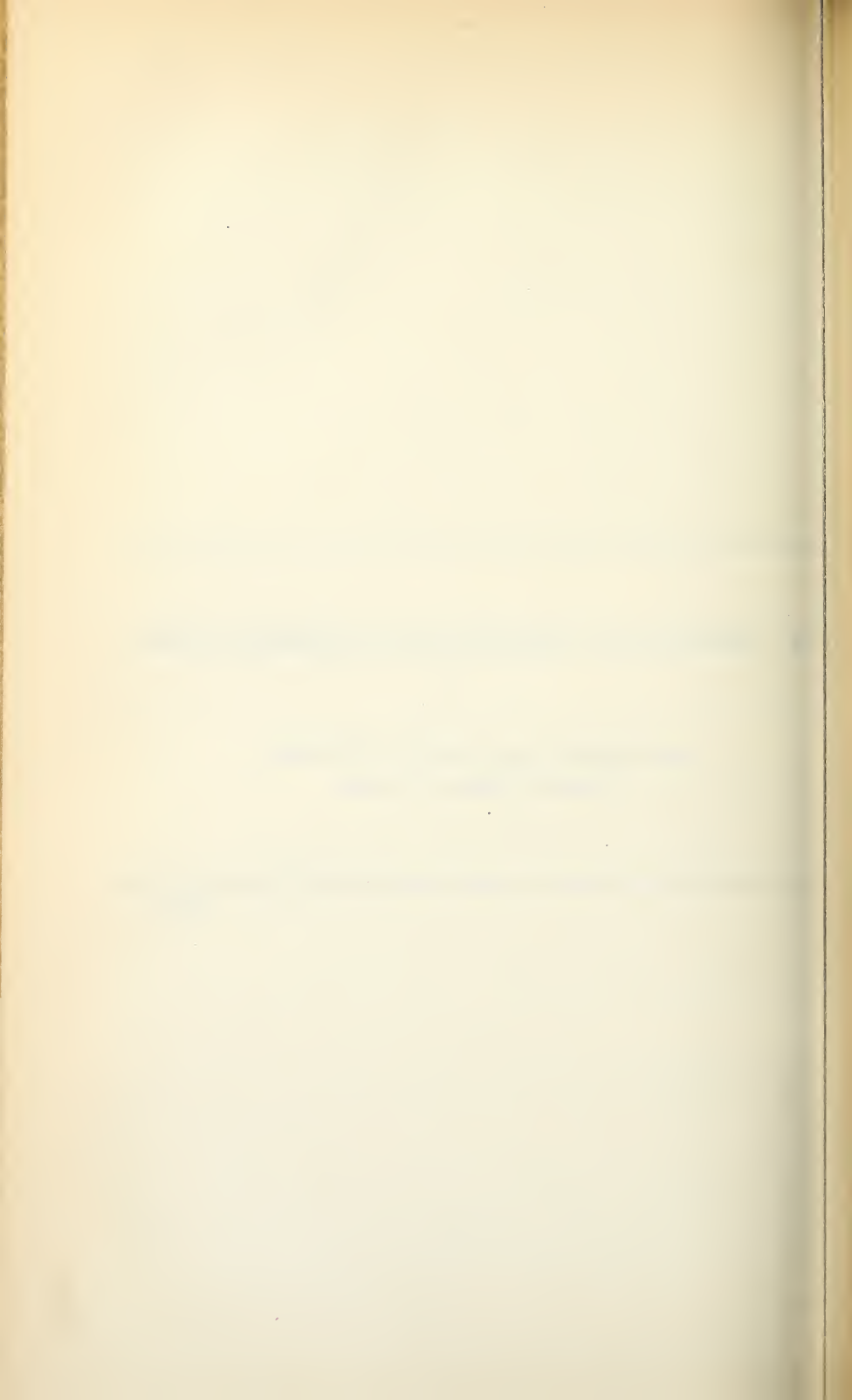
⁴ Proceedings as printed by the House of Commons, 1839 (283), 159.

oria, the ecclesiastical law, the *lex parliamenti*, and the *lex terrae*, or common law, all existed together. Who should say which was superior in any given case? Inevitably the *lex terrae* and the *lex parliamenti* came in conflict, for the lines between legislative and judicial powers of Parliament had not been clearly drawn. Lastly, and this comes out clearly in Fortescue and Goodwin and *Ashby v. White*, the Commons were afraid that their decisions would be subject on any matter which involved the *lex terrae* to revision by the Lords.

It was during these same two hundred years that the Lords were consolidating their power as a court of appeal from the ordinary courts. The Commons saw this and fought hard to keep as large a field as possible out of the hands of their ancient rivals. They lost their fight when Parliament's true character as a "judicial" body was determined, and further when their "judicial" position as one House of that Parliament was clearly defined.

XI. TENDENCIES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN NAPOLEONIC STUDIES.

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Professor in Wesleyan University.



TENDENCIES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN NAPOLEONIC STUDIES.

By GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

I. INTRODUCTION.

The two adjacent epochs of the French Revolution and of Napoleon present an interesting contrast as fields for historical study. During the former the dominant force in France was the people; in the latter, the First Consul and Emperor. In other continental countries, such as Germany, Russia, Spain, and Italy, the situation was reversed. The monarchs dominated their countries in the struggle against the French Revolution, but in the wars against Napoleon the outstanding fact was the popular movement, the development of nationality.

There is a corresponding contrast in the wealth of historical materials and in the progress of historical studies. Monarchy and personal domination created a limited amount of materials and have stimulated but moderate interest; popular movements and national activity produced a wealth of materials and have attracted a multitude of historical investigators and writers. The study of the Napoleonic period, then, presents two distinct phases, the history of the personal government of Napoleon in France and the history of the rise of nationality in the countries which finally united to overthrow the Corsican.

II. PROGRESS OF NAPOLEONIC STUDIES IN FRANCE TO 1890.

First period, to 1826.—With regard to France, the interest in the Napoleonic period has until recently been almost exclusively biographical and military. The only notable exceptions to this have been the study of the Concordat and of the legal codes. It will be noted that these four topics are the ones for which there were some source materials printed, and to which the secondary books mainly related.

The student who turns from the French Revolution to the Napoleonic period is astounded at the lack of contemporary printed ma-

terials. The Procès-Verbal des Séances du Tribunal (75 vols., 1800-1803)¹ and the Procès-Verbal des Séances du Corps Législatif (3 vols., 1800-1806) were printed during the Consulate, but there is probably not a set available in this country. Aside from these and numerous reports and drafts of laws presented to the council of state,² the official printed materials, the public documents were but scattering and miscellaneous, and are rarely available outside the Paris libraries and the British Museum. The newspaper press had steadily declined under the successive restrictions imposed by the Directory, and at the beginning of the Consulate the number of Parisian journals was limited to thirteen, and that number speedily dwindled to nine. Of these the *Moniteur* was official after December 1799, and is an extremely valuable storehouse of documents. File of the *Moniteur* for the years 1795 to 1815 are to be found in several American libraries, but it is doubtful whether any American library contains a complete file of any other French newspaper for the period.³ In the departments, few journals long survived the Eighteenth Brumaire. Usually a single journal in each department seems to have continued in a quasi-official character under the patronage of the prefect. The insignificance of the press is shown by the decline in the number of subscribers to the Parisian newspapers from 150,000 in the autumn of 1798 to less than 20,000 in the spring of 1803.⁴

Though the Revolution had produced a flood of popular pamphlets the Napoleonic period was barren of such publications. In France surprisingly little attempt was made to furnish the public with narratives of the stirring events in progress or with the lives of the heroes of the hour, even of the Emperor himself.

The troubled days of 1814 and 1815 nullified all restrictions on the press, and journalists, pamphleteers, and bookmakers began once more to flourish.⁵ Alien or Bourbon patronage subsidized the bitter and disgusting abuse of the fallen Emperor, such rubbish as the *Amours Secrètes* (1815), attributed to Charles Doris, and the *Histoire Secrète* (1814), by Louis Goldsmith. On a little higher plane are the *Recueil de Pièces Officielles* (9 vols., 1814-1816), compiled by Schoell to unmask the Napoleonic régime to the French people; and

¹ For reasons of brevity it has been found necessary to omit full titles of books and the bibliographical data, except so far as absolutely necessary to identify the works in question. Nearly all works mentioned in the second and third sections of this article may be promptly located in the customary bibliographical aids, and most of the titles may also be found in Kircheisen's *Bibliographie du Temps de Napoléon* (1908-1912), or Davois's *Bibliographie Napoléonienne Française* (1909-1911).

² For an extensive list of these reports and drafts, see the Catalogue of the British Museum.

³ There is a partial file of the *Journal des Débats* in the Cornell University library, and a partial file of the *Gazette de France* in the Columbia University library.

⁴ Aulard, *Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française* (1901), 714-716.

⁵ There is a bibliography of *Les Pamphlets de la Fin de l'Empire, des Cents-Jours, et de la Restauration* (1879), by Germond de Lavigne.

the writing of such men as Alphonse de Beauchamp, who issued in rapid succession volumes on the campaigns of 1814 (1815) and 1815 (1817), on Moreau (1814), and on Pope Pius VII (1814).

The final stage of what may be called the contemporary period includes the years 1816-1826, during which there emanated from St. Helena a series of volumes, mostly associated with the names of Bourgaud (1818), Montholon (8 vols., 1823-1825), Las Cases (8 vols., 1823), Antommarchi (2 vols., 1825), and O'Meara (1819; 2 vols., 1822), which sought in varying degrees and methods to explain, if not to justify, the career of the lonely exile. In France itself, the generals of the Grande Armée could not forget the dangers they had passed through and the glories they had shared. Gen. Fathieu Dumas compiled his *Précis des Événements Militaires* (19 vols., 1816-1826); and Gen. Beauvais, his even more famous *Victoires et Conquêtes des Français* (28 vols., 1817-1827). The *Bulletins officiels de la Grande Armée* (4 vols., 1820-1821) were collected by Capt. Goujon; Gen. Beauvais also issued the *Correspondance Officielle et Confidentielle* (7 vols., 1819-1820) of Napoleon; and Fain published his *Manuscrit* for the years 1812, 1813, and 1814 (5 vols., 1824-1827). In 1823 and 1824 appeared the famous works by the Marquis de Chambray and Count Philip Ségur on the campaign in Russia, and by Baron Pelet on the campaign of 1809. The great collection of revolutionary memoirs arranged by Berville and Barrière, which was appearing at this time, included considerable material relative to the Napoleonic period.

Second period, 1827-1847.—Napoleonic studies in France really began with the opening of the second period in 1827. The completion that year of Thiers's *Histoire de la Révolution*, with the glowing account of the earlier campaigns of Bonaparte, was accompanied by the appearance of the first editions of Jomini's *Vie Politique et Militaire de Napoléon*; of Norvins's *Histoire de Napoléon*; and of Roy's *Histoire de la Guerre de la Péninsule*. To this same year, it may be added, belonged the English biography by Sir Walter Scott, which appeared in French translation within the year. The ensuing dozen years witnessed the publication of a flood of books which purported to be the memoirs of the marshals or of the intimate companions of the Emperor. They satisfied the public demand for spicy anecdotes, secret transactions, and glorious deeds, but with few exceptions they fail to satisfy the historical investigator of to-day with regard to their genuineness or else their reliability. Bourrienne (10 vols., 1829), Constant (6 vols., 1830-1831), and Méneval (3 vols., 1843-1845); the Duchesse d'Abrantès (18 vols., 1831-1835) and the Princess Ida de Saint-Elme (8 vols., 1827); Savary (8 vols., 1828), Mollien (4 vols., 1837), Gaudin (2 vols., 1826), Stanislas Girardin (10 vols., 1828), and Lucien Bonaparte (1836); Suchet (2 vols., 1829),

Gouvion Saint-Cyr (8 vols., 1829-1831), Ney (2 vols., 1833), and Lavalette (2 vols., 1831) are the best known in the list. The period culminated in the great event in the development of the Napoleon legend,¹ the translation of the Emperor's remains from St. Helena to the Hôtel des Invalides in 1840. It was this notable event, coinciding with his retirement from the ministry, that resolved Thiers to begin his travels and studies in preparation for his masterpiece, the *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, which was published in 5 volumes from 1845 to 1862. Between 1827 and 1848 there had also appeared the well-known works by Buchez and Roux (40 vols., 1834-1838), Thibaudeau (10 vols., 1834-1835), Bignon (14 vols., 1829-1850), Capefigue (10 vols., 1839-1841), Lacretelle (6 vols., 1845-1848), and Lefebvre (3 vols., 1845-1847).

Third period, 1848-1870.—The third period in the history of Napoleonic studies in France, the period of the Third Napoleon, is characterized by an emphatic interest in the personality and family of the Emperor. The great achievement was the publication between 1858 and 1870 of the 32 volumes of the *Correspondance* issued under government patronage, abominably edited, but indispensable. Better done and no less indispensable are the numerous works of the tireless investigator, editor, and writer, Baron Albert Du Casse, quondam officer of the general staff. The *Mémoires et Correspondance* of Joseph Bonaparte, of Jerome Bonaparte, and of Eugene de Beauharnais, comprising in all 26 volumes, issued between 1853 and 1856, are only the most notable of his manifold publications, which continued to appear until shortly before his death in 1893. In addition to Du Casse's volumes on Arrighi de Casanova (2 vols., 1866) and on Vandamme (2 vols., 1870), Koch's *Mémoires de Masséna* (2 vols., 1849), the *Mémoires* of Marmont (9 vols., 1856-1857), the *Souvenirs et Correspondance* of Madame Récamier (2 vols., 1859) and the *Oeuvres* of Count Roederer (8 vols., 1855-1859) appeared during the Second Empire. In this period for the first time some interest was shown in the study of the administrative system of Napoleon, by Passy's *Frochot, Préfet de la Seine* (1867) and the *Mémoires* of Beugnot (2 vols., 1866), the administrator of the Grand Duchy of Berg, and of Miot de Melito (3 vols., 1858), who was a minister under Joseph in both Naples and Spain.

Fourth period, 1871-1890.—The interim from 1871 to 1890 may be treated as the fourth period in the history of Napoleonic studies in France. For obvious reasons the interest in Napoleon and his régime was at a minimum during the earlier years of the Third Republic. The conflict of royalist, republican, and Bonapartist, during the seventies, was illustrated by Lanfrey's *Histoire de Napoléon* (5 vols., 1867-1875); by Michelet's *Histoire du XIX^e Siècle* (3 vols., 1872-

¹ The future Napoleon III published in 1839, *Des Idées Napoléoniennes*.

1875); by Hamel's *Histoire de France depuis la Révolution* (2 vols., 1872-1882); and by Henri Martin's *Histoire de France depuis 1789* (8 vols., 1878-1885). The Marquis de Grouchy's *Mémoires* (5 vols., 1873-1874) of his father; the Marquise de Blocqueville's volumes on Le Maréchal Davout (4 vols., 1879-1880), her father; and Ernouf's *Maret, Duc de Bassano* (1878), were the notable biographical works of the decade; and were followed in the early eighties by the important works of Col. Iung on *Bonaparte et son Temps* (3 vols., 1880-1881) and on *Lucien Bonaparte* (3 vols., 1882-1883). But the most curious thing in the seventies is to find Rambaud's *Domination Française en Allemagne* (2 vols., 1873-1874) jostled by the first volume of Treitschke's *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1879). The decade of the eighties, which was prolific in works of the first rank in Austria, Prussia, England, and the United States, was almost barren of publications in France.

This very outburst of foreign interest in Napoleon and his time; the approach of the Napoleonic centenaries; the development in France of scientific historical research under such men as Lavissee, Rambaud, Aulard, and Sorel; the opening of archives, public and private; the proof by the Boulanger fiasco that Bonapartism as a political issue was dead; and the formation of the Dual Alliance with Russia in 1891, are all facts which help to explain the outburst in France in 1891 of interest in the history of the Napoleonic period. The year 1891 opens the present period, the fifth in the history of Napoleonic studies in France, which is the period of monographs. As the earliest really great monograph on the period, and because of its excellence in scholarship and literary finish, the *cordon bleu* belongs to *Napoléon et Alexandre I^{er}* (3 vols., 1891-1896), by Albert Vandal. From the side of Russia, Serge Tatistcheff answered with *Alexandre I^{er} et Napoléon* (1891), and its wealth of documents from the Russian archives. The same year, 1891, was marked by the publication of the puzzling *Mémoires* (5 vols., 1891-1892) of Talleyrand and of the thrilling *Mémoires* (3 vols., 1891) of Marbot, which were soon followed by numerous others of solid and unquestioned worth, along with some of trivial character. No doubt this flood of memoirs was due in considerable measure to the success of the Marbot memoirs, which ran through countless editions and created a new popular interest in the Napoleonic period. Fuller consideration of the period since 1891 must be postponed pending a survey of the development in other countries of the study of their history during the period of their struggle with Napoleon and the rise of their nationality.

II. THE STUDY OF THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD OUTSIDE FRANCE TO 1890.

England.—From 1793 to 1815 England deliberately subordinated internal politics to military and foreign affairs, and for England

the Napoleonic period has remained the period of the Great War, and the historical interest in the period has been largely confined to military and naval affairs, even when the subject is apparently biographical. Mr. Rose has been the first Englishman to make definite attempt to transfer the interest from the military and naval to the political, diplomatic, economic, and psychological. Napier's *History of the Peninsular War* (6 vols., 1828-1840) remains the English classic for the period, and may be supplemented by William James's *Naval History of Great Britain, 1793-1820* (5 vols., 1822-1824). It will be recalled that the *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* (9 vols.) by Sir Walter Scott appeared in 1827. Beside the early works there are now placed the best achievements of the present generation, the more sober works on the army by Fortescue, on the navy by Clowes, on the Peninsular War by Oman, and on the Emperor himself by Rose. Aside from biographies, the intervening period saw the publication of few works of importance other than those by Alison, Massey, and Seeley. Rightly Englishmen have abundantly honored with biographical works Nelson, Wellington, Pitt, Fox, Castlereagh, and Canning, and even most of the personages of secondary importance. Since the contemporary period, however, English works have appeared in a fairly steady stream, rather than in periodic outbursts. It should be added, moreover, that in no country did such a wealth of material on the history of the period appear contemporaneously, and that no country had a contemporary narrative from year to year of such solid worth as the volumes of the *Annual Register*.

Germany.—In Germany similar annuals were conducted by the historians Posselt¹ and Bredow² for a time. In Germany, too, there was a considerable amount of contemporary historical publications especially relating to France under the Consulate:³ to the Confederation of the Rhine by Pölitz (1811), Klueber (1808), and Zachariæ (1810); and to the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, by Henke (1814), Lützow (1815), Odeleben (1816), and Plotho (4 vols., 1817-1818). The next generation is notable for the esteemed writings of Müffling (2 vols., 1824) and Clausewitz (2 vols., 1834-1835) on the last campaigns of Napoleon, the German War of Liberation, which also furnished subjects to lesser writers, such as Wagner (4 vols., 1821-1825), Zimmermann (1836), Sprengel (1837), Sporschil (7 vols.,

¹ Posselt, *Europäische Annalen, 1795-1820* (103 vols., Tübingen, 1795-1820).

² Bredow (continued by Venturini), *Chronik des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, 1801-1825* (22 vols., 1808-1828).

³ Lists of the more important observers, both English and German, may be found in *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 792-793; and Fournier, *Napoleon I* (translated by Adams), I, 490-491. For recent general accounts, consult Holzhausen's *Der Erste Konsul Bonaparte und seine Deutschen Besucher* (1900); and for the English, Alger's *Napoleon's British Visitors and Captives* (1904), and R. Boutet de Monvel's *Les Anglais à Paris, 1800-1850* (1911).

1839-1843), and Prittwitz (2 vols., 1843). Pölit's *Die Constitutionen der Europäischen Staaten seit den Letzten 25 Jahren* (4 vols., 1817-1825); Manso's *Geschichte des Preussischen Staates* (3 vols., 1819-1820); the attempts of Dresch (5 vols., 1824-1830) and of Pfiser (5 vols., 1829-1835) to continue Schmidt's famous *Geschichte der Deutschen*; Schlosser's *Geschichte des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts und des Neunzehnten bis zum Sturz des Französischen Kaiserreichs* (8 vols., 1836-1848); and Wachsmuth's *Das Zeitalter der Revolution* (4 vols., 1846-1848) also belong to this generation. There were lives of Napoleon by Buchholz (2 vols., 1827-1829), Becker (2 vols., 1838-1839), Heyne (2 vols., 1840), and Roth (2 vols., 1843).

The year 1848 caused the first outburst of German interest in the War of Liberation, and its effects persisted through the fifties. Virth's *Geschichte der Deutschen Staaten* (3 vols., 1847-1853), and Menzel's *Zwanzig Jahre Preussischer Geschichte, 1786-1806* (1849) were followed by Pertz's life of Stein (6 vols., 1850-1855), and Droyen's life of Yorck von Wartenburg (3 vols., 1851-1852); by Schmidt's *Geschichte der Preussisch-Deutschen Unionsbestrebungen* (1851), and the similar works of Klüpfel (1853) and of Kaltenborn (2 vols., 1857); by Beitzke's *Geschichte der Deutschen Freiheitskriege* (3 vols., 1854-1855) and a like work by Förster (3 vols., 1857-1861). To these should be added Ludwig Häusser's *Deutsche Geschichte vom Tode Friedrichs des Grossen* (4 vols., 1854-1857); Berghaus von Grössen's *Deutschland seit Hundert Jahren* (5 vols., 1859-1862); and Pappermann's *Diplomatische Geschichte der Jahre 1813, 1814, 1815* (2 vols., 1863).

The Bismarck era from 1862 to 1890, the historiographer of the modern period finds dominated by Heinrich von Sybel, who became professor at Bonn in 1861 and died in 1895. Sybel began the publication of his *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit* in 1853 and issued the fourth and fifth volumes—which dealt with the years 1795 to 1800—in 1872 and 1879. He also began the publication in 1859 of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, which has been the model for most of the leading historical reviews in Germany and other countries.

Of nearly equal importance, though less scientific and more popular, was Heinrich von Treitschke, who was professor at Berlin from 1874 to 1896, editor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, and author of *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (5 vols., 1879-1894).

The Prussian ministers and generals, Hardenberg and Scharnhorst, Blücher and Gneisenau, were glorified in ample biographies; the Prussian administrative machine, which they fashioned, was explained by Bornhak (3 vols., 1884-1886), Stölzel (2 vols., 1888), Lamroth (1890), and Ernst Meier (1881); the Prussian army,

which they recreated, was described by Scherbening (2 vols., 1866); Prussian achievements under Frederick William III were heralded by Ebert (7 vols., 1867-1873) and Hassel (1881), and Prussian documents were edited by Bailleu (2 vols., 1881-1887) and Stern (1885). Thus, while Prussia unified Germany, she endeavored to absorb the glory for the War of Liberation. The outpouring of monographs during the past quarter-century has afforded an opportunity for the patriotic representatives of the lesser states to tell their story and claim their share of the credit.

Austria.—Only since the establishment of the dual constitution in 1867 has there been a consistent historical study of the Austro-Hungarian participation in the Napoleonic wars, for the earlier writings of Friedrich von Gentz, of the Tyrolese Hormayr, and of the Magyar Mailáth were by men who had been participants in the events. Springer's *Geschichte Oesterreichs seit dem Wiener Frieden*, 1869 (2 vols.) appeared in 1863 and 1865, and during the ensuing quarter-century Meynert, Vivenot, Beer, Krones, Wertheimer, Fournier, and Zeissberg produced various works, all of which, except Fournier's *Napoleon I, eine Biographie* (3 vols., 1886-1889) are upon strictly Austrian subjects and obviously bear the Hapsburg imprimatur. Metternich's *Nachgelassene Papiere* were published in 1880-1881, and there are various unsatisfactory biographical works relating to him.

Russia.—The person to whom Russia is a benighted land and to whom the Russian alphabet is enigmatic will be astounded and bewildered by the wealth of Russian materials on the year 1812 and on the reign of Alexander I. As far back as 1874-1875 Liprandi listed 410 titles in Russian on the year 1812, and in 1883 Dubrovsky was able to add new ones by the hundred. It is possible in the scope of this paper to cite only the larger works, which are familiar in translation, such as those of Michailowsky-Danilewsky on the campaign of 1812 (1839; German, 4 vols., 1840), and of Bogdanowitsch on the campaign of 1812 (1859-1860; German, 3 vols., 1862-1863), and on the reign of Alexander I (6 vols., 1869-1871). The *Correspondance* (1865) and the *Mémoires* (2 vols., 1887) of Prince Adam Czartoryski, and the *Denkwürdigkeiten* (4 vols., 1856) of Count Tolstoy have long been familiar. A large part of the material published in the remarkable *Archives Vorontsof* (40 vols., 1870-1895) is fortunately in French. Writers like Liprandi (1869), Popoff (1876), and Pypin (1871; German, 1894) carried forward the nationalist traditions until 1891 when Tatistcheff brought Russian and French investigators into touch. It would be a serious oversight to omit mention of Count Lyoff Tolstoy's *Physiology of War*, Napoleon and

the Russian Campaign (1887; English, 1888), or of his remarkable novel War and Peace (1865-1868; English, 1886). For Poland prior to the present generation, the works of Oginski (French, 4 vols., 1826-1827), Ostrowski (Polish, 2 vols., 1836-1840), and Skarbek (Polish, 2 vols., 1860) are the most notable evidences of the persistent national spirit.

Italy.—In Italy the overwhelming interest in the great events and personages from 1848 to 1870, and the comparative unimportance of Italy during the French domination have limited the study of the Napoleonic period. The notable general works by Botta (4 vols., 1824); by Cantù (3 vols., 1851; 5 vols., 1872-1877); by De Castro (1881); Colletta's Reame di Napoli (2 vols., 1834); the volumes on the army by Lissoni (1844) and Turotti (3 vols., 1855-1858); and the various works of Bianchi were the more important forerunners. Tivaroni's Storia Critica del Risorgimento Italiano (9 vols., 1888-1897), of which the second volume deals with the French domination. Much of the Italian monograph literature is of minor local interest, and the best recent contributions to the history of Italy covering the period have been mainly by Frenchmen. It is strange that not a single good biographical study of Napoleon has been done by an Italian. The most important memoirs of an Italian published prior to 1890 are those of Melzi (2 vols., 1865).

Spain and Portugal.—Spain and Portugal have published little besides the few well-known larger works by Munoz (3 vols., 1833), Moreno (5 vols., 1835-1837), and Gomez de Arteché y Moro (14 vols., 1868-1903) in Spain; and by Accursio (5 vols., 1810-1811), Luz Serrano (12 vols., 1866-1885), and Latino Coelho (3 vols., 1874-1891) in Portugal. The Spanish works cited are primarily military, but the Portuguese are both political and military.

Lesser countries.—In the Netherlands, the work of De Bosch Imper (1867) and the various volumes by Jorissen (1865-1868); in Denmark, the works of Thorsoe (2 vols., 1873-1879) and Holm (3 vols., 1875); and in Switzerland, the works of Tillier (5 vols., 1843-1846) and of Müller's continuator, Monnard (vols. 16-18, 1847-1851) are the important contributions from the lesser European countries prior to 1890.

United States.—For some reason not clearly accountable, unless it be that Bonaparte was the greatest of self-made men, Americans have always manifested a remarkable interest in the personality and achievements of Napoleon. Almost from the beginning of his career American publishers reprinted nearly everything of importance that was published in England relating to his personal career. Napoleon has had a long line of American biographers who have

usually been frank admirers of the Emperor or have made a studied effort at impartiality. Passing over the efforts of such writers William Grimshaw (1829) and the incomplete work of Light-Horse Harry's son, Henry Lee (1835), the American people accepted J. Headley's *Napoleon and his Marshals* (2 vols., 1846) and John S. Abbott's *Life of Napoleon* (2 vols., 1855) as their standard account. The continued popularity of such a nauseating laudation as the latter is puzzling. A definite attempt at a critical estimate was made by John C. Ropes in his *First Napoleon* (1885), but his enthusiasm for his subject was ill-concealed. For three-quarters of a century not merely was American attention absorbed by the problems of national growth, but the avowed national policy, embodied in the Monroe Doctrine, was one of isolation. During that period few Americans were able to rise above a mere biographical interest and really grapple with European history as a matter worthy of American attention. Irving and Prescott and Motley did reveal some of the glories of European history to American readers, but it remained for Henry Adams to grasp and to demonstrate the inextricable and indissoluble relationship of American with European history. For this reason, if for no other, his *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison* (9 vols., 1889-90) is the most notable contribution yet made by any American to the study of the Napoleonic period, though Americans and Europeans have alike failed to give Mr. Adams his proper meed of credit. It is impossible to pass over this work without alluding to its tremendous importance for the study of the present vexatious problem of the rights of neutrals.

Though the Napoleonic régime was of crucial importance to the history of South and Central America, and of no small significance for the history of Africa and Asia and even Oceania, it is impossible to include any consideration of their historiography for the period.

IV. PUBLICATIONS SINCE 1891 ON THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD.

Thus far this paper has been concerned with the development and tendencies of Napoleonic studies in France and other countries down to 1890. In France, England, and the United States the interest was directly in Napoleon and the wars; elsewhere the interest was in the national struggle against Napoleon, in which national consciousness dawned. While these general characteristics have persisted, in large measure, since 1891, they have been broadened and liberalized by the spirit of scientific historical research, which has joined with the centenary interest to produce monographs rather than extended

works, though there are splendid instances of the latter in the several countries. The older bounds of interest have been overstepped and the diplomatic, political, administrative, economic, religious, literary, artistic, and psychological problems are being investigated, while the old fields have yielded, under scientific cultivation, yet greater abundance. In discussing the tendencies and developments of the years since 1891 there will be no pretense of enumerating all the fields of study or of making an exhaustive citation of even the more important publications in any single field. It will be the purpose, rather, to indicate the characteristic tendencies and achievements of the period and to give some indications of opportunities for productive effort in the future.

Bibliography.—The mere idea of a bibliography of the period is one of the novelties of recent years. Admirable selected lists of authorities were appended to Fournier's *Napoleon* (1886-1889; second ed., 1904-1906; third ed., 1914); to the eighth and ninth volumes of the *Histoire Générale* (1896-1897); and to the eighth and ninth volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History* (1904-1906). The first attempt to prepare a complete and systematic bibliography, Lumbruso's *Saggio di una Bibliografia Ragionata per Servire alla Storia dell' Epoca Napoleonica* (vols. 1-5, 1894-1896), proved abortive. J. M. Kircheisen has issued two parts of a *Bibliographie du Temps de Napoléon* (1908-1912),¹ which is an expansion of his earlier *Bibliographie Napoléonienne* (1902), and is confined to publications in western European languages prior to 1905, though some books in other languages or of later date are included. It is to be hoped that Mr. Kircheisen, in completing his elaborate undertaking, will furnish suitable indexes to guide the searcher through his cunningly devised labyrinth. Gustave Davois has issued a *Bibliographie Napoléonienne Française jusqu'en 1908* (3 vols., 1909-1911), which has the limitations indicated in the title, and *Les Bonaparte Littérateurs, Essai Bibliographique* (1909). The alphabetical arrangement makes these easy to consult, but the work is uneven, almost erratic in character. The works of neither Kircheisen nor Davois are complete within the limits which they have adopted. The printed catalogues of the British Museum and other libraries and the sales catalogues of several large private collections are of some service. For more recent publications it is necessary to struggle with the various bibliographical annuals and historical reviews, notably the *Revue des*

In the fourth part of this article many titles which may be readily found in Kircheisen and Davois are omitted or shortened, but other titles have usually been given with reasonable fullness. It has been necessary to omit all bibliographical data except the number of volumes and the date of publication. Much care has been taken with the publications of the last few years, but no doubt there are serious omissions, and some inclusions which are not of great value, and some errors in the bibliographical data, for there are many pitfalls in the path of the bibliographer who attempts to be up to date.

Études Napoléoniennes in which Kirchsen has published a supplement to his bibliography for 1911.¹

Writings of Napoleon.—For the writings of Napoleon it is not necessary to consult not less than a hundred works which, in considerable measure, supplement the Correspondance. These include one or more complete volumes edited by Du Casse (1887), Masson and Biag (1895), Pélissier (1897), Lecestre (2 vols., 1897), Grouchy (1897), Brotonne (3 vols., 1898–1903), Chuquet (5 vols., 1911–1913), and Picard and Tuetey (4 vols., 1912–1913). Completer lists may be found in the introductions to the volumes by Brotonne and by Picard and Tuetey. It will be seen that there is crying need for the comprehensive search and the scholarly editorial care which should produce a definitive edition of the writings of Napoleon.

Archives.—In addition to Langlois and Stein's *Les Archives de l'Histoire de France* (1891), special references to the archive materials may be found in the *Histoire Générale* and the *Cambridge Modern History*. Several printed guides exist for the materials in the Public Record Office and in the Archives Nationales. The British Museum contains several collections of family papers for the period. There is practically no means of ascertaining the manuscript resources for the period preserved in other public archives and libraries, and even in the case of England and France the mere work of listing the materials, let alone calendaring or publishing them, is still far from complete. Considerable use has been made of the Vatican, Russian, Prussian, and Austrian archives, and some materials from them have been published, but it is obvious that much remains untouched, and not a little still inaccessible. The same statement holds substantially, though on a different scale, for practically all the lesser countries.

There are many collections of family papers still in private hands in every country of Europe, which are either difficult or impossible of access, which would throw valuable light on the history of the

¹ *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, II, 303–320, 458–474, Septembre, Novembre, 1912. This review also furnishes surveys of the recent literature in special fields in the following series of "bulletins historiques": "Histoire Intérieure du Premier Empire" (Janvier, 1912); "Les Études Napoléoniennes en Russie, 1910–1911" (Mai, 1912); "Les Études Napoléoniennes en Suisse, 1911" (Mai, 1912); "Sainte-Hélène" (Juillet, 1912); "Ouvrages d'Histoire Militaire" (Septembre, 1912); "Histoire Extérieure du Premier Empire" (Novembre, 1912); "Le Système Continental, 1900–1911" (Janvier, 1913); "Histoire Intérieure des Deux Empires" (Mars, 1913); "Les Publications Roumaines les Plus Récentes" (Mars, 1913); "La Corse Napoléonienne" (Mai, 1913); "Publications Anglaises" (Septembre, 1913); "Les Études Napoléoniennes en Suisse, 1912" (Septembre, 1913); "Les Études Napoléoniennes en Allemagne" (Novembre, 1913); "La France Napoléonienne et la Littérature Étrangère" (Janvier, 1914); "Histoire Intérieure du Premier Empire" (Janvier, 1914); "Les Études Napoléoniennes en Italie" (Mars, 1914); "Ouvrages d'Histoire Militaire" (Mars, Mai, 1914); "Les Études Napoléoniennes en Russie" (Mai, 1914); "Revue des Revues Russes, 1912–1914" (Juillet, 1914); "Études sur l'Art du Premier Empire" (Juillet, 1914); "Histoire Extérieure du Premier Empire" (Septembre, 1914).

period. From both the public and the private archives samples of the rich materials appear in almost every new publication of any importance relative to the period. While the personal and military documents have been fairly exploited, only a beginning has been made on the diplomatic, religious, administrative, and economic materials.

Iconography.—The leading systematic studies of the iconography of Napoleon, amply illustrated, are Dayot's *Napoléon Raconté par l'Image* (1894; new eds. 1902, 1905, 1908), and *Die Handschrift Napoléon I, mit 40 Bildern, Briefen, und Unterschriften Napoleons in Facsimile* (1904). On the caricatures on Napoleon there are Ashton's *English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I* (2 vols., 1884; new ed., 1 vol., 1888), and Broadley's *Napoleon in Caricature* (2 vols., 1911). To these should be added Grand-Carteret's *Napoléon en Images* (1895); Bramsen's *Médaillier Napoléon le Grand* (vols. 1-3, 1904-1907); Sauzey's *Iconographie du Costume Militaire de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (1901); Broadley and Daniell's *Collectanea Napoleonica* (1905); the sales catalogues of such private collections as those of Buhrig (1913), Crane (1913), and Latta (1913-1914); and such richly illustrated biographies as those by Tarbell (1895), Sloane (4 vols., 1896-1897), Pflugk-Hartung (2 vols., 1900-1901), Lenz (1905), and Kircheisen (vols. 1-3, 1912-1914).

Napoleon and his family.—On Napoleon himself the most notable biography, surpassing those just mentioned, is by Rose (2 vols., 1902), supplemented by *The Personality of Napoleon* (1912). Chuquet's *La Jeunesse de Napoléon* (3 vols., 1897-1899); Sorel's *Bonaparte et Hoche* (1897); Espitalier's *Vers Brumaire* (1913); Masson's *Napoléon chez lui* (1894); and Lévy's *Napoléon Intime* (1898) are perhaps the best of the many studies of single phases of Napoleon's career. On the Elba and Saint Helena periods a large number of new publications have appeared, such as Gruyer's *Napoléon, Roi de l'Île d'Elbe* (1906); Mellini's *L'Isola d'Elba durante il Governo di Napoleone I* (1914); and Masson's *Autour de Sainte-Hélène* (3 vols., 1908-1912), and *Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène* (1912). For the posthumous affairs and the transfer of the remains, Chahuet's *Après la Mort de l'Empereur* (1913), and *Napoléon Délivré* (1914) may be consulted; and for the growth of the Napoleonic legend there are Capeletti's *La Leggenda Napoleonica* (1903), Baumann's *L'Épopée Napoléonienne* (1904), and Gonnard's *Les Origines de la Légende Napoléonienne* (1907). The genius and deeds of Napoleon have been studied in Bonnal de Ganges's *Le Génie de Napoléon* (2 vols., 1897); Kielland's *Umkring Napoleon*

(Copenhagen, 1905; English as *Napoleon's Men and Methods*, 1907; Kremnetzer's *Der Staatsgedanke Napoleons* (1907); Cuneo d'Onano's *La République de Napoléon* (1894); and Lévy's *Napoléon la Paix* (1902). Kircheisen's *Hat Napoleon Gelebt?* (1910) will serve as an introduction to the "curious" literature about Napoleon. An *Itinéraire Général de Napoléon* (1908, second ed., 1911) has been prepared by Schuermans.

On the Bonaparte family, Masson's monumental work includes not merely the 12 volumes of *Napoléon et sa Famille* (1897-1914) but also three volumes on Joséphine (1898-1901), one on Marie Louise (1902), one on his mistresses (1893), and one on his sons (1904). *Sergeant's Empress Josephine* (2 vols., 1908); Cuthell's *An Imperial Victim, Marie Louise* (2 vols., 1911); Gachot's *Marie Louise Intime* (1911); Welschinger's *Roi de Rome* (1897); Wertheimer's *Herzog von Reichstadt* (1902); Lumbroso's *Napoleone I* (1902); Larrey's *Madame Mère* (1892); Tschudi's *Napoleons Mode* (1898; English, 1900); Atteridge's *Napoleon's Brothers* (2 vols., 1908); Bertin's *Joseph Bonaparte en Amérique* (1893); Kaisenberg's *König Jérôme Napoleon* (1899); Martinet's *Jérôme Napoléon Roi de Westphalie* (1902); Montagu's *Eugène de Beauharnais* (1913); Marmottan's *Elisa Bonaparte* (1898); Rodocanachi's *Elisa Napoléon en Italie* (1900); Alméras's *Pauline Bonaparte* (1907); Arjuzon's *Hortense de Beauharnais* (1897) and *Madame Louis Bonaparte* (1901); Taylor's *Queen Hortense* (1907); Gailly de Taurines's *La Reine Hortense en Exil* (1914); and the several volumes of Gertrud Kircheisen, Turquan, and Fleischmann indicate the remarkable interest taken in the family of the Emperor.

Military and naval affairs.—The generalship of Napoleon has been fully studied by an American, the late Gen. T. A. Dodge, in his *Great Captains* series (4 vols., 1904-1907); by a Frenchman, Gen. Camon, in *La Bataille Napoléonienne* (1899) and *La Guerre Napoléonienne* (3 vols., 1903-1907); and by two Germans, Freytag von Loringhoven in *Die Heerführung Napoleons* (1910) and Giehr in *Der Feldherr Napoleon als Organisator* (1911). Capt. Colin has described *L'Education Militaire de Napoléon* (1900), and Col. Vachée, *Napoléon en Campagne* (1913). Count Lort de Sérignac has written a scientific study of *Napoléon et les Grands Généraux de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (1914); Lieut. Escalle, of *Des Marches dans les Armées de Napoléon* (1912); and Gen. Camon, of *La Fortification dans la Guerre Napoléonienne* (1914).

Among recent volumes on the army are Chapoutot's *Livre d'Or des Officiers Français de 1789 à 1815* (1904); Martinien's *Tableau des Officiers Tués et Blessés pendant les Guerres du Premier Empire* (1900); Philip's *Le Service d'État-Major pendant les Guerres du Premier Empire* (1900); Fallou's *La Garde Impériale, 1804-1815*

(1901); Morvan's *Le Soldat Impérial* (2 vols., 1904-1905); L. Picard's *La Cavalerie dans les Guerres de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (2 vols., 1895-1896); and Belhomme's *Histoire de l'Infanterie en France* (vol. 4, 1899).

There is a considerable literature on the non-French contingents in the Napoleonic armies. Sauzey's elaborate work on *Les Allemands sous les Aigles Françaises; Essai sur les Troupes de la Confédération du Rhin, 1806-1814* (vols., 1-6, 1902-1912) holds the first place. Commandant Boppe, the editor of the *Carnet de la Sabretache*, has published *La Légion Portugaise* (1897), *Les Espagnols à la Grande Armée* (1899), and *La Croatie Militaire, 1809-1813, les Régiments Croates à la Grande Armée* (1900). Bernaert's *Fastes Militaires des Belges au Service de la France, 1789-1815* (1898), and the works of Cruyplants (2 vols., 1901-1902), and others deal with the Belgian contingents. There are also works on the Polish, Swiss, and Italian troops and many volumes on the foreign contingents in the campaign of 1812 and in the Peninsular War.¹

The historical section of the French general staff has issued an admirable series of publications based upon the official records covering most of the campaigns conducted by Napoleon in person. Naturally these volumes are by military experts and contain full technical accounts of the maneuvers, with a wealth of detailed statistical materials. Apparently the campaigns of 1806-1807 and of 1813-1815 remain to be done, as do also most of the campaigns conducted by subordinates, though the two most recent publications have made a beginning on the Peninsular War.

The work by the Russian General Staff on the campaign of 1812 (vols. 1-10, 1900-1914) is available in a translation (vols. 1-7, 1904-1911) by the French General Staff. The journals published by the general staffs of France, Germany, and Austria have contained numerous studies, mostly detailed and technical in character and mainly related to the participation of their respective armies. The German General Staff has undertaken a comprehensive study of *Das Preussische Heer der Befreiungskriege*, of which the volumes on 1812 and 1813 have appeared (vols 1-2, 1912-1914); and the Austrian General Staff, of the campaigns of 1809 (vols. 1-4, 1907-1909) and of 1813-1814 (vols. 1-5, 1913).

With regard to the enormous number of monographs on the separate campaigns, which have appeared during the past quarter-century, it is impossible to do more than recall the names of some of the most important authors, such as the Americans, Ropes and Sar-

¹ For a partial list of these works see Kirchelsen's *Bibliographie*, I, 325-326, 366-368. Consult also Holzhausen's *Die Deutschen in Russland, 1812* (1912), and Kirchelsen's *Napoleon's Untergang* (Vol. I, 1912). It may be added that there are books such as Portzfeisch (1896) on German troops in the English army.

gent; the Englishmen, Lord Wolseley, Sir Evelyn Wood, George Shand, Butler, Robinson, Petre, the various contributors to the Special Campaigns series, and above all Prof. Oman for his masterly History of the Peninsular War (vols. 1-5, 1902-1914); the Frenchmen, Bouvier, Picard, Gachot, Grouard, Fabry, Bonna Weil, Calmon-Maison, Lefebvre de Béhaine, and the greatest of all Houssaye; the Belgian, Navez; the Spaniards, Ibañez Marin and Grahíty Papéll; the Italians, Barone, Cavaciocchi, and Bustelli; the Russians, Verestchagin and Kharkevich; and the Austrians and Germans, Gunther, Hüffer, Lettow-Vorbeck, Mayerhofer von Vedropolje, Binder von Krieglstein, Osten-Sacken, Treuenfeld, Pflugk-Harttung, Janson, Holleben, Friederich, Criste, and Bleibtreu.

It is, likewise, quite impossible to attempt any discussion of the volumes of military memoirs, except to remark that, in general, they have been much better edited in recent years, and that while less pretentious and popular than of old, they offer more reliable illustrative material and truer local color than many of their more brilliant predecessors. Both in France and in Germany several of these late comers have been real contributions to the military history of the period, such as the *Erinnerungen* (1911) of Roos on the Russian campaign; Capt. von Colomb's *La Guerre de Partisans contre Napoléon, 1813-1814* (1914); the *Journal* (1913) of the surgeon Lagneau; the *Lettres* (1914) of the chief of staff Dupont d'Hervail; the *Mémoires et Journaux* (vols. 1-2, 1910-1911) of Decaen; the *Lebenserinnerungen* (2 vols., 1911-1913) of Gen. Karl von Wedel; and the *Denkwürdigkeiten* (1912) of Gen. Hiller von Gaertringen.

Except for the campaigns of Marengo and Jena, very few publications during the past decade have related to the earlier campaigns of Napoleon, but nearly all have dealt with the Peninsular War or the campaigns of 1812-1815. German interest has centered on the campaign of 1813, but the widest general interest has been manifested in the Waterloo campaign, for which the literature is the richest, though even yet the official materials have not been properly exploited.

For the naval warfare the first place belongs to Admiral Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire* (2 vols., 1892), and his *Nelson* (1897). Clowes's *Royal Navy* (vols. 4-5, 1899-1900) and the volumes issued by the Navy Records Society hold an important place. Wheeler and Broadley's *Napoleon and the Invasion of England* (1908); Desbrière's *Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Îles Britanniques, 1793-1805* (4 vols., 1900-1902); Bottet's *Napoléon aux Camps de Boulogne* (1914); several studies on the Trafalgar campaign; and some Danish monographs on the two attacks on Copenhagen are worthy of mention.

International relations.—All later study of the diplomatic history of the Napoleonic period must take as its point of departure the pioneer work of Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution* (vols. 5–8, 1903–1904), though its faults have been fully emphasized by reviewers and later investigators. Sorel has been supplemented and corrected by the masterly studies of Raymond Guyot (1911) and Charles Ballot (1910) for the period of the Directory, and of Édouard Driault (4 vols., 1904–1912) for the Consulate and the Empire. The relations with England have been recently studied in Coquelle's *Napoléon et l'Angleterre, 1803–1813* (1904); Auriol's *La France, l'Angleterre, et Naples de 1803 à 1806* (2 vols., 1904–1905); and Rose's *Napoleonic Studies* (1904), *Despatches Relating to the Third Coalition* (1904), *William Pitt and the Great War* (1911), and *Pitt and Napoleon* (1912). For the relations with Russia, there have been published Tratchevski's *Diplomatic Relations of Russia with France during the Napoleonic Period* (Russian, 4 vols., 1890–1893); *Les Relations Diplomatiques de la Russie et de la France d'après les Rapports des Ambassadeurs d'Alexandre et de Napoléon, 1808–1812*, by the Grand Duke Nicolas (4 vols., 1905–1906); Ulmann's *Russisch-Preussische Politik unter Alexander I und Friedrich Wilhelm III bis 1806* (1899); Bailleu's *Briefwechsel König Friedrich Wilhelms III und der Königin Luise mit Kaiser Alexander I* (1900); La Tour's *Les Prémices de l'Alliance Franco-Russe, 1806–1807* (1914); and several other works largely documentary in content.

Some documentary materials and not a few monographs have appeared on the different episodes in the diplomatic history of the period. The successive works of Böhlingk (1895), Hüffer (1896), Criste (1900), Helfert (1900), Petiteville (1904), and Montarlot and Pingaud (3 vols., 1912–1913) have thrown much light on the controverted subject of the Rastatt Congress, without entirely solving the mystery of the assassinations. For the period between the treaties of Campo Formio and Amiens there are Hüffer's *Invaluable Quellen zur Geschichte des Zeitalters der Französischen Revolution* (4 vols., 1900–1907); Hermann's *Der Aufstieg Napoleons, Krieg und Diplomatie vom Brumaire bis Lunéville* (1912); Bowman's *Die Englisch-Französische Friedensverhandlung, December, 1799—January, 1800* (1899), and *Preliminary Stages of the Peace of Amiens* (1900); and Philippson's *Der Friede von Amiens* (1913). The position of Prussia has been studied in Prof. Guy Stanton Ford's *Hanover and Prussia, 1795–1803* (1903), and in Trummel's *Der Norddeutsche Neutralitätsverband, 1795–1807* (1913). On the period of the third coalition there are Pflüger's *Koalitions-Politik, Metternich und Friedrich von Gentz, 1804–1806* (1913); Hausing's *Hardenberg und die Dritte Koalition* (1899); and Ecksdahl's *Bidrag til Tredje*

Koalition Bildningshiztoria, 1803-1805 (Lund, 1903). On other episodes there may be mentioned J. Meyer's *Die Französisch-Spanische Allianz, 1796-1807* (1895); Bradisteanu's *Die Beziehungen Russlands und Frankreichs zur Türkei in den Jahren 1806 und 1807* (1912); Joachim's *Napoleon in Finckenstein* (1906); Mehring's *1807-1812, von Tilsit nach Tauroggen* (1913); Fust's *Der Friede von Schönbrunn* (1908); Villa-Urrutia's *Relaciones entre España e Inglaterra durante la Guerra de la Independencia* (vols. 1-3, 1911-1914); and Anton del Olmet's *El Cuerpo Diplomático Español en la Guerra de la Independencia* (vol. 5, 1914).

Vicomte Jean d'Ussel's *Études sur l'Année 1813* (2 vols., 1907-1912) deal with the entrance of Prussia and Austria into the alliance against Napoleon. Firmin-Didot's *Royauté ou Empire, la France en 1814* (1897); Chuquet's *L'Année 1814* (1914); and Fournier's *Der Congress von Châtillon* (1900) and *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress* (1913) are examples of recent publications on the diplomatic and political affairs at the close of the Napoleonic period. There is an interesting but unsatisfactory *Essai sur le Droit de Gens Napoléonien, 1800-1807, d'après la Correspondance* (1911) by E. Chevalley.

The publication of several private collections of correspondence relating to the international affairs of the period, notably by the British Historical Manuscripts Commission, such as the Manuscript of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., Preserved at Dropmore (7 vols., 1892-1910), has emphasized the necessity for the systematic publication of the diplomatic correspondence for the period contained in the various national archives. M. Driault has recently secured official approval for beginning the undertaking in France, and it is to be hoped that the present unpleasantness in Europe may not long delay the work. It is worth while to note that a considerable selection from the American diplomatic papers of the period has been in print for over 80 years in the folio volumes of the *American State Papers* (vols. 1-3, 1832).

England.—Since the publication of the concluding volumes of Lecky, 25 years ago, the history of England during the era of her struggle with Napoleon has received surprisingly little attention. Good general surveys will be found in the *Cambridge Modern History* (vols. 8-9, 1904-1906); in the volumes of the *Political History of England*, by Hunt (1905) and by Brodrick and Frothingham (1906); in Robertson's *England under the Hanoverians* (1911); and in Dorman's *History of the British Empire in the Nineteenth Century* (vols. 1-2, 1902-1904). J. W. Fortescue's *History of the British Army* (vols. 1-7, 1899-1912) ranks with Clowes's *Royal Navy*, Oman's *Peninsular War*, and the several volumes by Rose, already mentioned, as the foremost English contributions for the period. The *Diary* (2

vols., 1904) of Sir John Moore; Lord Broughton's *Recollections of a Long Life* (2 vols., 1909); the *Correspondence* (1912) of Lord Burghersh; *lives of Wellington*, by Sir H. E. Maxwell (2 vols., 1899) and Fitchett (2 vols., 1911); of Canning, by Marriott (1903) and Temperley (1905), and of several interesting minor personages make up the biographical contributions. To these may be added Ogorodnikov's *Military Resources of Great Britain During the Wars of the French Revolution and the First Empire* (Russian, 1902); Audrey Cunningham's *British Credit in the Last Napoleonic War* (1910); and MacCunna's *Contemporary English View of Napoleon* (1914).

Germany.—For German history, in contrast, recent years have yielded a veritable wealth of riches. The tremendous significance of the awakening of the German national spirit, of the beginning of the process of unification, and of the remarkable group of personalities who moulded German character in those years furnish ample warrant for such thorough study of the period. While England had already carefully written up this epoch of her history before 1890, Germany had only begun her investigations by that date.

While American readers may turn to Poultney Bigelow's *History of the German Struggle for Liberty* (2 vols., 1895), and French readers to Denis's *L'Allemagne, 1789-1852* (2 vols., 1896-1898), Cavaignac's *La Formation de la Prusse Contemporaine* (2 vols., 1891-1898), Chareton's *Comment la Prusse a Préparé sa Revanche* (1903), and Vidal de la Blache's *La Régénération de la Prusse après Jéna* (1910); the German reader finds the period surveyed in the volumes by Heigel (2 vols., 1899-1911), and by Zwiedineck-Südenhorst (vol. 1, 1897) in the *Bibliothek Deutscher Geschichte*. For the lesser states there are such volumes as Du Moulin Eckart's *Bayern unter dem Ministerium Montgelas* (vol. 1, 1895); Kleinschmidt's *Bayern und Hessen, 1799-1816* (1900); Erdmannsdörfer and Obser's *Politische Correspondenz Karl Friedrichs von Baden, 1783-1806* (5 vols., 1888-1901); Andreas's *Geschichte der Badischen Verwaltungsorganisation und Verfassung in den Jahren 1802-1818* (1913), and *Baden nach dem Wiener Frieden, 1809* (1912); Bonneton's *Un Allié de Napoléon, Frédéric-Auguste, Premier Roi de Saxe* (1902); and Rühlmann's *Die Oeffentliche Meinung in Sachsen während der Jahre 1806 bis 1812* (1902).

The French administration and the districts under French control have furnished subjects for an admirable group of works. Fisher's *Studies in Napoleonic Statesmanship, Germany* (1903) contains a general survey of the subject. Among the special studies of the several political units involved are Bitterauf's *Geschichte des Rheinlandes* (vol. 1, 1905); Kleinschmidt's *Geschichte des Königreichs Westfalen* (1895); Hassell's *Geschichte des Königreichs Hannover*

(vol. 1, 1898); Thimme's *Die Inneren Zustände des Kurfürstentum Hannover unter der Französisch-Westfälischen Herrschaft* (2 vols. 1893-1895); Schmidt's *Le Grand-Duché de Berg* (1905); Darnstaedter's *Das Grossherzogtum Frankfurt* (1901); Chroust's *Das Grossherzogtum Würzburg* (1913); C. de Tournon's *Die Provinz Baireuth unter Französischer Herrschaft* (1900); Usinger's *Das Bistum Mainz unter Französischer Herrschaft* (1912); Wohlwill's *Neuere Geschichte der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg insbesondere von 1789 bis 1815* (1914); and Servièr's *L'Allemagne Française sous Napoléon I^{er}* (1904).

The process of secularization of ecclesiastical states in 1803 may now be studied in such monographs as König's *Pius VII, die Säkularisation und das Reichskonkordat* (1904); Rinieri's *La Secolarizzazione degli Stati Ecclesiastici della Germania per Opera del Primo Console* (1906); Scheglmann's *Geschichte der Säkularisation im Rechtsrheinischen Bayern* (3 vols., 1903-1908); and Erzberger's *Die Säkularisation in Württemberg von 1802 bis 1815* (1902). Similar studies of the mediatization of the smaller principalities during the period are yet lacking except for Hoff's *Die Mediatisiertenfrage in den Jahren 1813-1815* (1913).

The *Lebenserinnerungen* (1901) of Stein and *Aus dem Leben eines Diplomaten der Alten Schule* (1901), the memoirs of Graf von Bray, are the only recently published memoirs of political value. Henderson's *Blücher* (1911); Friederich's *Gneisenau* (1906); Unger's *Gneisenau* (1913); Pflugk-Harttung's *Briefe des Generals von Gneisenau, 1809-1815* (1913); Petersdorf's *Thielmann* (1894); Conrady's *Grolmann* (3 vols., 1894-1896); Lehmann's *Stein* (3 vols., 1902-1905); Gebhardt's *Wilhelm von Humboldt als Staatsmann* (2 vols., 1896-1899); Otto Harnack's *Wilhelm von Humboldt* (1913); Müsebeck's *Ernst Moritz Arndt* (vol. 1, 1914); Meusel's *Friedrich August Ludwig von der Marwitz* (2 vols., 1908-1913); and Sieveking's *Georg Heinrich Sieveking* (1913) are good biographical works, though they obviously do not rank with the classic achievements of Pertz, Lehmann, Ranke, and Droysen on Stein, Scharnhorst, Hardenberg, and Yorck in the preceding generation.

The great literary men of the day in Germany and the lesser men who fought with their pens in the War of Liberation have each been the subject of many books and articles, which need not be enumerated here, though reference should be made to Gromaire's *La Littérature Patriotique en Allemagne, 1800-1815* (1911) and to Czygan's *Geschichte der Tagesliteratur während der Freiheitskriege* (3 vols., 1911).

From the numerous books on the years 1813-1815 which have appeared in the last five years, there may be singled out as of more than average interest Pflugk-Harttung's *Das Befreiungsjahr 1813*

(1913) and its supplement, Leipzig, 1813 (1913) for their wealth of documents, and Just's thesis on *Verwaltung und Bewaffnung im Westlichen Deutschland nach der Leipziger Schlacht, 1813 und 1814* (1911) as a study of a neglected topic.

Austria.—Aside from the works of Hüffer and Fournier already mentioned, the latter's *Historische Studien* (3 vols., 1885–1912) and Weiss's *Weltgeschichte* (vols. 19–22, 1896–1898) are the most important contributions to the general history of the period by Austrian writers. Only a beginning has been made in the study of Austria's share in the diplomatic history of the time, and not even a start has been made on the study of the internal history of the period. For the military history, the general staff has undertaken the publication of a series on the *Krieg von 1809* (vols. 1–4, 1907–1909), and another on the *Befreiungskrieg, 1813 und 1814* (vols. 1–5, 1913); and several of the foremost scholars have written a series of 10 monographs on 1813–1815, *Oesterreich in den Befreiungskriegen* (10 vols., 1911–1914), edited by Woinovich and Veltzé.

Demelitsch's *Metternich und seine Auswärtige Politik* (vol. 1, 1898), and Sandemann's *Metternich* (1911) merely aggravate the need for a scholarly study of his career from the archives, which probably will not be properly accessible for such a task in many a way. Some light on diplomatic and political affairs comes from the *Briefe von und an Friedrich von Gentz* (vols. 1–3, 1909–1913), edited by Wittichen and Salzer, and from Arneth's *Freiherr von Vessenberg* (2 vols., 1898). The sons of the Archduke Charles have published his *Ausgewählte Schriften* (6 vols., 1893–1894); Zeissner, a biography of him (2 vols., 1895); Angely, *Erzherzog Karl von Oesterreich als Feldherr und Heeresorganisator* (5 vols., 1896–1897); and W. John, *Erzherzog Karl, der Feldherr und seine Armée* (1913), an elaborately illustrated volume. There is a life of the *Fürst von Liechtenstein* (1905) by Criste, and Novák has edited *Prince Schwarzenberg's Briefe an seine Frau* (1913).

On the Tyrolese rising in 1809 there is a considerable literature of which the latest volumes are Schmölzer's *Andreas Hofer und seine Kampfgenossen* (1900); J. Hirn's *Tirols Erhebung im Jahre 1809* (1909); Voltolini's *Forschungen und Beiträge zur Geschichte des Tiroler Aufstandes* (1909); F. Hirn's *Vorarlbergs Erhebung, 1809* (1909), and *Geschichte Tirols von 1809 bis 1814* (1914); and Vengen's *Der Feldzug der Grossherzoglich-Badischen Truppen gegen die Vorarlberger und Tiroler, 1809* (1910). The history of the Illyrian Provinces is set forth in books by Pisani (1893) and by Kirchmayer (1900).

Switzerland.—The first two volumes of Wilhelm Oechsli's *Geschichte der Schweiz im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1903–1913) form the most notable recent contribution to the history of the French domi-

nation in Switzerland. Much has been published on the history of the several cantons, especially Berne and Vaud; and during the past three years there have been notable publications of memoirs and documents on Geneva in addition to the works of Chapuisat (4 vols., 1908-1912). Successive phases of Swiss relations have been revealed in a clearer light through the documents published or used in Strickler's *Amtliche Sammlung der Acten aus der Zeit der Helvetischen Republik, 1798-1803* (10 vols., 1886-1905); Rott's *Perrochel Masséna, l'Occupation Française en Helvétie, 1798-1799* (1899); Dunant's *Les Relations Diplomatiques de la France et de la République Helvétique, 1798-1803* (1902); Cérenville's *Le Système Continental et la Suisse, 1803-1813* (1906); and Steiner's *Napoleons Politik und Diplomatie in der Schweiz während der Gesandtschaftszeit des Grafen Auguste de Talleyrand* (vol. 1, 1907).

Italy.—Though manuals by Lemmi (1906) and others, and popular narratives by such men as Orsi (1900) have dealt briefly and comprehensively with the French domination in Italy, recent contributions have in most cases had a distinctly provincial limitation and interest. Carutti (2 vols., 1892), Perrero (1898), and Artemon (1911) have written on the royal family of Savoy when their kingdom was limited to the island of Sardinia; Bigoni (1897), Trucci (1901), and Colucci (4 vols., 1902), on the downfall of the ancient republic of Genoa; Corio (1904), on Milan in the Napoleonic kingdom of Italy; Lemmi (1902), on the Austrian restoration in Milan in 1814; Mocenigo (1896) and Perl (1901), on Venice under Napoleon; Bevilacqua (1897), on *Le Pasque Veronesi*; Bassi (1895) on Reggio; Boschi (1894) and Franciosi (1912), on San Marino; Lumini (1891), Covoni (1894), and Marmottan (5 vols., 1896-1901) on Tuscan affairs; Ungarelli (1911), on Bonaparte in Bologna; and Emiliani (2 vols., 1909-1911) and Bodereau (1914), on Ancona and the Marches.

Of biographical studies there has been a dearth. Some interesting materials relating to Pauline Bonaparte may be found in Sancholle-Henraux's *Le Chevalier Luigi Angiolini* (1913), and relating to the financial administration of the kingdom of Italy in Ratti's *Il Ministro Prina* (1914). Abbé Moulard has published a volume of *Lettres Inédites du Comte Camille de Tournon, Préfet de Rome, 1809-1814* (1914). The constitutional significance of the Napoleonic intervention has been partially studied by Gallavresi (1905), Garavani (1910), Pivano (2 vols., 1910-1912), and Sabini (1911). Another phase of the history of ideas has been admirably treated in Hazard's *La Révolution Française et les Lettres Italiennes, 1789-1815* (1910). For the political and diplomatic history, especially of northern Italy, there are the outstanding works of Gaffarel on *Bonaparte et les Républiques Italiennes, 1796-1799* (1895); of Albert Pingaud on

Bonaparte, *Président de la République Italienne* (2 vols., 1914); Guyot's *Le Directoire et la Paix de l'Europe* (1911); and Driault's *Napoléon en Italie, 1800-1812* (1906). The indefatigable Baron Lumbroso has published *Attraverso la Rivoluzione e il Primo Impero* (1907) and several other works on the Napoleonic rule in Italy.

The dramatic and puzzling personal elements are largely responsible for the extraordinary number of publications relating to Naples and Sicily. The first effects of the Napoleonic intervention on Neapolitan affairs are set forth by Rinieri in *Della Rovina di una Monarchia, Relazioni Storiche tra Pio VI e la Corte di Napoli negli Anni 1776-1799*, secondo *Documenti Inediti dell' Archivio Vaticano* (1901), and by Du Teil in *Rome, Naples, et le Directoire, Armistices et Traités, 1796-1797* (1902). The romantic and revolutionary affairs of 1798 and 1799 have been narrated and debated by many, including Conforti (2 vols., 1889-1890), Villari (1891), Pometti (1894), Maresca (1895), Croce (2 vols., 1897-1902), Lemmi (1898), and Spinazzola (1899), who have each contributed additional documentary materials. Sansone's *Gli Avvenimenti del 1799 nelle Due Sicilie* (1901) and Gutteridge's *Nelson and the Neapolitan Jacobins* (1903) are both volumes of documents. An account of these events in English will be found in *Naples in 1799* by Constance H. D. Giglioli (1903). General accounts of the Napoleonic kingdom of Naples can be found in Fontanarosa's *Studi sul Decennio Francese in Napoli, 1806-1815* (1901), and in Prof. R. M. Johnston's *Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy* (2 vols., 1904). The brief kingship of Joseph has been admirably studied in Jacques Rambaud's *Naples sous Joseph Bonaparte, 1806-1808* (1911) and *Lettres Inédites ou Éparses de Joseph Bonaparte à Naples* (1911). Amante has given an account of *Fra Diavolo e il suo Tempo, 1796-1806* (1904), and much information, especially on the military events, is contained in the *Souvenirs* (vol. 3, 1911) of the Marquis de Bouillé, in the *Mémoires* (vol. 2, 1914) of Comte Roger de Damas, and in the *Souvenirs du Sous-Lieutenant d'Hauteroche* (1894). Prof. R. M. Johnston has identified and published, with considerable additional materials, the *Mémoire de Marie Caroline, Reine de Naples* (1912); and two volumes of *Correspondance Inédite de Marie Caroline avec le Marquis de Gallo* have been edited by Weil and Somma-Circello (1911), with supplementary continuations in the *Revue Historique de la Révolution et de l'Empire* and in the *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*. Under the title *Une Ennemie de la Révolution et de Napoléon* (1905), A. Bonnefons has written a life of Marie Caroline; and G. Bianco has given an account of *Sicilia durante l'Occupazione Inglese, 1806-1815* (1902).

The career of Murat at Naples still awaits adequate treatment in spite of Guardione's *Gioacchino Murat in Italia* (1899); Chavanon

and Saint-Yves's Joachim Murat, 1767-1815 (1905); Espitalie's Napoléon et Le Roi Murat (1910); Atteridge's Joachim Murat (1911); and the richly documented volumes by Commandant Weyl on Le Prince Eugène et Murat, 1813-1814, Opérations Militaires, Négociations Diplomatiques (5 vols., 1901-1902), and on Joachim Murat, Roi de Naples, la Dernière Année du Règne, 1814-1815 (5 vols., 1909-1910). For the final episode there are also the volumes by Gasparri (1894), Sassenay (1896), Dufourcq (1898), Schirmer (1898), and Lumbroso (1904). Of primary importance are the Lettres et Documents pour Servir à l'Histoire de Joachim Murat, 1767-1815 (vols. 1-8, 1908-1914), which are being published by the Prince Murat.

Spain and Portugal.—In addition to carrying forward his monumental Guerra de la Independencia (14 vols., 1868-1903), Gomez de Arteche y Moro has written a history of the Reinado de Carlos I (3 vols., 1893-1898); besides which there are Muriel's Historia de Carlos IV (6 vols., 1893-1895) and Bermejo's Politicos de Antaño, Historia Anecdótica y Secreta de la Corte de Carlos IV (2 vols., 1894-1895). On the relations of Napoleon with the royal family of Spain there are recent volumes by Jordán de Urriés (1893), Schmidt (Copenhagen, 1905), and Ducéré (1897). Important documentary materials for the years 1801-1803 are used in Antecedentes Politicos y Diplomaticos de los Sucesos de 1808 (vol. 1, 1912) by the Marquis of Lema.

For the period of French intervention the indispensable work is the Correspondance (7 vols., 1905-1913) of Comte de La Forest, the Emperor's minister at his brother's court. Besides editing these valuable volumes, Geoffroy de Grandmaison has published L'Ambassade Française en Espagne, 1789-1804 (1892), L'Espagne et Napoléon, 1804-1809 (1908), and other monographs. Conard has written La Constitution de Bayonne, 1808 (1909), and Napoléon en la Catalogne, 1808-1814 (1909); Garcia-Sala has edited the Cartas de Jovellanos y Lord Vassall Holland sobre la Guerra de la Independencia, 1808-1811 (2 vols., 1911); Gómez Imaz has prepared a bibliography of Los Periodicos durante la Guerra de la Independencia, 1808-1814 (1910); and Cornide de Saavedra's Estado de Portugal en el Año de 1800 has been published (3 vols., 1894-1897) in the Memorial Historico Español.

Belgium and the Netherlands.—The history of the French domination in Belgium has been successively narrated by Balau (2 vols., 1894), Lanzac de Laborie (2 vols., 1895), Delplace (2 vols., 1896), and most fully by Delhaize (6 vols., 1908-1913) in French; and in briefer form in Flemish by Van den Bergh (1900) and Cortebeek (1900).

For the Dutch history of the same period there are Legrand's *La République Batave* (1894); Wichers's *De Regeering van Koning Lodewijk Napoleon* (1892); Dubosq's *Louis Bonaparte en Hollande d'après ses Lettres* (1911); Hodenpijl's *Napoleon in Nederland* (1904); Naber's *Geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Inlijving bij Frankrijk, Juli, 1810–November, 1813* (1905); Caumont de la Force's *L'Archi-Trésorier Lebrun, Gouverneur de la Hollande, 1810–1812* (1907); Wüppermann's *Nederland voor Honderd Jaren, 1795–1813* (1913); and De Bas's *Prins Frederik der Nederlanden* (3 vols., 1884–1904), which contains valuable documents for the Waterloo campaign. In addition to these works of more comprehensive scope there have appeared a considerable number of monographs on special and local topics of both Belgian and Dutch history.

Scandinavian countries.—Bain's *Political History of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, 1513–1900* (1905) gives a good general survey of the period in Scandinavian history. For Denmark there are Rubin's *1807–1814, Studier til Københavns og Danmarks Historie* (1892), and several monographs mainly on military events.

Documents on the Swedish relations with Russia have been published by Zlobin (1880); with Prussia, by Grimberg (1903); with Great Britain, by Key-Åberg (2 vols., 1890–1891); and with France, by Nilsson (1899). For the reign of Gustavus IV of Sweden there are Pétiet's *Gustave IV Adolphe et la Révolution Française, Relations Diplomatiques de la France et de la Suède de 1792 à 1810* (1914); Olsson's *Gustav IV Adolf och den Europeiska Krisen under Napoleon* (1913); and Heidenstam's *La Fin d'un Dynastie, d'après les Mémoires et la Correspondance d'une Reine de Suède, Hedvig-Elisabeth-Charlotte, 1774–1818* (1911). For Bernadotte in Sweden, there are C. Schefer's *Bernadotte Roi, 1810–1844* (1899); Alin's *Karl Johan och Sveriges Yttre Politik, 1810–1815* (1899); Pingaud's *Bernadotte, Napoléon, et les Bourbons* (1901); and Klæber's *Marshall Bernadotte, Kronprinz von Schweden* (1910).

On Norway and its separation from Denmark and union with Sweden there is a considerable literature. C. J. Anker has published *Uddrag af Diplomatiske Indberetninger om Unionens Forberedelse og Tilblivelse, 1814* (2 vols., 1894–1895), *Fra Svenske Arkiver om Unionens Forberedelse, 1814* (1898), *Christian Frederik og Carlen Ankers Brevveksling, 1814* (1901, second ed., 1904), and other documents. Yngvar Nielsen and O. J. Alin have edited many documents and published various monographs on the same subject. To these may be added Motzfeldt's *Norge og Sverige i 1809 og 1814* (1894); Björlin's *Kriget i Norge, 1814* (1893; German ed., 1895); Alén's *Kielerfreden och Unionen* (1894; German ed., 1895); and the more recent and thorough treatment by Sørensen in *Bernadotte*

i Norden eller Norges Adskillelse fra Danmark og Forening med Sverige (3 vols., 1903-1904).

A good *Geschichte Finlands* (1896) is a translation from the Swedish of M. G. Schybergson. The campaign of 1809 in Finland in which Sweden lost that grand duchy to Russia, has been the subject of several works, which are practically superseded by *Sveriges Krig, Åren 1808 och 1809* (4 vols., 1890-1905) by the historical section of the Swedish general staff.

Russia.—On the Tsar Paul there have appeared *Kaiser Pauls Ende* (1897), by R. R. (Alexander Brückner); *Die Ermordung Pauls* (1902), by Schiemann; *Le Fils de la Grande Catherine, Paul I^{er}, Empereur de Russie, sa Vie, son Règne, et sa Mort* (1912), by Waliszewski; and various other monographs. The standard Russian biography of Alexander I is by Schilder (4 vols., 1904-1907); in French there are Rain's *Un Tsar Idéologue* (1912) and *L'Empereur Alexandre I^{er}* (2 vols., 1913), by the Grand Duke Nicolas Mikhaïlovitch, who has also written and edited much else on the period. Pierling's *La Russie et le Saint-Siège* (vol. 5, 1912) contains materials on both Paul and Alexander.

Serge Goriaïnov, the director of the imperial archives, has published a guide to the materials in the archives at Petrograd, with some interesting documents (1912).¹ The Grand Duke Nicolas has edited the *Correspondance de l'Empereur Alexandre I^{er} avec sa Soeur la Grande Duchesse Catherine* (1910), and Stroïev has published a collection of documents relating to the history of 1812 from the private papers of the Tsar (1913). The *Lettres et Papiers* (11 vols., 1904-1912) of Nesselrode, including his autobiography, have appeared in French. The Society of Military History of Moscow has published the journal of Kutusov (1912); Ahlestichov, a volume of documents on 1812 from the family papers of Tormasov; and Voienski, two volumes, in the *Collections* (*Sbornik*, vols. 128, 133, 1909, 1911) of the Imperial Historical Society on the year 1812 relating especially to the conditions and Napoleonic administration in the occupied territory. The series on the National War of 1812 (vols. 1-20, 1900-1914), published by the general staff, now covers the events to December 12. Several volumes, mainly of documents relating to the year 1812 have been published, in celebration of the centenary, by the governments of the provinces chiefly concerned. There is a volume by Casso on Bessarabia and its annexation in 1812 (1912).

¹ A French translation of Goriaïnov's introduction will be found in *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, I, 276-295, March, 1912. For the Russian works published before 1906, which are omitted in these paragraphs, consult the *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 854-857.

Lubovitch has issued volumes on Napoleon at Warsaw in 1812 and on Warsaw in 1812 (1912-1913). The Napoleonic intervention in Poland is dealt with in Handelsman's *Napoléon et la Pologne, 1806-1807* (1909), and Schotmueller's *Der Polenaufstand, 1806-1807* (1907). Besides new editions of Sharbek's history of the duchy of Warsaw there are Zoltowski's *Die Finanzen des Herzogtums Warschau, 1806-1815* (2 vols., 1890-1892); Gembarzewski's volume on the duchy of Warsaw, 1807-1814 (1905); the works of Kraushar; and several volumes of memoirs and military history.

Balkan States.—The excellent histories of Romania by Xenopol (Romanian, 6 vols., 1888-1893; French abridgment, 2 vols., 1896); Urechia (Romanian, 13 vols., 1891-1902); and Jorga (German, 2 vols., 1905; French, 1913); each give ample space to the period. The same scholars and others have edited various volumes of documents, and published monographs. The several volumes by Eliade and the essay of Jurasco on *L'Influence Russe dans les Pays Moldo-Valaques depuis Koutchouk-Kaïnardji jusqu'à la Paix de Bucarest* (1913) are worthy of mention. For Serbia there have appeared Arsenijević-Batalaka's history of the first Serbian revolution (Serbian, 2 vols., 1898-1899); Novaković's *Die Wiedergeburt des Serbischen Staates, 1804-1813* (Serbian, 1904; German, 1912); and the volume of *Actes et Fragments relatifs à l'Histoire de la Première Révolution Serbe, 1804-1814, Tirés des Archives de Paris* (1904) published by the Royal Academy of Belgrade. Among the numerous recent volumes on Albania and Montenegro, Gopčević's *Geschichte von Montenegro und Albanien* (1914) and Boppe's *Albanie et Napoléon* (1914) are of most value for the period. Rodocanachi has published *Bonaparte et les Îles Ioniennes* (1899). Jorga's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (vol. 5, 1913) contains the best recent account of Turkish history for the period. Useful general accounts may be found in Koller's *Ottoman Empire, 1801-1913* (1913), and in Driault's *La question d'Orient* (second ed., 1900), while the most important work Driault's *La Politique Orientale de Napoléon, Sébastiani et Ardane, 1806-1808* (1904).

Colonies.—Among the recent publications relating to the French colonies and the colonial policy of Napoleon are Roloff's *Die Kolonialpolitik Napoleons I* (1899); Gaffarel's *Politique Coloniale en France, 1789-1830* (1908); Prentout's *Île de France sous Decaen* (1901); Castonnet des Fosses's *Révolution de Saint-Domingue* (1893); Poyen's *Guerres des Antilles* (1896); Villiers du Terrage's *Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française* (1905), and Hardman's history of Malta, 1798-1815 (1909). Though the period was fraught with importance for the history of India, of the Dutch East Indies, of South Africa, and of other colonies of England, the

Netherlands, and other countries, there is no space to undertake their bibliography.

Latin America.—Napoleon's relations to Latin America have been set forth in Sassenay's *Napoléon et la Fondation de la République Argentine* (1892), and in Villaneuva's *Napoléon y la Independencia de América* (1911). The history of the origins and of the early years of the struggle for Latin-American independence belongs to this period, and some introduction to it may be obtained in Latané's *Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America* (1900); Paxson's *Independence of the South American Republics* (1903); and Moses's *South America on the Eve of Emancipation* (1908). It is unfortunate that the lack of a current record or review of Latin-American publications leaves the work being done by Latin-American scholars so difficult of access and so little known. A work of fundamental importance for all students of the subject has been undertaken by Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, director of the Archives of the Indies, who has published five volumes of *Independencia de América, Fuentes para su Estudio, Catálogo de Documentos Conservados en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla* (1912).

United States.—For good recent narratives and bibliographies for United States history from 1795 to 1815 one should consult the three volumes in Hart's *American Nation* series, Bassett's *Federalist System* (1906), Channing's *Jeffersonian System* (1906), and Babcock's *Rise of American Nationality* (1906). Ford's edition of the *Writings of Jefferson* (10 vols., 1892-1899), Hunt's edition of the *Writings of Madison* (9 vols., 1900-1910), and other important documentary publications have appeared, as well as several valuable biographical works. Since 1890 the main interest for this period has been directed toward the foreign relations and the opening of the West. Next to Henry Adams's great work, already mentioned, the characteristic publication has been Roosevelt's *Winning of the West* (4 vols., 1889-1896), though Mr. Roosevelt was neither a pioneer in the field nor the most scholarly investigator of the subject. The leading scholar in the field is undoubtedly Prof. Turner, who has published much relating to the diplomatic relations with France over Louisiana, the control of the Mississippi and allied subjects. Hosmer's *History of the Louisiana Purchase* (1902); Ogg's *Opening of the Mississippi* (1904); Fortier's *History of Louisiana* (4 vols., 1904); Thwaites's edition of the *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (8 vols., 1904-1905); and McCaleb's *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy* (1903) are other works relating to Louisiana. Other works on the American history of the period which may be properly cited here are Maclay's *History of the United States Navy* (second ed., 3 vols., 1898-1901), and

History of American Privateers (1899); G. W. Allen's Our Naval War with France (1909), and Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs (1905); Admiral Mahan's Sea Power in its Relation to the War of 1812 (2 vols., 1905), as well as his major work already mentioned; and Gertrude Philippi's Imperialistische und Pazifistische Strömungen in der Politik der Vereinigten Staaten, 1776-1815 (1914).

Summary on the history of countries.—While the study of the participation of each country in the military events of the period is approaching reasonable thoroughness and completeness, only a beginning has been made in the study of the political aims and the diplomatic maneuvers of each country. With regard to the broad general policies and the larger actions, there exist not only national differences of view, but there are radical differences of interpretation among the scholars in each country such as the opposing views of Sorel, Driault, and Guyot in France. Though final conclusions must wait upon the full exploitation of the archives of each of the countries, the eager student of the Napoleonic period who can obtain the use of any new documents will find that a volume of documents or a monograph on any episode or personality or question of policy can be assured a position of permanence as a contribution to the history of the epoch. While the thorough study of the politics and diplomacy of each country must precede safe general conclusions, rarely have state policies been more completely subordinated to personal policies and rarely have the dominant personalities been so subtle and impenetrable. Napoleon himself is still a puzzle of puzzles; the Tsar Alexander seems a bundle of contradictions; Talleyrand and Metternich, Godoy and Marie Caroline, Murat and Bernadotte are old acquaintances to Macaulay's school-boy, but any historian would rejoice to determine the real personalities behind those familiar masks.

If the field of international affairs furnishes so many interesting problems for solution, the field of internal history has been even less cultivated and is rich in possibilities. In the case of some of the smaller countries, such as Belgium, Switzerland, and Romania, the work seems to have been done thoroughly enough for all except the local historian and the antiquary; but a few moments' reflection would suggest important questions even there that need investigation. For Prussia it would seem that national pride and systematic diligence had left no stone unturned, but that very pride prevents many stones being turned. The internal history of Austria-Hungary from 1792 to 1815 offers an absolutely unexplored field. England tries to forget rather than recall her domestic history for those years. Russia and France have recently made a determined beginning in their own lands.

The nature and methods of monarchical administration in the face of the French Revolution; the actual conditions, economic, intellectual, and social in the different countries; the methods of Napoleonic administration in the subject and dependent districts; the nature and extent of Napoleonic reforms; the relative influence of administrative, intellectual, economic, popular, and personal forces in the development of nationality are matters on which much more information is needed to corroborate or to correct present conclusions. What is thus true of other countries is far more true of France, the ganglion that radiated nervous energy to every other land in the day.

Economic history.—The Continental System.—The economic history of the Napoleonic period has only recently attracted the merited attention, but the already extensive literature on the Continental System and its application testify to the wealth of the materials as well as to the significance and the interest. The study of the Continental System was practically begun by the two Americans, Henry Adams (1889–1890) and Admiral Mahan (1893), who approached the subject as an international question, to the one diplomatic, to the other naval. Each did his work so well that later investigators have confined themselves to the economic, even the domestic, aspects of the problem. The fundamental significance of the economic conditions and developments was revealed in Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times* (1892; fourth ed. 1907), and clearly expounded to historical students in Rose's *Napoleon and English Commerce* (*English Historical Review*, 1899, pp. 704–725), which is the real starting point of the recent studies. These studies have been so admirably reviewed by Marcel Duna (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, III, 115–146, January, 1913) and by Prof. W. E. Lingelbach (*American Historical Review*, XIX, 257–281, January, 1914) that repetition would be impertinent. Some of the numerous German studies were there recognized as *Tendenzschriften*, and more recent events have emphasized the fact. Certainly nothing in the Napoleonic period is more instructive for the observation of the events now passing than the Continental System and its workings. The intelligent American citizen who is not familiar with the works of Henry Adams and Admiral Mahan will find a wealth of interesting and pertinent information and much cause for profitable reflection in their perusal.

The most important work that was too recent to be noticed in Prof. Lingelbach's article is the *Russian Kontinentalnaia Blokada* (1913) by Prof. Tarlé, of the University of Yuriev. It gives a survey of the state of France prior to the blockade, of the economic relations of France with each of the different parts of Europe, and

of each of the important manufacturing industries of France before the blockade; and it includes a bibliography and some new documents, besides summarizing much new material. Apparently the volume is but the introduction to an exhaustive study of the economic significance of the Continental System.

It is appropriate and gratifying to note that Prof. Lingelbach at the University of Pennsylvania is at present directing the preparation of no less than eight doctoral dissertations on phases of the Continental System, and is himself working on other phases. These investigations will undoubtedly demonstrate that the system, like so many of Napoleon's measures, had its origin in the Revolutionary epoch.

Religious affairs—The Concordat.—On the general history of the relations between state and church there are the manuals by Debidour (1898), Prof. W. M. Sloane (1901), and Desdevises du Désert (2 vols., 1907–1908); and the more extended works of the Jesuit Rinieri on *La Diplomazia Pontificia nel Secolo XIX* (5 vols., 1902–1906), done from the Vatican archives; and of Abbé Feret on *La France et le Saint-Siège* (vol. 1, 1911), done from the French archives of foreign affairs. Documents from the Austrian archives are printed in Duerm's *Un Peu Plus de Lumière sur le Conclave de Venise et sur les Commencements du Pontificat de Pie VII* (1896); and Count Boulay de la Meurthe has edited a collection of Documents sur la Négociation du Concordat (5 vols., 1891–1895). On the history of the Concordat there are Séché's *Les Origines du Concordat* (2 vols., 1894); Cardinal Mathieu's *Le Concordat de 1801, ses Origines, son Histoire* (1903); and Abbé Sevestre's *L'Histoire, le Texte, et la Destinée du Concordat de 1801* (1903; second ed., 1905). Welschinger has written on *Le Pape et l'Empereur, 1804–1815* (1905); Count Mayol de Luppé, on *La Captivité de Pie VII* (1912); and Combier has edited the *Mémoires* (1893) of Gen. Radet, who removed the Pope from Rome. The history of the Papal States under the Roman Republic of 1798–1799 is told in Dufourcq's *Le Régime Jacobin en Italie* (1900); and under the French Empire in Madelin's *La Rome de Napoléon, 1809–1814* (1906). Monsignor Ricard's edition of the *Correspondance Diplomatique et Mémoires inédits* (2 vols., 1891) of Cardinal Maury, and his volumes on Cardinal Fesch (1893) and on *Le Concile de 1811* (1894); F. des Roberts's *Le Cardinal de Lattier de Bayane d'après ses Mémoires inédits* (1891); Ruck's *Die Sendung des Kardinals de Bayane nach Rom, 1807–1808* (1913); Geoffroy de Grandmaison's *Napoléon et les Cardinaux Noirs, 1810–1814* (1895); and Drochon's *La Petite Eglise* (1894), each contribute to the history of the relations between the Empire and the papacy. Prof. Aulard has issued a small

volume on *La Révolution et les Congrégations* (1903), and Latreille *L'Opposition Religieuse au Concordat* (2 vols., 1910). Abbé Delan has written of *L'Église de Paris, 1789-1801* (3 vols., 1895-1897) and the narrative now reaches 1802 in Abbé Pisani's *L'Église de Paris et la Révolution* (vol. 4, 1911). *L'Épiscopat Français depuis le Concordat jusqu'à la Séparation, 1802-1905* (1907), published by the Société Bibliographique, is a golden book of the dioceses and bishops.

For no Napoleonic subject have the documents been so fully published or so thoroughly exploited as for the Concordat, but no subject remains more debatable. Little, however, has been done on the application of the Concordat under Napoleon or upon the condition of the church in France under the Empire. The French publications on the church question savor too strongly of political combat and partisan pleading. Outsiders who can approach the question dispassionately will find here a group of highly interesting problems exacting high scholarship and judicial criticism.

For the Protestant sects under Napoleon there is Durand's *Histoire du Protestantisme Français pendant la Révolution et l'Empire* (1902).

For the Jews during the Napoleonic period there are Fauchille's *La Question Juive en France sous le Premier Empire* (1884); Lémann's *Napoléon I^{er} et les Israélites* (1894); Lemoine's *Napoléon I^{er} et les Juifs* (1900); and Sagnac's *Les Juifs et Napoléon, 1806-1808*, in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* (vols. 2-3, 1900-1902). To these may be added Horwitz's *Die Israeliten unter dem Königreich Westfalen* (1900); Freund's *Die Emanzipation der Juden in Preussen* (1912); Grandwald's *Die Feldzüge Napoleons nach Aufzeichnungen Jüdischer Teilnehmer und Augenzeuger* (1914); and Ginsburg's volume in Russian on the National War of 1812 and the Russian Jews (1912).

Education.—The question of education in France has been intimately involved with the church question, and like it has been the subject of keen historical controversy in recent years, and as all the studies of the subject have been by Frenchmen, there is need here, too, for the labors of dispassionate outsiders. Moreover, the revolutionary antecedents of the educational problem have not yet been so fully investigated as those of the church, and consequently the time has not as yet seemed ripe for thorough researches and conclusive work on the history of education under Napoleon.

The investigator will find the laws and similar documents compiled in *La Législation de l'Instruction Primaire en France depuis 1789* (second ed., 7 vols., 1890-1902). There are useful general works, such as Liard's *L'Enseignement Supérieur en France, 1789-1889* (2 vols., 1888-1894); Grimaud's *Histoire de la Liberté d'Enseignement*

en France (1898); Des Cilleuls's *Histoire de l'Enseignement Libre dans l'Ordre Primaire en France* (1901); and Allain's *L'Oeuvre Scolaire de la Révolution* (1891). Of monographs relating directly to the Napoleonic period there are Delfau's *Napoléon I^{er} et l'Instruction Publique* (1902); Bonnel's *Réorganisation de l'Instruction Publique en 1802* (1894); Schmidt's *La Réforme de l'Université Impériale en 1811* (1905); Aulard's *Napoléon I^{er} et le Monopole Universitaire* (1911); and Franqueville's *Le Premier Siècle de l'Institut de France* (2 vols., 1895-1896).

Legislation—The Codes.—Beginning in 1805 various editions have appeared of the discussions of the civil code in the council of state. Several historical and many technical works have likewise appeared from time to time, but the only historical essays of importance for the subject in the past quarter-century are Jac's *Bonaparte et le Code Civil* (1898); Cruppi's *Napoléon et le Jury* (1896); Sagnac's *La Législation Civile de la Révolution Française, 1789-1804* (1898); and Leroy's *L'Esprit de la Législation Napoléonienne* (1898).

National Administration.—Special studies of the administrative system, both national and local, are still sadly needed. Rambaud's *Histoire de la Civilisation Française Contemporaine* (1888) is a useful manual on this and many other questions. Aulard's *Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française* (1901) is a valuable account through the Consulate. The best account of the consular constitution; administration, national and local; and reforms is at present to be found in Vandal's *Avènement de Bonaparte* (2 vols., 1903-1907). Among the special works are Trouillard's *Le Sénat Conservateur* (1911); Rais's *La Représentation des Aristocrates dans les Chambres Hautes en France, 1789-1815* (1900); Pesloüan's *La Juridiction Administrative sous la Révolution et sous l'Empire* (1907); Bonneville de Marsangy's *La Légion d'Honneur* (1900); and Révérend's *Armorial du Premier Empire* (4 vols., 1894-1897). Néton's *Sieyès* (1900); Clapham's *Sieyès* (1912); Vialles's *Cambracérés* (1908); Chaptal's *Souvenirs sur Napoléon* (1893); Pasquier's *Mémoires* (6 vols., 1893-1894); Fain's *Mémoires* (1908); Despatys's *Un Ami de Fouché d'après les Mémoires de Gaillard* (1910) and Thibaudeau's *Mémoires, 1799-1815* (1913), are among the recent biographies and memoirs useful for the history of the national administration under Napoleon. For the financial history it is necessary to depend upon the older books and the *Histoire Financière de la Révolution Française* (1896) of Gomel, and *Les Finances du Consulate* (1902) of Stourm. Recent studies of national economy and industries, except as incidental to the Continental System, are quite lacking. It is obvious that in the field of national administration in its various ramifications there is no end of possibilities for research.

Local Administration.—Pouillet's *Les Institutions Françaises*, 1795-1814, *Essai sur les Origines des Institutions Belges Contemporaines* (1907) is of some value as a general introduction to the subject, but Aulard's *La Centralisation Napoléonienne et les Préfets* (in his *Études et Leçons*, vol. 7, 1913) is the only definite undertaking of value. Régnier's *Les Préfets du Consulat et de l'Empire* (1907) is popular rather than scholarly, and unfortunately contains no list of the prefects, which alone would have made the book useful. Studies in the administrative history of the departments have only begun to appear. The following are of interest for the period of the Empire: Bonnefoy's *Histoire de l'Administration Civile dans la Province d'Auvergne et le Département du Puy-de-Dôme* (4 vols., 1895-1902); Saint-Yves and Fournier's *Le Département des Bouches du Rhône, 1800-1810* (1899); David's *Le Conseil Général de Seine-et-Marne sous le Consulat et l'Empire* (1904); Chavanon and Saint-Yves's *Le Pas de Calais, 1800-1810; Étude sur le Système Administratif Institué par Napoléon* (1907); and Viard's *L'Administration Préfectorale dans le Département de la Côte-d'Or sous le Consulat et le Premier Empire* (1914). Villat's *Histoire de Corse* (1914) may be added as a recent history of the native department of the Emperor. For a few of the prefects biographical accounts have appeared, as Lévy-Schneider's *Jeanbon Saint-André* (1901); Dejean's *Un Préfet du Consulat*, Beugnot (1907); and Pingaud's *Jean de Bry* (1909). Besides the *Mémoires* of Thibaudeau, just cited, the *Souvenirs* of Barante (vols. 1-2, 1890-1892) cover service as a Napoleonic prefect.

The administrative history of Paris is recorded by A. des Cilleuls in *Histoire de l'Administration Parisienne au XIX^e Siècle* (vol. 1, 1900); the movement of public opinion may be followed in Prof. Aulard's collections of documents on *Paris sous le Consulat* (4 vols., 1903-1909), and *Paris sous l'Empire* (vols. 1-2, 1912-1914); the many phases of Parisian life may be observed in the admirable pages of Lanzac de Laborie's *Paris sous Napoléon* (vols. 1-8, 1904-1913); and the scenes of the time are brought to the eye in the illustrations of *Paris de 1800 à 1900* (vol. 1, 1900), compiled by C. Simond (P. A. van Cleemputte).

Literature.—The literary history of Napoleon's time, in its more important aspects, may be traced in Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française* (vol. 7, 1899); Albert's *La Littérature Française sous la Révolution, l'Empire, et la Restauration* (1891); Bertrand's *La Fin du Classicisme et le Retour à l'Antique* (1897); and Picavet's *Les Idéologues* (1891). The relations of the Emperor with literary personages or his influence upon them appear in Cassagne's *La Vie Politique de François de Chateaubriand* (vol. 1, 1911); Paul Gautier's *Madame de Staël et Napoléon* (1902); A. Fischer's *Goethe und Napoleon* (1899; second ed., 1900); and Holz-

hausen's Bonaparte, Byron, und die Briten (1904) and Heinrich Heine und Napoleon I (1903).

The Press.—Grouchy's *La Presse sous le Premier Empire* (1896), containing a bibliography of journals from 1799 to 1813; C. van Schoor's *La Presse sous le Consulat et sous l'Empire* (1899); Le Poittevin's *La Liberté de la Presse depuis la Révolution, 1789-1815* (1901); A. Bourgeois's *Le Général Bonaparte et la Presse de son Époque* (2 vols., 1906-1907); and Delalain's *L'Imprimerie et la Librairie à Paris de 1789 à 1813* (1899) furnish considerable information on the topic.

The Theater.—Besides two excellent volumes in Lanzac de Laborie's *Paris sous Napoléon*, valuable studies have been prepared by Lecomte on *Napoléon et le Monde Dramatique* (1912) and on *Napoléon et l'Empire Racontés par le Théâtre, 1797-1899* (1900); by H. Gaetgens on *Napoleon I im Deutschen Drama* (1903); by Rosen on *Napoleon's Opera-Glass* (1897), describing the Emperor as a theater-goer; and by Des Granges on *Geoffroy et la Critique Dramatique, 1800-1814* (1897).

Art.—Again Lanzac de Laborie's *Paris sous Napoléon* is invaluable, and covers some topics not clearly in the sphere of the excellent special works of Benoit on *L'Art Française sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (1897); of Saunier on *Les Conquêtes Artistiques de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (1902); and of Delaborde on *L'Académie des Beaux Arts depuis la Fondation de l'Institut de France* (1891). The biographies of Quatremère de Quincy (2 vols., 1910) by Schneider; of Louis David by Saunier (1904) and Rosenthal (1905); of Greuze (1913) by Hautecoeur; of Ingres (1911) by Lapauze; of Madame Vigée-Lebrun (1912) by Nolhac; and of Canova (1911) by Malamani are evidences of a lively interest in the art of the Empire. Bouchot's *Miniature Française, 1750-1825* (1907) deals with a fascinating subject.

On the history of music less has been written, but Coquard's *La Musique en France depuis Rameau* (1891) may still be cited.

Lafond's *L'Art Decoratif et le Mobilier sous la République et l'Empire* (1900); Dumonthier's *Les Étoffes Napoléoniennes* (1909); and Bouchot's *Le Luxe Française* (1892) will serve as introductions to a considerable literature on furniture, fabrics, and ornaments.

Society.—The Vicomte de Broc's *La Vie en France sous le Premier Empire* (1895) and Bondoïs's *Napoléon et la Société de son Temps* (1895) have not yielded place to the protracted and unscholarly efforts of Stenger in *La Société Française pendant le Consulat* (6 vols., 1903-1908), *Le Retour des Bourbons, 1814-1815* (1908), and *Le Retour de l'Empereur, 1815* (1910), so much as to Lanzac de Laborie's volumes on Paris. Many interesting trivialities appear in Bouchot's *La Toilette à la Cour de Napoléon* (1895), and in Maze-

Sencier's *Les Fournisseurs de Napoléon et des Deux Impératrices* (1893). Herriot's *Madame Récamier et ses Amis* (2 vols., 1904). Harmand's *Madame de Genlis* (1912); *Madame Cavaignac*; *Mémoires d'une Inconnue* (1894); *Madame de Chastenay's Mémoire* (2 vols., 1896); and the *Mémoires* (1902) of Aimée de Coigny are among the biographies and memoirs which have recently added interest and information to the subject.

Accession and Abdication.—The revolution of 18 Brumaire and the rapid changes of 1814–1815 have given occasion for a number of works which seem to require separate mention. For the rise of Bonaparte to political power it is necessary to consult *Le Directoire* (4 vols., 1895–1897) by Sciout; *Le 18 Fructidor* (1893) by Pierre; the *Mémoires* (4 vols., 1895–1896) of Barras; *L'Avènement de Bonaparte* (2 vols., 1902–1907) by Vandal; *L'État de France en l'An VIII et en l'An IX* (1897), edited by Aulard; and *La France sous le Consulat* (1899) by Corréard.

The following volumes are useful for the successive phases of affairs in 1814 and 1815 indicated by their titles: Simon's *L'Élaboration de la Charte Constitutionnelle de 1814* (1906); Ferrand's *Mémoires* (1897); Radiguet's *L'Acte Additionel* (1911); Benjamin Constant's *Journal Intime et Lettres à sa Famille et à ses Amis* (1895); Lauris's *Constant et les Idées Libérales* (1904); Romberg and Malet's *Louis XVIII et les Cents Jours à Gand* (2 vols., 1898–1902); Ten Brink's *Parijs tijdens de Witte Terreur* (2 vols., 1897); Welschinger's *Le Maréchal Ney, 1815* (1893); Chuquet's *Alsace en 1814* (1900); Perrin's *L'Esprit Public dans le Département de la Meurthe, 1814–1816* (1913); and Borey's *L'Esprit Public chez les Prêtres Francs-Comtois, 1813–1815* (1913).

Police and Plots—Bourbons and Chouans.—Of all the topics of French domestic history for the period none has furnished subjects for more volumes in recent years than the group of episodes which voiced the opposition to Napoleon. Though many of the volumes are largely documentary in character not all of them are to be used without careful criticism. Madelin has written a life of the great police minister, Fouché (2 vols., 1901); Lumbroso has published *Le Duc d'Otrante et son Portefeuille Inédit* (1905); and Hauterive has edited the daily bulletins prepared by Fouché for the Emperor in *La Police Secrète du Premier Empire* (vols 1–2, 1908–1913). Desmarest's *Quinze Ans de Haute Police sous le Consulat et l'Empire* has appeared in a new edition by Grasilier, with an *Étude sur Desmarest et la Haute Police* by Savine (1899); the *Souvenirs* (1895) and the *Mémoires Diplomatiques* (1896) of Montgaillard have been published; and L. Pingaud has prepared a volume on *Un Agent Secret sous la Révolution et l'Empire, le Comte d'Antraigues* (1893). *L'Espionnage Militaire sous Napoléon* (1896) has been described by P. Müller, and there is an account of Charles Schulmeister (1898)

by Ehrhard. The side of the watched will appear in Glachant's Benjamin Constant sous l'Oeil du Guet (1906); Chapuisat's Madame de Staël et la Police (1910); and Hazard's Journal de Ginguené, 1807-1808 (1910).

For Vendéan affairs and the Chouannerie the leading works are Chassin's Les Pacifications de l'Ouest (3 vols., 1896-1899) and Daudet's La Police et les Chouans sous le Consulat et l'Empire (1895), which can be supplemented by the more recent studies of Gabory on Napoléon et la Vendée (1913); of Lenôtre on La Chouannerie Normande au Temps de l'Empire (1901); and of Le Falher on La Chouannerie Morbihannaise (1913).

The plots against the First Consul are the subject of Guillon's Les Complots Militaires sous le Consulat et l'Empire (1894); Hue's Un Complot de Police sous le Consulat, la Conspiration de Ceracchi et Aréna (1909); Thierry's Conspireurs et Gens de Police, le Complot des Libelles (1903); Huon de Penanster's Une Conspiration en l'An XI et en l'An XII (1896); E. Picard's Bonaparte et Moreau (1905); and Daudet's L'Exil et la Mort du Général Moreau (1909); and Conspireurs et Comédiennes, 1796-1825 (1902). On the conspiracy of Malet, the new works are Gigon's Le Général Malet (1913) and Le Barbier's Le Général de la Horie (1904).

Count Remacle has edited the Relations Secrètes des Agents de Louis XVIII à Paris sous le Consulat (1899); and Count Boulay de la Meurthe, the Correspondance du Duc d'Enghien (4 vols., 1904-1913), which also contains many documents not previously published which contribute distinctly to clearing up the question. M. Welchinger has consequently recast his earlier writings on the subject in Le Duc d'Enghien (1913). Beugnot's reports to Louis XVIII have been published by Welwert in Napoléon et la Police sous la première Restauration (1913); and Daudet has collected other materials in La Police Politique, 1815-1820 (1912).

V. OPPORTUNITIES AND AMERICAN POSSIBILITIES.

Opportunities.—Eleven years ago an article¹ in the Revue de Synthèse Historique (VI, 69-115, 1903) somewhat similar to this was concluded by M. Dufayard as follows:

Que reste-t-il à faire? Bien des choses. Il faut d'abord continuer la publication de ces documents précieux que l'on a multipliés, mais qu'on est loin d'avoir tous donnés au public. Il faut se garder d'accorder une préférence aussi marquée que dans le passé aux Mémoires: nous avons assez de Marbot et de jeune. Mieux vaudrait cent fois consulter et publier les documents administratifs, la correspondance des préfets, les procès-verbaux, rapports, etc., qui constituent une mine aussi précieuse que mal explorée. . . . Le Ministère des Affaires étrangères, les Archives de la Guerre n'ont pas donné ce qu'ils ont de plus précieux: c'est là surtout qu'il faudra chercher.

¹ An article of earlier date but of more limited scope by E. Driault, entitled L'Histoire de la Politique Extérieure de Napoléon I^{er}, appeared in the Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, III, 377-394 (1901-1902).

Quant à l'oeuvre purement historique, on ne saurait trop répéter qu'une division du travail s'impose plus que jamais, que les chercheurs doivent se partager la besogne, que le champ de l'histoire napoléonienne est trop vaste pour qu'il soit donné à un seul de le parcourir en entier.

There has been division of the field, memoirs are less valued, mass of documents has been published, the war archives have been steadily exploited, and yet these points will bear reiteration. The emphasis now, however, needs to be placed upon that part of M. Dufayard's advice which has been heeded least, upon the importance of studying the diplomatic and administrative—and one must now add the economic—history of the Napoleonic period. M. Dufayard moreover, confined his attention to France in his survey of the era and referred to other countries only when they were brought into the maelstrom of Napoleonic activity. It has been one of the prime purposes of this paper to emphasize a larger conception.

It is a curious anomaly that the rise of nationalities in the Napoleonic era has so often concealed and so generally obscured the solidarity of world politics—and hence of world history—which has existed at least since the eighteenth century. The nationalistic study and writing and teaching of history must give way to the true, the cosmopolitan conception. To-day the world groans with the evil results of narrow views and patriotic aims that have dominated history writing and history teaching far too long. The future need for historical scholarship, like the future hope for civilization, is for that larger view, that higher conception which sees and comprehends that the great forces and movements in human history have long since transcended the bounds of any nation or any continent.

Furthermore, the historian must, in days to come, realize that the study of the Napoleonic period does not begin with 13 Vendémiaire or 18 Brumaire, or 28 Floréal and does not end with a certain June 18. The era was not one of beginnings nor of endings, but of transition. The forces in operation must be traced to earlier sources and pursued to later outcomes.

The American student can approach practically all the problems of the Napoleonic era with a detached point of view and dispassionate purpose. He can help edit the documents; he can help unravel some tangled skein in the affairs of the time; but he can do more, he can show the way to the true viewpoint and can exemplify the judicial temper in his studies.

American Libraries—Collections on the Napoleonic Era.—Owing to its extensive files of the publications of European academies and historical societies, the collection in the Library of Congress is probably the largest in the country. The Harvard University Library has a remarkable collection of German books for the period, and far surpasses any library in the country except the Library of

Congress in the extent of its Napoleonic collections. Next in order come the university libraries of Cornell, Columbia, and possibly Princeton, but these collections have not been kept up by systematic accessions in recent years. Cornell owes much to the great President White Library on the French Revolution, but is also strong in the military history of the time, especially for the campaign of Waterloo. Columbia surpasses Cornell for the German works. The university libraries of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Illinois, and California, though probably somewhat behind the three just mentioned, have been building up carefully chosen collections, and no doubt Prof. Ford will develop a similar collection at the University of Minnesota. There are undoubtedly several university libraries with collections ranging from 250 to 1,000 volumes for the period, but too often the accessions in such smaller libraries have been haphazard rather than systematic, so that the number of volumes for the period does not represent the real working strength of the collection.

The public libraries of Boston, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, probably in the order named, contain considerable collections on the Napoleonic period, but in no case has a systematic effort been made to collect the English works, let alone those in other languages.¹

The sales in recent years of the Hillis, Crane, and Latta collections prove that there are valuable collections of Napoleonica in the United States, but these seem to be richer in autographs, portraits, and curios than in books.

With few exceptions, the books for the Napoleonic period can be purchased at moderate prices. For practical studies there are few rarities, and even these need not be inaccessible to American students. For instance, the *Mémoires* of Roverea, published in a limited edition (4 vols., 1848), may be found at both Harvard and Cornell, and possibly elsewhere. Excepting the English and American publications, it is possible to build up an excellent working collection for the Napoleonic period at an average per volume of not far from \$2. This means that the era of Napoleon is one which will lend itself readily to research studies in the United States. It can be made possible for a student to use in this country, even in his own university library, practically everything that is in printed form for the period, and that without undue expense. Then it will be possible to apply the coveted time in Europe almost solely to archive materials, which means larger experience in archival research.

¹ It should be noted that the estimates made in this article of the size of various collections are vague guesses, for accurate determination is almost impossible because of the systems of classification in use in the various libraries.

Theses.—Dr. Jameson's List of Doctoral Dissertations in History, December, 1914, in addition to the eight theses on topics related to the Continental System which are in preparation under the direction of Prof. Lingelbach at the University of Pennsylvania, mentions one at Columbia on the Continental System, one at Cornell on Durand, one at Chicago on Stein, and one at Illinois on Stein. The scant list finds no explanation from interest in some other period of modern European history, for there is corresponding scarcity of subjects through the whole period since the Reformation. It is certainly unfortunate that so few aspirants for degrees in history are willing to brave the terrors of work in foreign languages in order to secure the broader training. To the courageous and the persevering the Napoleonic period offers ample opportunities and never flagging interest.

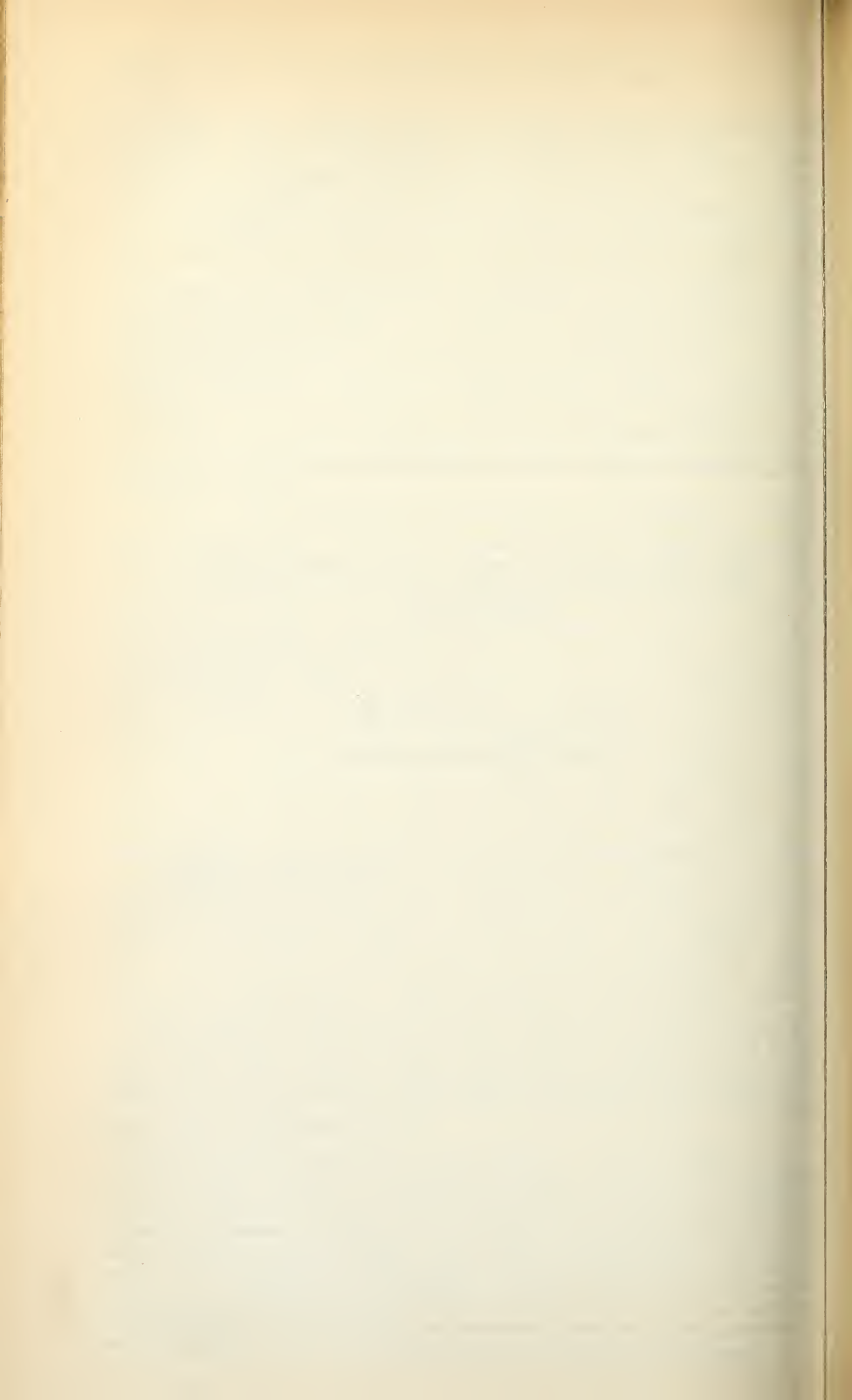
Place of the Napoleonic Era in the History Curriculum.—Probably few teachers aside from Prof. Morse Stephens at the University of California, Prof. Sloane at Columbia, and Prof. Johnston at Harvard can find opportunity for full-year lecture courses on the Napoleonic era alone. A few more give a year course on the Revolution and Napoleon, 1789–1815, but usually with the emphasis on the Revolution. The practice which has the largest following is to give a three-hour course for a year on the period since 1789, with the semester break at 1815. It is distinctly unfortunate that some of the best colleges and even universities have not reached this standard or have deliberately chosen to devote the whole year to the period since 1815 in the course which supplements the general history course.

It is highly desirable that the period of the Revolution and Napoleon should be studied with considerable thoroughness before the student is introduced to the period since 1815. It is difficult to see how the nineteenth century can be correctly interpreted without such preliminary study. The universities and the better grade of colleges should at least supplement their general history course with a junior-senior course of three hours for the year on the period since 1789, with approximately half the time given to the period before 1815. More of the universities should give even fuller attention to the Napoleonic period.

NOTE.—The writer has been greatly indebted to Prof. H. Morse Stephens, his own teacher; to Prof. J. Westfall Thompson; to Prof. W. E. Lingelbach and others who have assisted him with counsel and information; and to the university libraries of Cornell and Harvard for courtesies. Most grateful acknowledgment must be made to the various bibliographical sources mentioned in the paragraph on bibliography, and especially to the works of MM. Davois and Kircheisen. M. Kircheisen deserves great praise for extending his bibliography to include other countries than France. The completion of M. Kircheisen's work will be welcomed by all students of the period.

XII. AN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF NAPOLEON'S
GENERALSHIP.

By R. M. JOHNSTON,
Professor in Harvard University.



AN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF NAPOLEON'S GENERALSHIP.

By R. M. JOHNSTON.

A reviewer recently wrote, in an attempt to defend the generalship of McDowell and Beauregard, that "Napoleon the Great, at Auerstädt, at Ligny, or Charleroi, could be convicted of the same faults."¹ Without stopping to qualify a statement that places Napoleon at Auerstädt and that classifies his generalship with that of the floundering competitors at Bull Run, it may be pointed out that it contains an assumption which is constantly, if not universally, made by historians of Napoleon, the assumption that his generalship is beyond criticism, or at least to be approached in a spirit of something like hushed reverence. Dr. Rose, the most eminent English student in the field, asserts with broad satisfaction that "his genius for war was the most universal known to authentic history."² Col. Colin, whose able researches into the education of military officers in the eighteenth century should have kept him on a straighter path, says that Napoleon's campaigns were "perfect schemes that remain models to-day."³ Another soldier, Lord Wolseley, declared that Napoleon is "still regarded by myriads as the greatest of human beings."⁴ Such an attitude as these quotations indicate can hardly be recommended to serious students, anxious above all things to investigate facts closely. It is in part an inheritance from the pernicious legend crystallized by Thiers in *Le Consulat et l'Empire*; in part, it is the result of the natural diffidence of the historian to embark on the difficult study of the military art. Where most generals have failed in practice the best scholar may well fail in theory. Just as it is ridiculous to place Napoleon the general on a pedestal high above criticism, so it would be absurd to spend our time casting him down after the manner of those who merely carp at greatness and find fault with all things. For even the maneuver of Jena has found a continuous stream of detractors from Gen. Rogniat down to Prince Hohenlohe, not to mention the friend of Beauregard pre-

¹ Amer. Hist. Rev., XX, 175.

² Rose, *Personality of Napoleon*, 66.

³ Colin, *Education Militaire*, 147, "Oeuvres parfaites, et qui n'ont pas vieilli."

⁴ Wolseley, *Decline and Fall of Napoleon*, 193.

viously quoted. The work of the critic of military history lies between these extremes; it is a work of just appraisal, of estimating facts at as near their exact value as is possible.

Within the limits of so short a paper as this it is not easy to accomplish more than to indicate certain broad lines along which the generalship of Napoleon, together with the art of war at his period, should be studied. A threefold division of the subject may be established under the following heads: (a) What Napoleon derived from teachers of the art of war as it existed in his youth; (b) what came from his personal genius or peculiarities; (c) what came from the French Revolution.

In the first matter the stress should be laid on the great modifications in theoretical tactics effected between 1763 and 1792, chiefly owing to improvements in artillery.¹ The fieldpiece was made lighter and more mobile; muzzle velocities were increased while charges were decreased; the use of grape shot was much developed. As a result, the rôle of artillery in battle became greater; its zone of fire and of action was extended; infantry in line came less frequently into close contact, while ground might more readily be found where a well-placed battery, merely supported by the other arms, might hold infantry in check. This tended, on any but very open terrain, to produce the dislocation of an army into groups of the various arms, proportioned and disposed according to the conditions of a field of action of ever-increasing magnitude. To obtain a decision through shock became more difficult, and the somewhat exclusive concentration on tactical effort which prevailed in the middle of the eighteenth century had to be supplemented by greater attention to strategic preparation.

At Marengo an army weak tactically was placed on terrain unfavourable for deployment, having previously obtained strategically results which it had never stood much chance of gaining tactically. It is the most striking example of the new method, and centuries removed from Leuthen. And in the preparatory concentration and maneuvers, governed by the changed values of strategy and tactics, the campaign of Marengo was nearer to von Moltke than it was to Frederick. In the planning of the campaign, in the fan-like strategic spread of the French divisions, in the confused struggle with an enemy of high tactical efficiency over ground unsuited to battle, in the victory snatched by a few well-disposed guns, dragoons and demi-brigades, Bonaparte, however great his personal genius, remains the pupil of his masters, the French artillerymen from de Gribeauval to Du Teil. It may be that he was thinking of Marengo when he declared at St. Helena: "In modern warfare there is no natural order of battle."² Could he have heard it, Frederick would

¹ This is well handled by Col. Collin in his *Education Militaire de Napoleon*.

² Montholon, *Mems. of Napoleon*, London, 1823, I, 292.

have turned in his grave; yet it was the logical outcome of de Gribeauval's technical improvements and of his teaching, the new doctrine that triumphed at Marengo and Jena.

To describe Napoleon as merely the outcome of changed circumstances, the pupil of a certain school, would obviously be inadequate. He added the personal element. Here, once more, it is only possible to indicate in the briefest possible way, the line of study. He had, of course, qualities that other great captains in all ages have had. Firmness, quickness, deceptiveness were his, and other characteristics of generals in high degree; but distinctively his, and not to be found in Frederick, or Marlborough, or Turenne, or von Moltke, were the ultra logical or geometrical obsession and the psychologico-dramatic sense. The latter of these two traits has received due notice at the hands of many historians. It carries us to Napoleon's relations with his soldiers and with the public, to his eloquent proclamations, to his constant play on the morale of his own army and on that of his opponents, to his subversion of the press, to his creation at St. Helena of the historical legend which Thiers and Victor Hugo propagated after his death.

A less well understood peculiarity of his mind was its geometrical bias.¹ His logic is often enough referred to, but it is rare to find a close application made of this factor. Many are the quotations that might be made from Napoleon on the subject of geometry. At school they said of him: "That boy is no good except at geometry." The more intimately one studies his writings and utterances the more one becomes persuaded that he viewed the map much as he would a blackboard on which to chalk up a problem which is always a geometrical realignment of the facts. To illustrate this would require a volume, but the student's attention may be directed to the T formed by the Sautzen and the line of communication back to Strassburg in 1809, and the way in which Napoleon used it, especially with reference to Davout, to the "battalion carré" of 1806, to his "change of line of operations in the course of the engagement," as at Austerlitz, Sautzen, Castiglione, which he described as his sole innovation in the art of war.² This geometrical bias should always be looked for in Napoleon's ideas. Its importance is perhaps greatest in estimating his relation to the change in the conditions of war brought about by its increase of scale during the epoch.

Turning from the idiosyncrasies of Napoleon, we must now come to the spirit of his age and the military values to be detected there. The French Revolution was a great influence in the development of

¹ I have given this subject special treatment in a paper read before the Military History Society of Massachusetts, which is to appear in due course in its proceedings.

² Jomini went even further along geometrical paths than his master, and was duly stigated by von Clausewitz.

modern militarism.¹ It declared men free from all forms of servitude, including that of the sergeant's cat-o-nine-tails. It broke down the old discipline under which highly trained infantry could be brought in parade formation close up to an enemy's line. With discipline ruined, the offensive power of infantry was reduced. To compensate for this came what we have already noticed, the development of artillery power, and in addition an increase in the size of armies, in their mobility, together with the introduction of initiative in the subordinate ranks. The new national armies fought less well and differently. Under a democratic régime there was opportunity for talent. Nine men in ten might be faint-hearted and skulking, but the tenth was eager to dash to the front and face all risks for the cause and to win promotion. The army of 1796 had marvelous dash, intelligence, let us say initiative, using the word not in the technical sense. And the initiative of subordinate officers was the crowning glory of the new school of war. In a primitive and unorganized form initiative was one of the secrets of the success of the armies of the Republic before Bonaparte's iron hand tightened down on them. In a scientific and organized form it was part of the secret of the success of Prussia during the period that begins with the War of Liberation.

Some of the points already made will appear more clearly when we consider Bonaparte's career as a whole. He declared himself that he knew as much when he fought his first battle as when he fought his last, and if these words are analyzed closely they may be found to contain a truth that he would have been the last to relish. We find him planning his campaign of 1815 on precisely the same lines as that of 1796—and with a geometrical preoccupation to truncate the angle formed by the two lines of operations of his opponents. In 1812 we find him attempting to maneuver an army of 500,000 men with the same system of command as he had handled an army of 50,000 sixteen years before; attempting to mass 400,000 men at a given point,² for no useful purpose, where von Moltke would have attempted less and accomplished more;³ maintaining unity as a principle where it could only end in immobilization and starvation. The pupil of de Gribeauval does not learn new ideas, he merely carries old ones further; he improves the matériel of the French artillery.

¹ For this topic, Lord Cromer's *Staff College Essays* is valuable.

² "Les résultats de tous nos mouvements réuniront 400,000 hommes sur un seul point, Napoleon to Davout, May 26, 1812.

³ "The campaign of Russia was an invasion in the Asiatic style . . . The extraordinary general, of admirable talents for fighting and conquering on the field of battle, for surprising the enemy on their marches, and attacking and dispersing the columns, knew not how to carry on a methodical war . . ." Rogiat, *Considérations sur l'Art de la Guerre*, 464.

⁴ "Unity of command is of the utmost importance in war. Two armies ought never to be placed on the same scene of action." Montholon, *Memoirs of Napoleon*, London, 1827, II, 53.

slightly;¹ he develops the artillery attack and the combined tactics of artillery and cavalry; but meanwhile infantry becomes more and more ineffective, and at La Rothière we have a monstrous formation, a continuous line of guns, weak infantry supports, and no cavalry. War had changed. The large national army of low quality had displaced the small professional army of high quality, while tactical and strategical areas had increased in size. National war policies, a collective system of command based on scientific study of mobilization, transportation, and organization had become essential; but Napoleon remained behind the times, the child of the Revolution, the hero commander of the Caesar or Frederick type, in the midst of the new Europe, which his own efforts had largely called into being.

Von Clausewitz, with some of his English followers down to this day, classifies wars into those of which the object is either limited or unlimited. This distinction is largely academic, and the real one is that to be found between two Europes, that of before and that of after the Revolution. Before, distances are great, matériel weak, communications difficult, armies proprietary and professional; the scale of war is small, or limited. After the Revolution the distances shorten, matériel becomes ever more powerful, armies are national, the scale of war is huge. In other words, the changes of a century and a half tend to create what we see at the present day, war as unlimited as that in which Rome and Carthage gripped one another by the throat. Long before 1812 even, the iron hand of the despot had crushed out all initiative in the French army, so that even the marshals were as a rule insufficiently informed of the object of their movements and would take little on themselves. Worse than this, with war now conducted by great national armies, Napoleon left it to the Prussians to lay the foundations of an adequate system of command. He stuck blindly to his personal ambitions, to his genius, and to what he had learned from his masters.²

I have at most been able to give some indications of the lines along which this large subject may be approached. And I regret that time has not permitted me to illustrate my points more fully or to quote more from the numerous authorities on the subject. The student should be warned that Napoleon's own utterances on the act of war at the conditions of 1796 admirably; but that they become increasingly out of date after we pass the year 1806.

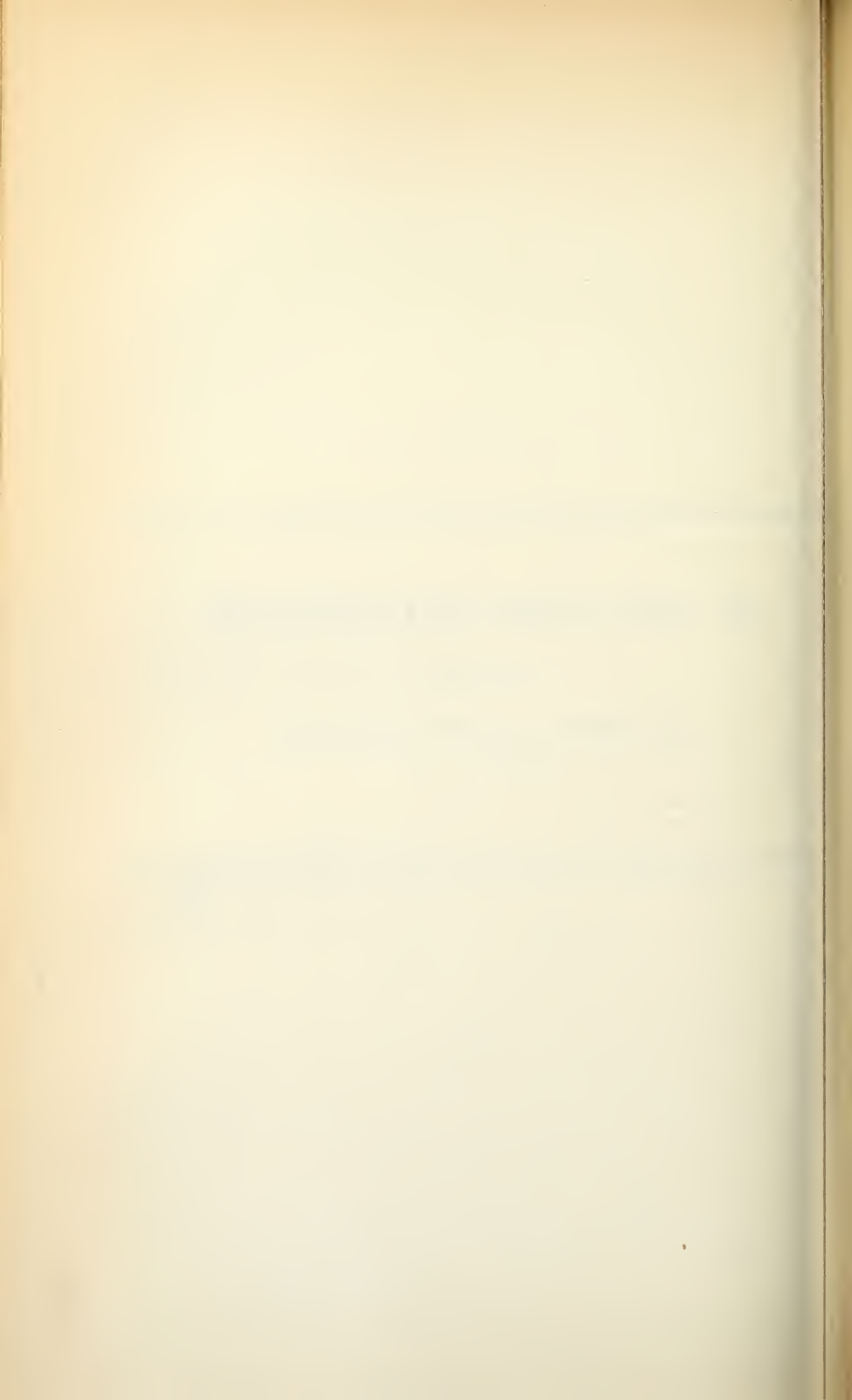
¹ He speaks of his reforms as, "Modifications of M. de Gribeauval's system; they were made in a similar spirit, and he would not have objected to them . . ." Monthonlon, *Essays on Napoleon*, London, 1823, I, 281.

² "The theory of . . . strategy . . . is beset with extraordinary difficulties and . . . very few men have clear conceptions of the separate subjects . . . In real action most men are guided merely by the tact of judgment . . . as they assess more or less genius. This is the way in which all great generals have acted . . ." Von Clausewitz, *Memorandum*.

Napoleon once spoke of a staff officer as "bon à tout faire pour les autres et bon à rien faire par lui-même!" Gneisenau got beyond that idea.

XIII. CABINET MEETINGS UNDER PRESIDENT POLK.

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CABINET MEETINGS UNDER PRESIDENT POLK.¹

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The Cabinet meeting has always been to contemporaries other than Cabinet members something of a mystery. Rumors of proceedings and routine, the truth or falsity of which can not readily be tested, keep in circulation and accordingly afford an attractive theme for gossip and guessing. Regular days for Cabinet councils have long been understood to be Tuesdays and Fridays. These were taken for granted as such under the present administration until some one ventured the assertion early in the autumn of 1913 that President Wilson had departed from one more precedent by abandoning Cabinet meetings altogether. Whatever its source, this gossip-compelling statement fell upon listening ears. In the course of a few months, however, with an authentic sound as though coming from the White House, word once more got into print that the President wished it understood that meetings of the Cabinet were being held twice a week on the regular days, and that no member of the council absented himself from the meetings in Washington on Cabinet days without good reasons. This second rumor with respect to the regularity of Cabinet meetings from the opening of Mr. Wilson's term was able accidentally to verify as correct. But as a rule the on-looker in Washington has no specially reliable sources of information about the nature of contemporary Cabinet meetings, for every administration is bound to have and to hold sacred—at least for a time—its Cabinet secrets.

On the other hand, secrets, especially such as must be shared by a group of official advisers and men active in public affairs, have a way of coming to light in the course of years.

If there's a hole in a' your coats,
I rede ye tent it;
A chiel's amang ye takin' notes,
And, faith, he'll prent it.

¹For a much more extended study of cabinet meetings, the reader is referred to the author's paper entitled "Some Aspects of the Cabinet Meeting," printed in *Proceedings of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. XVIII, Washington, 1915.

Against the keeping of diaries there is no law even to members of the President's Cabinet. In a few instances the proceedings of Cabinet meetings have been carefully formulated by order and placed on file for future reference. One of these instances has long been known to readers of the *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*.¹ Two others may be seen in the manuscript sources of President Polk's and President Andrew Johnson's respective terms.² With some effort in a variety of directions the historian to-day is able to obtain glimpses, gleaned from the accounts of Cabinet members and from the intimate writings of the Presidents themselves, of many hundreds of sessions of the Cabinet from the epoch of Washington down to comparatively recent times. There were no fewer than 65 meetings of Washington's Cabinet—rather more than 40 of these held during the momentous year 1793 alone—of which there is some record.³ In his *Memoirs* John Quincy Adams left accounts, often filled with much detail, regarding discussions, of perhaps 180 sessions of the Cabinet of Monroe (1817–1825), and of about 65 sessions during his term as President, which immediately followed. There are not far from 450 Cabinet meetings noticed in Gideon Welles's extensive diary, which covers the greater portion of the period of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson. To such sorts of material must the investigator turn who would make even an approach to some understanding of the Cabinet meeting. In the following paper I shall confine my considerations of the Cabinet meeting to the four-year term of President Polk.

Polk was 49 years old when in March, 1845, he entered upon his duties as President—the youngest incumbent of the Presidency up to that time. Ten years before he had been chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives, where for the following four years (1835–1839) he became widely acquainted, revealed to his party ability and remarkable industry, was pronounced in approving many of the measures of the Van Buren administration, and maintained and ripened a friendship for Andrew Jackson, which, begun many years before when he was a very young man and strengthened by intimacy with and support of President Jackson, lasted without a break until Jackson's death in June, 1845. Though a native of North Carolina, he had lived for the better part of his life in Tennessee, and for a single term (1839–1841) filled the governorship of that State. Influenced much by Jackson's counsel during the months

¹ *Memoirs*, V, 5, 13, 15, March, 1820.

² Polk Papers, MSS. Division, Library of Congress, Vol. 77, February 22, 1848. Cf. Polk's Diary, III, 346–347; A. Johnson Papers, MSS. Division, L. of C., Vol. 115, under dates of June 18–19, 1867.

³ Based upon an examination of manuscript materials on the subject now in possession of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress and upon printed letters of the leading statesmen of the time.

of his canvass and even after his election, Polk went back to Jefferson for his ideal of a statesman. And he set himself to the task of carrying out the principles of the Republican party as it was usually referred to in the organ of the administration, the *Washington Daily Union*.¹

Few men [said a writer in the *Union* of May 13, 1845] are capable of the labors which he [Polk] encounters; and few in his place would devote themselves with the same assiduity to the public service. He works from 10 to 12 hours in every 24. He holds two Cabinets a week. He sees visitors two hours every day when the Cabinet is not employed. . . . He is also in frequent communion with his secretaries.

Gossip though this was, it came from a source almost certain to be inspired by real information, for Thomas Ritchie, editor of the newly established paper, had been induced to come from Richmond to Washington for the direct purpose of giving the Administration an official organ—a mouthpiece through which even the President might occasionally address his party and the people. And in fact more than once Polk outlined an article for the *Union*.²

The publication of Polk's *Diary* in 1910, appearing about 60 years after its author's untimely death, in June, 1849, has already quickened interest in Polk and will probably tend to raise him as a man in the estimation of historians. For glimpses of nearly 400 sessions of the Cabinet, set down by the actual director of such sessions, it remains a unique record. Revealing no such range of view or literary facility as Adams's *Memoirs*, with little of the skill of characterization or the bitterness toward foes of Welles's *Diary*, it is, nevertheless, rather more directly informing than either of the foregoing works in the matter of routine practices and specific discussions of Cabinet problems. There is an entry, however brief, for every day that Polk occupied the Executive Mansion from Tuesday, August 26, 1845, the day that the diary was begun, until Sunday, March 4, 1849, when Gen. Taylor succeeded him in office. Cabinet sessions were invariably noted, sometimes with careful and extended detail. It shows Polk and his counsellors at work.

Between early December, 1844, and the following March 4 members of the Cabinet were selected. There were six men in the first assembled group: James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State—a shrewd and experienced politician, aged 54, taken from the leadership of his party in the Senate, ambitious of future distinctions which in the course of years he obtained, headstrong and vacillating; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the

¹ The first issue came out in Washington on Thursday night, May 1, 1845.

² *Diary*, I, 351-352. April 24, 1846. "It is the second or third time since I have been President that I have sketched an article for the paper. I do so in this instance to allay, if possible, the excitement which I learned the article in yesterday's *Union* had produced * * *."

Treasury—youngest member, aged 44, like Buchanan a native of Pennsylvania and taken from the Senate, allied by marriage to Vice President Dallas, a man of great promise, destined to win solid claims to statesmanship as chief author of the tariff act of 1846 and largely responsible for the formulation of the act which provided in 1849 for the organization of the Department of the Interior;¹ William L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of War—oldest member of the group, aged 58, a veteran of the War of 1812, former Senator, and governor of his State, later chosen Secretary of State by Franklin Pierce, whom he served ably for four years; John Y. Mason of Virginia, Attorney General—aged 46, the single member of Tyler's Cabinet retained by Polk, later (1846) transferred to the secretaryship of the Navy; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee, Postmaster General—an experienced member of the House of Representatives, from which Polk summoned him at the age of 52, watchful of the President's minor political interests and a bosom friend; and George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy—former candidate for the governorship of his Commonwealth, aged 45, an historian already favorably known, admirer of Polk, though a so-called Van Buren man, and satisfactory as a representative of the New England section. Two others changed slightly the color of this first group: Nathan Clifford, of Maine, at the age of 43, was made Attorney General, succeeding Mason, who was transferred to the Navy headship. He added marked ability, for he was one of the very able lawyers of his time, helping in 1848 to negotiate the final treaty with Mexico, attaining in 1858 to the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and finally serving his country in 1877 as president of the Electoral Commission. He was in turn succeeded in the attorney generalship by Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, aged 52, recently unsuccessful candidate for the governorship of his native State. Toucey reappeared in national politics in 1852 as Senator, and closed his public career as Buchanan's Secretary of the Navy from 1857. The average age of this Cabinet was 49 years.

It proved to be an able group of advisers and was reasonably harmonious. But its ability in general would certainly have been increased (just as its harmony would probably have decreased), had it contained such leaders as Silas Wright of New York, Calhoun of South Carolina, Lewis Cass of Michigan, or Thomas H. Benton of Missouri. To Wright was tendered the secretaryship of the Treasury as early as December 7,² which was refused. To the others no offers of Cabinet positions were probably made. The men whom Polk selected were picked with reference to his declared interests in tariff reduction, in a policy of expansion which favored the acquisi-

¹ H. B. Learned, *The President's Cabinet* (1912), 275-287.

² Polk Papers, MSS. Vol. 68.

tion of Oregon and the annexation of Texas, and in the political and economic needs of the South and Southwest. Slavery he took no decided stand upon—that issue he desired as far as possible to avoid. Although it came at times into Cabinet discussions, Polk's Diary is notably casual upon the topic. Pledged himself from his nomination to a single term in office, the President forewarned his prospective counselors on no account to take advantage of their respective positions as advisers in order to promote ambition which had for its end either the presidency or the vice-presidency. "Should any member of my Cabinet," he wrote, "become a candidate for the presidency or vice presidency of the United States, it will be expected upon the happening of such an event, that he will retire from the Cabinet."¹ Absences from the seat of government he pledged them to make always as brief as possible, for he disproved of the practice of leaving the management of the departments to chief clerks or other less responsible persons.

Has there been any President since 1789 who stuck so persistently to his tasks as did President Polk? During the four-year period he was not outside Washington for more than about six weeks. How many Presidents have confined themselves to vacations averaging 10 days a year? Polk spent a day at Mount Vernon in the spring of 1845;² late in August, 1846, for about a week he was at Old Point Comfort; in May-June, 1847, he made a visit of nine days to the University of North Carolina of which he and his Cabinet associate, John Y. Mason, were graduates in 1819;³ he went for a fortnight's tour to New England, primarily to attend a Masonic celebration, in June-July, 1847; and finally in the late summer (August) of 1848, wearied and restless, he spent 10 days at Bedford Springs, Pa. There is no evidence of other absences on his part from the seat of government. Moreover, there was no cessation of Cabinet meetings while he was there, from the August day on which the Diary opens. The regularity of Cabinet sessions, regular and "special," becomes positively irksome in the record. These are Polk's words:

No President who performs his duty faithfully and conscientiously can have any leisure. If he intrusts the details and smaller matters to subordinates constant errors will occur. I prefer to supervise the whole operations of the Government myself rather than intrust the public business to subordinates, and this makes my duties very great.⁴

This was not idle sentiment on Polk's part, for the President's theory and practice were in accord, as the record of the Administra-

¹ See the circular letter of Polk to prospective Cabinet associates, dated February 17, 1845, and printed in full in *The Works of James Buchanan* (ed. John Bassett Moore), VI, 110-111.

² Diary, II, 87. See also *Washington Daily Union*, Aug. 19, 1846, II, 370.

³ *Washington Daily Union*, June 2, 1847, *et seq.*

⁴ Diary, IV, 261, Dec. 29, 1848.

tion clearly proves. He was ill at times during his last year in office and one may reasonably conclude that he was suffering from the effects of his incessant and tireless labors.

Whether Polk was the first President to introduce regularity into Cabinet sessions I do not feel certain, for as yet I have not examined with sufficient care the practices of the Cabinet during Van Buren's and Tyler's respective terms. Previous to 1837 it may be positively stated that there was no regularity in this respect. Polk's Cabinet met as a rule every week throughout the year if the President was not himself away from Washington. It made no difference to him whether Congress was or was not in session. On Tuesdays and Saturdays at 11 o'clock in the forenoon it assembled unsummoned and in accordance with a settled custom. In one year alone—1846, during which war with Mexico was begun—the council met about 114 times. In 1848, the year which witnessed the treaty settlement of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, there were approximately 120 meetings. As reckoned through the evidence of the Diary there were about 173 meetings on Tuesdays and 168 meetings on Saturdays. All others, perhaps 50, were known as "special" meetings, and were summoned on any one of the other days of the week. The following table, confined to the Diary record alone, will indicate at a glance the results of the whole enumeration :

	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	Total
Sundays.....		4		5		9
Mondays.....		2	2	6		10
Tuesdays.....	18	50	47	49	9	173
Wednesdays.....	4	4	2		1	11
Thursdays.....		2	2	3	1	8
Fridays.....	1	1	2	5		9
Saturdays.....	16	51	44	48	9	168
Total.....	39	114	99	120	20	392

It was against Polk's strict sabbatarian views to summon the Cabinet to Sunday sessions, but occasionally, in 1846 and in 1848, the two most momentous years of his administration, he found it necessary to do so against his will. He was never resigned to missing attendance at church at 11 o'clock Sunday mornings. Regular sessions were seldom over before 2 p. m. Many meetings will be found, however, sitting as late as 3 and even 4 o'clock. Four and five hour meetings were regarded as long. Polk dined at 4 p. m. Only once is there record of a six-hour meeting—that convened at 9.30 a. m. on Friday, July 9, 1847.

The subject which I submitted for consideration [wrote the President] was the conduct of Gen. Scott and Mr. Trist, and the angry personal controversy into which these two functionaries had allowed themselves to be engaged. Dispatches from Gen. Scott to the Secretary of War, and from Mr.

Trist to the Secretary of State, received during my late tour to the Eastern States, were read. They exhibited a wretched state of things. So far from the harmony prevailing between these two officers, they are engaged in a violent personal correspondence.

Opinions differed as to what should be done. The President was ready with the suggestion that both men be recalled. In the discussion Marcy and Buchanan assumed the lead, and both of these advisers, followed by the other members of the Cabinet, opposed the suggestion. The Cabinet had its way, the President yielding, but not without adding his thought as to the possible desirability of sending some such capable assistant to Trist as Senator Pierre Soulé, of Louisiana.¹ The episode of the quarrel is well enough known to history,² though the way it touched the Cabinet is a contribution of this intimate record.

In view of the tasks of the administration, Polk's Cabinet sessions were on the whole brief as compared, for example, with the slow-gaited and occasionally very prolonged sessions of Monroe's Cabinet.³ Seldom were meetings omitted on regular days, even with only two Cabinet advisers in Washington. The laying of the corner stone of the Smithsonian Institution⁴ and the public funeral of John Quincy Adams⁵ were among occasions when it seemed only fitting to omit meetings.

Unlike the meetings of John Quincy Adams's Cabinet, which were devoted to a few rather specific problems and were neither frequent nor at all regular, those of Polk were usually alive with a considerable variety of business and discussion. The epoch was alert. Its problems, especially those which were generated by the Oregon Question and the War with Mexico, were grave and complicated, burdened with consequences of a doubtful and very far-reaching kind. Large subjects came inevitably before the advisers—the tariff, Texas, Oregon, California, Army troubles, slavery, the treaty with Mexico—some of them demanding the enunciation of more or less definite attitudes on the part of the Executive. On the other hand, there were also numerous matters of minor, if not occasionally of petty, significance. The Cabinet heard much political gossip and discussed it pretty freely; it watched intently the proceedings of Congress and guided itself to some extent by what it observed. The President kept in close touch with party leaders in both the House and the Senate. Even the aged Calhoun was admitted early in 1846 to a session of

¹ Diary, III, 75-79. Cf. Jesse S. Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk* (1907), 315-316.

² Schouler, *History of the United States* (rev. ed.), V, 51-53.

³ See J. Q. Adams's *Memoirs*, IV, 37, 168; VI, 389 ff.

⁴ Diary, III, 1-2. Saturday, May 1, 1847. Secretary Walker was unable to attend the ceremony. See *Washington Daily Union*, May 10, 1847.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 362-363. Saturday, Feb. 26, 1848.

the Cabinet.¹ Senator Benton throughout the first two years of the administration was many times in conference with Polk, as was Senator Cass in the latter years. Vice-President Dallas was often consulted informally, but there is no evidence that he ever attended a session of the council. Thomas Ritchie, of the Union, was carefully consulted on various occasions, and allowed presidential secrets to slip into his partisan publication, at times much to Polk's disgust. We get glimpses of the figure of Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, flitting in and out of the Executive Mansion even thus early-distrusted and disliked by Polk. Johnson and his Tennessee colleagues "seem to assume to themselves the right to judge of the appointments in Tennessee," remarked the President, "and to denounce them among Members of Congress and in boarding houses as though they were responsible for them. I think it fortunate," he concluded "that they have now learned that their course has not been unserved by me."² Polk and his counselors, especially Buchanan, who became ambitious for the Presidency when he discovered that he could not easily obtain an appointment to the Supreme Court, scanned carefully many newspaper criticisms, and even attempted to dictate to some variety of newspapers. The subject of office-seeking politicians, haunting Polk day and night throughout his term, could not help coming at times into conciliatory discussions.

The four annual messages, prepared by Polk promptly and with remarkable care, were not only submitted to the Cabinet but to members of influence and discretion outside that body—to Vice-President Dallas, Editor Ritchie, Senators Benton and Cass, and to many others. The fourth message,³ which among presidential papers must always be reckoned remarkable—the President's valedictory to his Democratic followers as well as to the Nation—was given slow and long attention. The President yielded his convictions neither easily nor as a rule for petty reasons. Politics influenced him. But he seldom forgot principles even though he was obliged to sacrifice the friendship and influence of men as powerful as Senator Benton and the assistance to some extent of his Secretary of State, Buchanan. A less prudent man would probably have failed to hold through the administration three such ambitious and able advisers as Buchanan, Marcy, and Walker, for at one time or another they were all ready to abandon their places.

Votes in Cabinet sessions were infrequent.⁴ Like most Presidents before and since his time, Polk asked now and again for written opinions on technical matters of law from his attorneys-general.

¹ Diary, I, 161. Jan. 10.

² *Ibid.*, II, 41. July 21, 1846.

³ Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, IV, 629-670.

⁴ Diary, III, 281.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 79; IV, 202.

But he seldom, if ever, called for written opinions from the rest of his advisers. On this point his words are nearly conclusive: "I have never called for any written opinions from my Cabinet, preferring to take their opinions, after a discussion, in Cabinet, and in presence of each other. In this way harmony of opinion is more likely to exist."¹

Thus a practice begun by Washington and characteristic of several of Washington's more immediate successors was voluntarily abandoned by Polk.

Polk's party was not a little aroused over the fact that two such pronounced Whigs as Generals Scott and Taylor were likely to gain most of the honors in the war. Hence an effort was made to have created a new office of lieutenant-general—an acting general-in-chief in the field. Polk commended the project. It was introduced into Congress but there failed. And Benton, who was to have had the new command, placed the blame for its failure upon Secretaries Buchanan, Walker, and Marcy.² The proof of this charge it would probably be difficult, if not impossible, to establish. While this whole matter was pending, the President's mind being disturbed over the question of Benton's possible right to precedence over the Whig generals actually in the field, Richard Rush, then an elderly man of 65 about to take up his duties as newly appointed Minister to France, spent the late evening of Tuesday, January 19, 1847, with Polk. Once Attorney General under President Madison and later serving President J. Q. Adams for four years as Secretary of the Treasury, Rush, as an experienced Cabinet officer revealed quickly his interest in the knotty problem of precedence which at the moment was disturbing Polk. He related at length the story of a Cabinet session under President Adams about 19 years before, in which a similar problem had to be disposed of. In both instances there were contentious factions in and outside the respective Cabinets. The frank statements of Rush, his clear recollections as well as the applicability of his story to the situation—all moved the President's interest. He confided the interview to his Diary in a way to indicate his ability as an accurate reporter, for the account of Adams's Cabinet session as taken down from Rush's narration of it, agrees in essential particulars with the account of the same session which President Adams himself had written in his Memoirs. Thus might a cabinet discussion of one administration be transmitted and made helpful to another many years removed.³

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 131. September 23, 1848.

² *Thirty Years' View*, II, 679. The subject was commented on in the *Washington Daily Union* of March 11, 1847, letters between Polk and Benton there printed.

³ *Cf. Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, VII, 506-507. April 14, 1828.

It was the rule of the administration to admit no one to Cabinet sessions outside the circle of regular advisers. But J. Knapp Walker, the President's private secretary, was frequently present just as Col. W. G. Moore, Johnson's secretary 20 years later, was likewise present on many occasions.² Perhaps Tobias Lear attended Washington's council, although there is no record, so far as I know of his attendance. When in future the story of President Wilson's administration can be written from authentic records shall we learn of the attendance of Mr. Joseph Tumulty at Cabinet councils? As I have already pointed out,³ Senator Calhoun took part in a Cabinet discussion over the Oregon situation on Saturday, January 10, 1846—an exception to Polk's rule. Benton declared that he was present at a Cabinet session in the autumn of the same year making objections to a particular policy.⁴ This rests on Benton's statement alone, and without corroborative evidence is of no significance. It is true that the assembled Cabinet listened to outsiders either just before or just after their regular session for the purpose usually of obtaining special information not easy otherwise to acquire. Brig. Gen. Philip Kearny appeared before them,⁵ likewise Maj. Gen. James Shields.⁶ Mayor William Winston Seaton and sundry public men were received by the Cabinet in the autumn of 1848.⁷ Thomas G. Clemson, son-in-law of Calhoun, just returned from his post as chargé d'affaires in Belgium, was introduced to the Cabinet.⁸ And Senator Spencer Jarnagin, of Tennessee, and Representative Horace Wheaton, of New York, as members of the Committee on Enrolled Bills, performed their formal tasks in the presence of the council. Once Nicholas P. Trist, then clerk in the Department of State, but soon to start on his special mission to Mexico as the President's private envoy, was summoned into a session for the purpose of enlightening the Cabinet as to the exact meaning of a Spanish letter.⁹

Attention may be called to a matter of policy extending over many sessions of the Cabinet, in which the President revealed his independence and principle. It may not be at once recalled that there was in 1847-8 a widespread and vigorous movement, fostered by many prominent and influential politicians, to force the President to the task of absorbing the whole of Mexico. Polk was an expansionist of a pronounced type, but this project appears to have been not

¹ Diary, II, 486. Apr. 22, 1847.

² American Historical Review (October, 1913), XIX, 98 *et seq.*

³ *Supra*, p. 237.

⁴ Thirty Years' View, II, 693.

⁵ Diary, III, 168. Sept. 12, 1847.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 261. Dec. 28, 1847.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 125. Sept. 19.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 196. Nov. 14, 1848.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 47, 51. July 25, 1846.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 432. Mar. 20, 1847.

finally approved by him. That we escaped annexing Mexico in 1848 was due to some variety of causes. But not the least important of these was that Polk effectually controlled the policy of his advisers, for two of his ablest assistants, Buchanan and R. J. Walker, tried to prevent a settlement with Mexico on the terms of the treaty negotiated by Nicholas P. Trist, in accordance with instructions given to Trist in April, 1847, at the time when Trist had been sent on his treaty-making mission.¹

In concluding this slight glimpse of the routine of Polk's conciliar sessions, I wish to quote a passage from John F. H. Claiborne's *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, for it contains, besides error, some elements of truth well worth observing. Of Polk, Claiborne writes:

He was a political martinet, a rigid disciplinarian. . . . He was a man of ability, but a man of expediency. . . . Polk was grave almost to sadness, self-restrained, and chilling. . . . [He] was indebted for his elevation to his energy, his circumspection, his capacity for labor, his fidelity to party, and, more than all, to the influence of Gen. Jackson. . . . He had a vigorous and able Cabinet—one of the ablest ever assembled around any executive . . . but he can be regarded as a man of mediocrity . . . exempt from positive vices, remarkable for his prudence, and a thorough master of the strategy of politics. . . . He, nevertheless, in four years, witnessed the decay of his popularity, and no one but himself dreamed of his reelection. . . .²

There is undoubtedly truth in the application of "martinet" to President Polk. He was a stickler for regularity in administrative practices—remarkably vigilant in keeping himself and his intimate assistants at work throughout a trying four-year term. One is safe in assuming from such evidence as we find that the Cabinet never met without the President. As the President kept his hand on a great many matters, so he was generally prepared to be the real director of discussions and the author of the administration's attitude or policy so far as the Executive Department was concerned. He had several conspicuously able assistants about him whose aid he sought and could accept. But if one may trust impressions derived largely from the Diary, Polk was never overpowered by any one of these able men. It was the President who at length usually dominated the situation by his ability to grasp details understandingly. In the Cabinet council he was guide and master. Principles he cher-

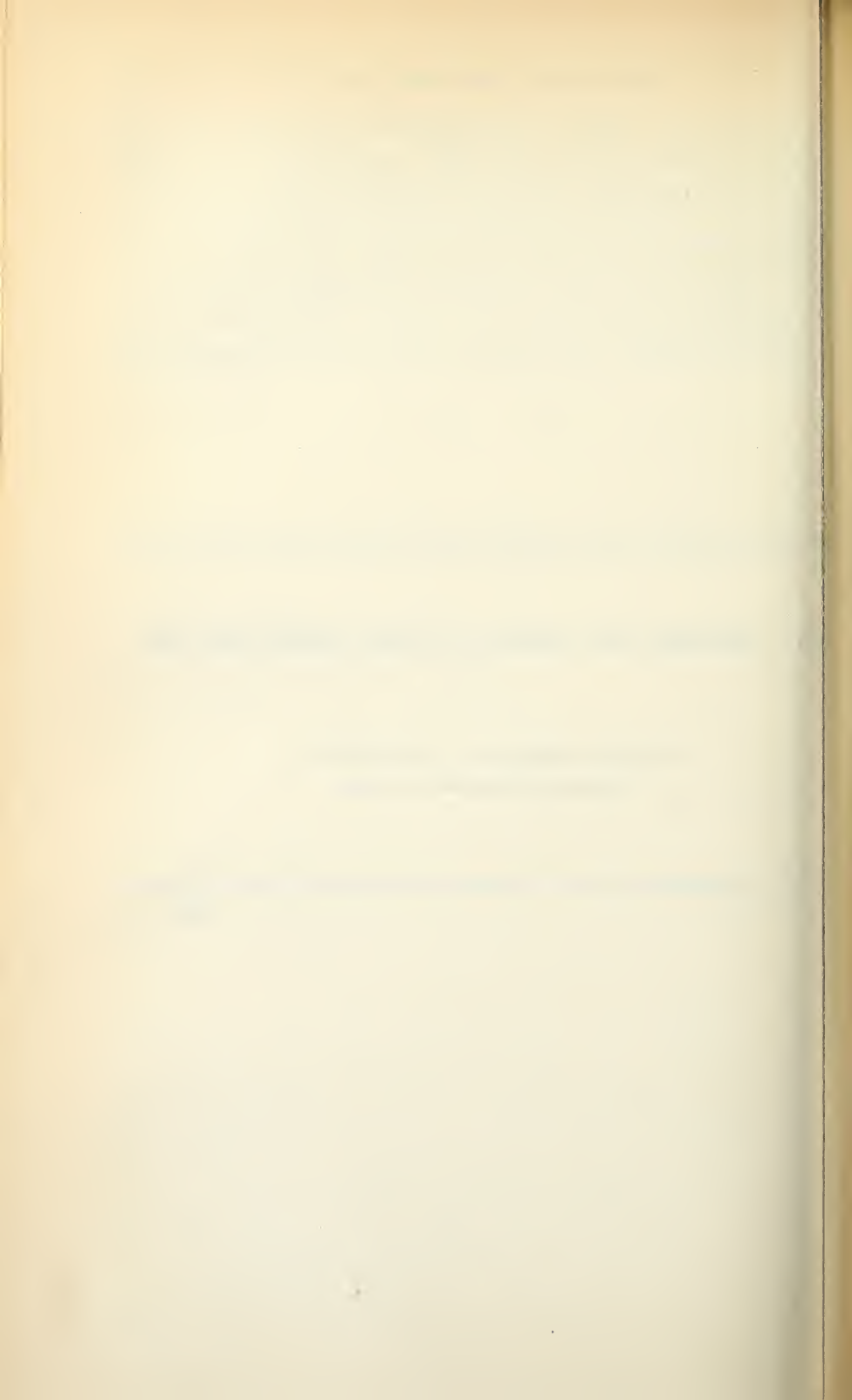
¹ See "The Proposed Absorption of Mexico in 1847-8," by the late Prof. Edward G. Bourne in his *Essays in Historical Criticism*, 1901. This paper was based upon a study of Polk's Diary while still in manuscript. Prof. W. E. Dodd, in a paper entitled "The East and the War with Mexico," in *Trans. of the Illinois State Historical Society* for the year 1912 (pp. 15-23), thinks that Polk was eager to annex Mexico after the treaty had been accepted on Mar. 10, 1848. Possibly. Relying on Prof. Bourne's researches, Prof. S. Reeves remarks (*American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, p. 325): "Trist's assumption that Polk desired the absorption of all Mexico has been proven to be baseless."

² I, 228-235, *passim*.

ished and worked for. Ceremonies he disliked. But he was insistent upon such forms as aided him and his officials in getting things done. He was solemn and serious, at times much overworked. But can he be fairly termed "a man of mediocrity"? If ever record so largely made up, as is this Diary, of observations on Cabinet sessions could prove that its author filled "the unforgiving minute with sixty seconds' worth of distance run," this has done so. At any rate, it will help to mark Polk as the most important figure in the Presidency between Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln.

XIV. TENNESSEE AND NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES, 1850-1860.

By ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT,
Professor in Vanderbilt University.



TENNESSEE AND NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES, 1850-1860.

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Nature has divided Tennessee into three well-marked regions. East Tennessee is the high valley country, between the Smoky Mountains that crown North Carolina's western border and the Cumberland Plateau. From the Cumberland Plateau to the Tennessee River, as it flows northward into Kentucky, stretches Middle Tennessee, the continuation of the fertile Blue Grass region, watered for the most part by the Cumberland River and its tributaries. West of the Tennessee River and the barren hills along its banks, West Tennessee, long known as the "Western District," slowly falls to the Mississippi. A sectionalism resulting from these geographical differences strongly pervaded the State's political affairs and gave rise to much unfriendliness. Governors, Senators, and other officers of State-wide position, must be chosen in rotation from several sections, or there must be bargaining and exchange.¹ Over the location of banks and their branches, over the distribution of internal-improvement and other funds, and, especially, over the apportionment of representation in the assembly or in Congress, conflicts were frequent and bitter. Having dominated the State in the earlier days, when the political scepter departed westward the East Tennesseans felt themselves oppressed. In 1842 this feeling led to the discussion of the formation of a separate State, and in the Civil War period the same idea reappeared, but the forces of cohesion prevailed.

A careful student of southern history has stated that in Tennessee, in the ante bellum period, the river counties were prevailingly

¹ "Turney's time will soon expire. He is again a candidate and will have five or six checkers in his own section. East Tennessee claims it as a prescribed right. The western district also claims on the ground of population, and if the Democrats succeed in the next election the first will insist on John Blair, the second Coe or W. T. Brown. Middle Tennessee will insist on Nicholson, A. V. Brown, Turney, and my own section will get my own name into the m  le, which I have peremptorily declined. Bell, they allege, was elected in the place of the East Tennessee senator, which supersedes its claims until the expiration of his term." Cave Johnson to James Buchanan, Oct. 14, 1849. MS. in the Buchanan MSS. in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Pennsylvania Historical Society for the permission to make use of this collection. The long and important series of letters of Cave Johnson to Buchanan is hereafter cited, for convenience, as Johnson-Buchanan Letters.

Whig and the mountain counties prevailing Democratic. The generalization is largely true, but there are conspicuous exceptions which are to be accounted for through the influence of individuals. It is at least certain that in each of the three grand divisions of the State there were grouped counties of both political persuasion so that no rigid identification is possible between the sections and the parties. In studying the statistics as to elections in Tennessee in the two decades prior to 1861, one is struck with the evenness with which the Whig and Democratic parties were balanced. In presidential elections, from 1836 to 1852 inclusive, the electoral votes of the State were always given against the Democrats, and a return to this position was manifest in 1860. Of Representatives in Congress on the other hand, the Democrats usually commanded a majority. In State elections, especially in the choice of a governor, there was the keenest competition. Between 1840 and 1850 the total vote of the State was between 100,000 and 125,000. In no election for governor was there more than 4,000 majority for either party; and more than once the successful candidate could claim hardly a thousand votes in his favor. "Our State," wrote Cave Johnson in 1851, "is the most nearly balanced in the Union, success depending mainly on the organization and activity of the party; the party out being generally successful because the more active."² While throughout the State there were some strong newspapers, the readers of them bore but a small proportion to the number of voters. Thus, in political campaigns in Tennessee personality counted for a great deal. The canvasses for governor, especially, were marked by a series of joint debates throughout every part of the State, which required an iron frame to stand the physical strain and a ready wit to please the assembled crowds.³

Over the distribution of patronage, from the time of Jackson's presidency onward, there was always much searching of spirit, and dissatisfaction as to this matter frequently accounted for disaffection. There was not much complaint as to actual corruption in politics but there were frequent accusations as to the "swapping" of votes.

¹ Phillips, *The Southern Whigs, 1834-1854*, in *Essays in American History*, dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner, 1910, 214. As exceptions to the rule may be noted the long-continued control of their respective districts by Cave Johnson, James K. Polk, and Andrew Johnson.

² Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Sept. 15, 1851.

³ Phelan, James, *History of Tennessee*, 1889, 377, 399-411. Of Gov. Trousdale's campaign of 1849, Cave Johnson wrote: "His reputation for courage cramped the energy and vigor of his opponent, who had gained some reputation as a 'fire eater' two years ago by the browbeating and bragadocio manner toward Gov. A. V. B., who, I regret to say, lost probably his election by tamely submitting to it. Such is the opinion of the intelligent Democrats in this neighborhood. Neil S. Brown evidently quailed beneath the fierce look and hard face of Trousdale, and hence he failed to sustain his reputation as an orator." Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Aug. 12, 1849. Before this very campaign the newspapers had discussed the abandonment of this sort of canvass. *Nashville Union*, Jan. 16, 1849, citing Gallatin Tenth Legion.

One other characteristic of Tennessee politics is thus summed up by Cave Johnson, who, having served many years as Representative in Congress and having been Postmaster-General of the United States under Polk, was in a position to speak with authority. Writing to Buchanan after the presidential election of 1852, he said:

Whilst I rejoice with you at the result in Pennsylvania and the other States, you will with me deplore the result in Tennessee—the State of Jackson and Polk—and yet we may in some degree attribute the loss to their influence. They did more than all other men to inspire our people with a devotion to military glory. No other qualification is looked to or sought for. We elected Carroll governor term by term until he was proscribed by the new Constitution. We voted for Jackson with an unanimity never equaled in any country. Even White obtained the vote of the State upon his renown. Harrison and Taylor were irresistible until Brown was run against Trousdale. Scott was made the greatest hero that ever lived. The Jackson men were called on to reward his gallantry, as they had done all others. Why refuse him who had done more than all others the honors awarded to Jackson, Harrison, and Taylor?¹

To understand the issues upon which the two great party organizations in Tennessee, in the period 1850–1860, disagreed, and the causes of factional differences within each party, it is necessary first to give a very brief review of Tennessee politics in the period immediately preceding, and secondly to sketch the personnel of the leaders within the State. When the wave of resentment against the dominating policy of Gen. Jackson resulted, in 1836, in a great majority in Tennessee for Hugh Lawson White, and when next year Gen. Robert Armstrong, selected by the Jackson managers to overcome Gov. Newton Cannon, had sustained a disastrous defeat, the Jackson Democrats resolved in 1839 to make another and greater effort to redeem the State. As their standard bearer was selected James K. Polk, who, having been one of the ablest and most faithful of the party men in Congress, had been rewarded with the speakership of the House of Representatives. Backed by the united efforts of the Tennessee Democrats, with the additional help of new editors secured for the two chief Democratic papers, Polk, a master of stump speaking, was elected. Though his efforts at reelection were twice unsuccessful, he was henceforth first in command of the State organization. While the Sage of the Hermitage lived, he did not fail to give counsel; but the younger men carried on the active work. The tirelessness of Polk as political manager is best evidenced by his voluminous correspondence, now in the Library of Congress. His continued political importance outside of Tennessee is shown by the approaches which were made to him on the part of friends of Calhoun and by the tentative offer of a seat in Tyler's Cabinet, which was declined by Polk.² It was definitely understood in 1844 that he would be a

¹ Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Nov. 18, 1852.

² Theophilus Fisk to James K. Polk, Mar. 9 and Mar. 13, 1844; James K. Polk to Theophilus Fisk, Mar. 22, 1844. Polk MSS., Library of Congress, Vol. 56.

candidate for the Vice Presidency, but to some, at least in Tennessee the possibility of his nomination as a dark horse was not unimagined before the development of the combination that was actually effected at the Baltimore convention.¹

When Polk became President, quarrels among the State politician and disappointment over the distribution of Federal offices shook his control of the State organization. In 1845 a Democratic Senator Hopkins L. Turney, was elected, but, it was alleged, only by a trade with the Whigs, which aroused deep resentment in Tennessee.² The chief aspirant for this Senatorship had been A. O. P. Nicholson, of Columbia, who had already been appointed a United States Senator by Polk to fill an unexpired term, and who regarded the place as his by right. He was an able lawyer, of great literary ability, and a man of commanding influence, though he was accused of selfishness by more than one of his rivals. During Polk's Presidency Nicholson, bitterly indignant at Turney's election, was suspected of disloyalty to Polk, and thus drew upon himself the dislike of Polk's numerous and powerful connection.³ In the period 1847-1852 Nicholson—as the phrase "Nicholson letter" may suggest—was supporting actively the interests of Gen. Cass; in this position he was followed by two of the congressional delegation, George W. Jones, an experienced and useful member, and Andrew Johnson, of the first district in East Tennessee. Intimately associated with Nicholson in party affairs but tending constantly toward rivalry for the headship of the organization was Aaron V. Brown, also of Middle Tennessee. In 1845 Brown, retiring from a long and active congressional service, became a candidate for the governorship and was successful, as Polk had been, in once breaking the Whig control of the State; but, like Polk, he failed of reelection. Like Polk, also, he looked to a return to national prominence. In these larger aspirations, as well as in the manipulation of State affairs, he was supported by Gideon J. Pillow, with whom he was connected by domestic ties. Pillow it was who, in Tennessee, claimed credit for putting through the Baltimore convention of 1844 the nomination of Polk. Pillow had military aspirations, which found room for employment in the Mexican War, in which, in addition to his exploits as a soldier, he was honored with the special duty of reporting to the President the delinquencies of his superior officer, Gen. Taylor.⁴ He was a man of affairs in the business world; in 1849 he was brought forward as a candidate for nomination for governor, but declined; and later he aspired to higher stations. Combined with that of his kinsman, Brown, his

¹ Smith, J. H., *The Annexation of Texas*, 1911, 250-251.

² *The Diary of James K. Polk during his Presidency, 1845 to 1849* (ed. M. M. Qualfe, 1910) I, 112-115; hereafter cited as *Diary of James K. Polk*.

³ Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Oct. 14, 1849; *ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1850.

⁴ *Diary of James K. Polk*, II, 211.

political influence was strong and was used to offset the ambitions of Nicholson.

To one of the Democratic leaders, Cave Johnson, we have already referred. In Polk's Cabinet he had formed a close friendship, in both the political and personal senses, with James Buchanan; and throughout the period under review he was active in his efforts to direct the sentiment of Tennessee toward Buchanan as a presidential candidate. To this friendship we owe a series of letters, written by Cave Johnson to Buchanan, which are highly valuable for their light upon Tennessee politics and from which has been taken much of the material for this paper.

In the Whig Party the two most eminent men were Ephraim H. Foster and John Bell. Foster had twice represented Tennessee in the Senate, though in each case for only a brief period. On the expiration of his term in 1845 he contested with Aaron V. Brown for the governorship but was defeated. He was offended by the election of Bell to the Senate in 1847, and the defeat of the Whigs in 1849 was ascribed, in part, to his disaffection.¹ At the time of which we write, while his name was still a powerful one, his activities were limited by ill-health.

In John Bell the Tennessee Whigs had a representative of whose intellectual capacity they might well be and were proud, but who lacked temperamental qualities of sympathy such as those which endeared Henry Clay to so many of his fellow-citizens. After a long service in the House of Representatives, in 1841 he had been appointed Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Harrison and on Harrison's death had retired with his colleagues, except Webster, on the occasion of the breach with Tyler. For the next six years he declined public office. In 1847, after an exciting contest, he was elected United States Senator. Bell and Polk had been bitter personal, as well as political, enemies; but, on returning to Washington as a Senator, Bell sought to reestablish cordial relations. When he called on Polk on January 4, 1848, the two men had not spoken for 13 years.² Of other prominent Whigs, such as Gentry, Jones, and Brownlow, we shall have more to say below.

In 1847-1850 national attention was focused upon the adjustment by Congress of the dispute as to the government of the territory acquired from Mexico. After it was evident that the Wilmot Proviso could not pass the Senate it became equally certain that Cass's doctrine of non-intervention would not furnish a practical solution

¹ W. B. Campbell to David Campbell, Aug. 19, 1849. MS. in possession of Mr. Lemuel L. Campbell, of Nashville, Tenn., who has kindly allowed the writer to make use of the extensive correspondence of W. B. Campbell with David Campbell. Hereafter cited as Campbell Letters.

² Diary of James K. Polk, III, 258-260, 264, 265, 284, 285.

to the problem; but this doctrine was very popular among the Democrats of Tennessee. The administration of Polk, however, began the efforts at compromise with the proposal to extend the Missouri Compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ over the new acquisitions. This, however, was not accepted, nor did a better fate attend the so-called "Clayton Compromise," of 1848, or the "Walker Amendment" of 1849. Thus Polk's Presidency came to an end March 4, 1849, without any solution of the problems at issue, beyond the extension to California of the Federal revenue laws. A new phase was soon given to the matter by the stiff, uncompromising attitude developed by President Taylor, so unpopular in the South.

In the discussions which throughout these months filled the newspapers of Tennessee one very plainly sees two currents. One is that of party advantage. Whigs and Democrats vied with each other in the effort to put the opposition in the wrong. The most unpopular thing that could be alleged of any person or party was abolitionism and the support of the Wilmot Proviso. Thus it was a favorite argument of the Whigs that Polk and the Democrats, by accepting the exclusion of slavery from Oregon, had consented to the principle of the Wilmot Proviso; and the answer that Oregon lay north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ was ridiculed. On the other hand, Taylor's course and the suspected influence of Seward upon the President opened the Whigs to the same sort of taunt. The other current was that of sectionalism, which set in mutual opposition southern rights and the conservation of the Union. The Democratic tradition, inherited from Jackson and Polk and continued by such men as Cave Johnson, was one of strong devotion to the Union. Nullification had found little favor in Tennessee. Such men as Aaron V. Brown, however, were meeting what they considered northern aggression with a distinctly vigorous southern point of view. In the summer of 1849 the campaign of the Democrats, led by their candidate for governor, William Trousdale, was of a distinctly fire-eating tone. "Gen. T. takes the Virginia resolutions," Cave Johnson told Buchanan, "and is for resisting in every manner to the last extremity, and insists that this is the best, if not the only, mode of preserving the Union. I do not like his position, but it is possible that may secure Calhoun Whigs enough to carry the election in the western districts."¹ One of the Democratic leaders from Memphis came to the State convention with a proposal to advise the severance of commercial relations with the North, but the proposal was not formally presented.² On the other hand, the Whigs, with the exception of a few in the western district, avoided

¹ Johnson-Buchanan Letters, June 17, 1849. But the next year Johnson thought that Trousdale's radical views had endangered his success and that he was only saved by explaining that resistance meant non-intercourse with the North. *Ibid.*, Apr. 14, 1850.

² Nashville Union, Apr. 28, 1849.

altogether the dangerous ground of sectionalism and proclaimed their devotion to the Union so loudly that the Democrats taunted them with being mere submissionists. The Whigs followed the standard of their general-in-chief, John Bell, upon whose alleged surrender to the North the Democratic editors did not cease to harp.

In the period of the territorial controversy, Bell's course was that of a pacificator; but one gains the impression of an uncertainty of thought and action on his part, and finds it difficult to estimate the real purposes which he had in view. He opposed the Clayton Compromise,¹ because it seemed to him only to postpone the controversy. In the course of the discussion over the "Walker Amendment" of 1849, Bell introduced an amendment similar to the bill of Douglas to admit the possessions acquired from Mexico into the Union as one State, but besides himself only three Senators voted for his proposal.² Bell voted with the South for the Walker Amendment.³ In the debate over the compromise measures of Henry Clay, Bell submitted a plan of his own which emphasized the possibility of creating new slave States out of Texas.⁴ This suggestion was noticed by Webster in his "Seventh-of-March" speech,⁵ and several days later Toombs, of Georgia, wrote to Linton Stephens that "Bell's proposition as backed by Webster" would probably afford a basis of settlement.⁶ Bell was elected a member of the Committee of Thirteen,⁷ but that committee reported adversely to his suggestion as to Texas.⁸ He then pursued a somewhat doubtful course, deserting his own plan of compromise, which he said had been presented at the suggestion of others, and criticising in an unfriendly way, but without very positive objections, the plan of Clay and the majority of the committee. He obviously championed the President's ideas as opposed to those of Clay, maintaining, however, his devotion to southern interests.⁹ Taylor's death, the accession of Fillmore, and the victory of the compromise therefore left him in a weak position. He voted against the Utah bill, supported the bill for the admission of California, the Texas boundary bill, and the fugitive slave bill, and he did not vote

¹ Congressional Globe, 30 Cong., 1 sess., 1002.

² Congressional Globe, 30 Cong., 2 sess., 561 ff. See also Appendix, 253 ff. Bell's amendment differed in details from Douglas's bill, especially with reference to the boundaries of the proposed State and with reference to the holding of a constitutional convention. Bell's argument was violently combated by Berrien. As to the Walker Amendment, see Diary of James K. Polk, IV, 364-369.

³ Congressional Globe, 30 Cong., 2 sess., Appendix, 309.

⁴ Feb. 28, 1850, Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 436-439. Bell's resolutions were "then considered a modified form of the executive policy for a proper adjustment." Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States*, 1870, II, 205.

⁵ Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, I, 272, 274.

⁶ Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, Howell Cobb. *American Historical Association, Annual Report*, 1911, II, 188.

⁷ Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 780.

⁸ Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 944 ff.

⁹ Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 1088 ff, 1095 ff, 1106 ff.

on the bills to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and to establish the Territory of New Mexico.¹

On the other hand, the most "ultra" Southern spokesman in Tennessee was the Democratic colleague of Bell, Senator Turney. In February, 1847, doubtless with the intention of demonstrating his faithfulness to Polk, he had bitterly attacked the venerable Calhoun for endeavoring to form a "third party."² After Polk's retirement, however, Turney, as one of the opposition Senators, associated himself with the Southern movement in Congress, was one of the signers of the Southern Address, and, later, joined with Davis, Soulé, and other radicals, first in a pledge to use every effort to prevent the admission of California unless the southern boundary of that State were reduced to 36° 30', and secondly, in a protest against the California Act.³ He also supported the movement for a new paper in Washington to represent the interests of the south.⁴

The course of the radical Southern movement of 1849-1851 in South Carolina, Georgia, and the lower South, and the relation of it to the struggle in Congress over the Compromise of 1850, have been set in a much clearer light of late in more than one scholarly monograph; and, in this connection, there has been brought anew to the attention of the student of history the convention which met in June, 1850, in the city of Nashville, and of which a shadowy remnant reconvened in that city in November of the same year.⁵ In each of the sessions of the Nashville convention, Tennessee was represented. As to the first, the plan of the Democrats, headed by the fiery governor, Trousdale, had been to provide by law or resolution that the governor should appoint delegates; but the Whig Senate prevented this.⁶ The Whig press denounced the convention before it met;⁷ the Union, the leading Democratic paper, defended it, denying that secession was the purpose in view.⁸ The first session, imposing in numbers and dignified in action, made a deep impression in Tennessee. The Tennessee delegation voted both for moderate resolutions and the

¹ Clusky, M. W., *The Political Textbook or Encyclopedia*, 1857, 107.

² *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 sess., 395 ff.

³ Hearon, C., *Mississippi and the Compromise of 1850*, 139, n. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., 1578.

⁴ *Nashville Union*, May 21, 1850.

⁵ Herndon, D. T., *The Nashville Convention of 1850*, *Publications of the Alabama Historical Society, Transactions*, 1904, V, 203-237; Newberry, F., *The Nashville Convention and Southern Sentiment of 1850*, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XII, 259-273 (July, 1912); Hearon, C., *Mississippi and the Compromise of 1850*, 1913, Ch. VI, in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Vol. XIV, and reprinted; Cole, A. C., *The Whig Party in the South*, 1914, Ch. V.

An extended account, by the present writer, of the attitude of Tennessee toward the compromise measures and toward the Nashville convention will be found in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December, 1915.

⁶ *Nashville Union*, Feb. 15, 1850.

⁷ *Nashville Banner and Whig*, Feb. 14, 1850.

⁸ *Nashville Union*, Feb. 21, 1850.

more radical address, but as to the latter, they caused the adoption of important amendments, especially the formal statement that the sentiment of the convention was not unanimous. Brown and Nicholson both wrote letters reviewing the convention's work: that of Brown was friendly; that of Nicholson was an incisive criticism of the address.

Notwithstanding the adoption by Congress of the compromise measures, the convention came together again in November, reduced both in the number of States represented and in the number of delegates. Brown, Pillow, Nicholson, and A. J. Donelson, Andrew Jackson's nephew, were again present as delegates, and again endeavored to stem the tide of radicalism. This time, however, the radicals were not conciliatory but were determined to see no good in the compromise. In opposition, the delegation of Tennessee, through Brown, Nicholson, and Pillow, brought in what were known as the Tennessee Resolutions, which urged that the compromise should be given a trial. These resolutions failed and the efforts of the Tennesseans to argue in their behalf were blocked by parliamentary tactics. The Tennessee Resolutions were printed, however, and exerted a wide influence.¹

The difference between Brown and Nicholson now became bitter. The Union supported Nicholson's strictures upon the convention; the American expressed Brown's sympathies with the southern radicals, although it was careful not to uphold the doctrine of secession. This hostility between the two leading Democrats of Middle Tennessee was augmented by the desire of both men to be elected Senator.² The effect of the quarrel was to lose the State to the Whigs,³ who consistently denounced the convention and fastened upon the Democrats the charge of plotting disunion. In the election of 1851 they wisely put forward, in their turn, a military hero, William B. Campbell, who, like Trousdale, had won laurels in the Mexican War. They obtained a majority in the assembly also and thus were enabled to send to Washington as Senator, in the place of Turney, James C. Jones, who had vanquished Polk in 1841 and 1843. "Lean Jimmy," as he was familiarly called, was a man of more ability than the traditional account of him would lead one to expect. Of late he had been much interested in railroad matters, rendering the State good service in the building of those lines to the Mississippi so necessary to the welfare of Tennessee. Originally a supporter of Clay as against Taylor, he had none the less worked actively for the party, and now had high political aspirations.

¹ The convention in each session authorized the publication in pamphlet form of the journal of its proceedings. In addition the Nashville newspapers gave more or less full accounts of the work of each day. For further detail, see the references under note ante.

² Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Dec. 13, 1850. Ibid., Mar. 31, 1851.

³ Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Nov. 20, 1853.

But the Whigs were quarrelling, too. In the path of Jones's advancement was a bitter enemy. This was Meredith P. Gentry, a member of the House of Representatives—the only Whig member from Tennessee who had had long experience. In the celebrated contest for the speakership in 1849, it was Gentry for whom Toombs and his five bolting companions cast their votes. Later, according to Gentry's own statement, he was one of the group of seven, five Whigs and two Democrats, who had initiated the address which declared the finality of the Compromise of 1850, to which 44 signatures were finally appended. In March, 1851, he warned the Whig convention in Nashville of the unsound elements in both parties and predicted the disruption of both. He was devoted to the candidacy of Fillmore and, in 1852, especially in the congressional Whig caucus of April 9, he bitterly opposed the nomination of Scott. When on June 14, 1852, he spoke in the House of Representatives in reply to Stanly of North Carolina, he took the position of an excommunicated Whig, closing his speech with a passage which became famous in the political annals of Tennessee. "I will go home," said Gentry. "In a sequestered valley in the State of Tennessee there is a smiling farm, with bubbling fountains, covered with rich pasturage, and fat flocks, and all that is needful for the occupation and enjoyment of a man of uncorrupted tastes. I will go there and pray for 'Rome.'"¹

But the Tennessee Whig organization accepted the nomination of Scott; and in the forefront of the Scott supporters stood James C. Jones. If Gentry's charges were true, Jones played a double game in 1852, hoping that there might arrive in the Whig national convention a deadlock and that he might have the same luck as that which fell to Polk in 1844. Failing in this, he strove for the Vice-Presidency.² The Democrats, too, had a candidate for that office in the person of Gideon J. Pillow. Andrew Johnson, in a private letter, expressed the opinion that if at the Democratic national convention the Tennessee delegation had unitedly worked for the nomination of Houston of Texas for the Presidency, Houston could have been nominated and elected. But the desire to secure the Vice-presidential nomination for Pillow or Brown rendered this impossible.³

When the presidential election took place in November, 1852, the Whig party went down in defeat, but Scott carried Tennessee. This

¹ Speech of Hon. M. P. Gentry, of Tennessee, on Presidential Candidates and Party Organization, delivered in the House of Representatives, June 14, 1852, Washington, 1852.

² Speech of M. P. Gentry, of Tennessee, vindicating his course in the late presidential election, delivered to his constituents at Franklin, Tenn., Nov. 20, 1852, Washington, 1853. Gentry's charge is supported by an authority of a very different sort, Andrew Johnson, who wrote to a friend that Jones, "since his arrival here, has been trying to play a bold game for either the first or the second place on the ticket, but without doubt has most signally failed. . . . Bell, Gentry, and Watkins were dead against him in Washington; Brownlow and Nelson and others at home." Andrew Johnson to D. P. Patterson, Apr. 4, 1852, Johnson MSS., Library of Congress.

³ Andrew Johnson to S. Milligan, July 20, 1852. MS. in Library of Pennsylvania Historical Society.

was unfortunate for the Tennessee Democrats, as the State had thereby less claim on Pierce's administration with regard to Cabinet offices and patronage. The Whigs, Governor Campbell wrote, were "broken to pieces."¹ For personal reasons Campbell refused to run a second time. Among the other Whig leaders there does not seem to have been much eagerness to make the race for governor, but finally Gustavus A. Henry was put forward. On the Democratic side a curious situation developed. The Democratic leaders, it seems, determined to nominate Andrew Ewing, a Democrat with strong Whig connections, who had thereby accomplished the unusual success at the last congressional election of carrying for the Democrats the Nashville district, which was prevailingly Whig. But the majority of the convention had been in favor of Andrew Johnson of Greeneville in East Tennessee, and, moved, it is said, by a letter of Johnson's in which the latter shrewdly commended his interests to Ewing's keeping, Ewing withdrew from the contest and Johnson received the nomination.²

Thus there returned to State politics a figure unique in southern political history. In March, 1853, Andrew Johnson brought to a close 10 years of continuous service as the representative of the first district. In the assembly of 1851-2 the Tennessee Whigs took advantage of the reapportionment necessitated by the census of 1850, so to gerrymander East Tennessee as to make Johnson's district difficult, if not impossible for the Democrats to carry. If there was one man hated by the Whigs it was Andrew Johnson, but on this occasion they only succeeded—to use the familiar figure—in "kicking upstairs" the object of their scorn. Johnson, indeed, was not much more popular with the Democratic leaders within or without the State. Polk had early recognized his ability, but Johnson had bitterly fallen out with the President.³ Other prominent Democrats, for example, Bayly of Virginia and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, had been the subject of bitter attacks by Johnson. Nor in Tennessee was there any love lost between Johnson and A. V. Brown. Of the Tennessee leaders only two seemed to have kept in cordial relations with Johnson—George W. Jones, who continued in Congress, and J. O. P. Nicholson, who, with more discerning eye than the others, saw in Johnson possibilities of popular strength.

Johnson had consistently posed as the friend of the people, the enemy of aristocrats. In earlier days, in the State legislature, an energetic party fighter, he had opposed internal improvements, supported a plan for making a separate State out of East Tennessee, and had proposed the substitution of the "white basis" as the principle upon which the congressional districts should be apportioned

¹ W. B. Campbell to David Campbell, Mar. 23, 1853. Campbell Letters.

² Nashville True Whig, Apr. 29, 1853; Nashville Union, Apr. 30, 1853.

³ Diary of James K. Polk, II, 35-41.

within Tennessee. In Congress he had consistently opposed financial extravagance, and had moved amendments to the Constitution looking to the popular election of Senators, judges, and the President. He claimed the fatherhood of the Homestead bill and was certainly its most energetic supporter. But withal he was a regular Democrat, denouncing the abolitionists, standing out for State rights, and dealing heavy blows at "Whiggery," as he called it. Now, in Tennessee this radical of the tailor's bench did what no one of the more aristocratic leaders of Middle Tennessee had been able to accomplish—as candidate for governor he twice carried Tennessee for the democracy. Johnson's victory of 1853 was largely a personal one and on local issues. The assembly was Whig and reelected John Bell to the Senate. But two years later in a much more exciting campaign Johnson was opposed by Meredith P. Gentry, the representative of a combination of Know-Nothings, Whigs, and temperance advocates. It was the issue of Americanism rather than the Kansas development which Johnson selected for his attack, and on this ground he won a victory no less remarkable than that of Henry A. Wise in Virginia. There is something humorous in the fact that Americanism should be the issue in Tennessee in 1855, for even in the towns of Memphis and Nashville Roman Catholics and foreigners were so few as certainly to cause no alarm. It is doubtful if Gentry really had any great enthusiasm for the American party, but over in East Tennessee there was a high prophet in the person of another individual no less unique than Johnson. If anyone would acquaint himself with the fullness of bitterness which can be obtained through the use of the pen, let him devote a few hours to the literary productions of him whom Andrew Johnson called "an hyena," the editor of the Knoxville Whig, William G. Brownlow.¹ Brownlow's newspaper, always loyal to John Bell, was now also devoted to the cause of the American party, and, in particular to the support of the Vice-presidential candidacy of Andrew J. Donelson, the nephew of Andrew Jackson, who had deserted his former Democratic affiliations. The most vigorous of his manifestos Brownlow reproduced in a book

¹ Of his own character Brownlow held a different view. Introducing himself through one of his books to the American people he modestly describes himself as follows: "I am known throughout the length and breadth of the land as the 'Fighting Parson'; while, I may say, without incurring the charge of egotism, that no man is more peaceable, and my neighbors will testify. Always poor, and always pressed with security debts, few means of my section and of my limited means have given away more in the course of each year to charitable objects. I have never been arraigned in the church for any immorality. I never played a card. I never was a profane swearer. I never drank a dram of liquor until within a few years, when it was taken as a medicine. I never had a cigar or a chew of tobacco in my mouth. I never was in attendance at a theater. I never attended a horse race, and never witnessed their running, save on the fair grounds of my own county. I never courted but one woman, and her I married. I may be allowed to say," he continues, with *raîveté*, "that I have ever been, as I still am, quite a politician though I have never been an office seeker nor an officeholder." *Sketches of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Secession, with a Narrative of Personal Adventures among the Rebels*, 1862, 19.

² Brownlow, *Americanism Contrasted with Foreignism, Romanism, etc.* Nashville, 1856

In 1856 Andrew Johnson, too, aspired to nomination as a Vice-presidential candidate, and the fact that he was not put forward by the Tennessee delegation was not overlooked by Brownlow. Unfortunately for some of Johnson's later plans, he was not an original supporter of Buchanan, although he entered the canvass, and made speeches in favor of the party ticket.¹ Aaron V. Brown, whom Cave Johnson had long pressed upon Buchanan's notice, received the honor of a cabinet appointment, but died in office. In the State election of 1857 the Democrats were again successful and Isham G. Harris was elected governor. Harris came from the western district—an indication of the rising weight of that section in the scale of politics. Between Harris and Johnson, as in the older days between A. V. Brown and Johnson, there was little political sympathy. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that through his strength with the people, and with the assembly, Johnson was able to compel his own election as Senator, for the term beginning in 1857, and that of Nicholson for the term which would begin in 1859. As the term of John Bell continued until 1859, Bell and Johnson were brought face to face in the Senate, where Johnson adopted the same snarling attitude that he had shown in his previous conflicts with political rivals. In Johnson's continued support of the Homestead bill, which by this time was directly opposed by the southern Democrats, it is possible to see the suggestion of an appeal to the democracy of the Northwest, and one is not surprised to find that, in 1860, there was an effort on the part of the supporters of Stephen A. Douglas to secure a combination with Johnson, in the support of the former.² But Johnson's whole rise to power had been on the basis of his loyalty, at least outwardly, to the Democratic Party of the South, and, moreover, we know from his letters that he had acquired, long before, a deep dislike of Douglas.³ Hence it was that Johnson, hav-

¹ Johnson-Buchanan Letters, Aug. 24, 1856.

² J. Fowlkes to Andrew Johnson, May 19, May 28, 1860. MSS. in possession of Hon. J. Patterson, of Greeneville, Tenn.

³ "Douglas, the candidate of the cormorants of our party and some few adjuncts from the other, is now considered as a dead cock in the pit unless some throe in the agony of political death should enable him to kill off his opponents, which is not likely to offer obtain?]. He is a mere hotbed production, a precocious politician, warmed into and kept in existence by a set of interested plunderers [?] that would, in the event of success, disembowel the treasury, disgrace the country, and damn the party to all eternity that brought them into power. Their arms thrown about his neck along the street—reading access to him in the oyster cellar of a complimentary character which are to be sent off to some subsidized press for publication, then a drink, next a hough, hough—then some aim to be discussed by which they expect to practice some swindle on the Government. You were here where you could see some of the persons engaged and the appliances brought to bear for the purpose of securing his election, you would involuntarily denounce the whole concern, a poor, miserable, vile banditti and much fitter to occupy places of cells in the penitentiary than places of state. I instinctively shrink from the thought of such ever being the case—it is too unnatural—it can never be." Andrew Johnson to T. Patterson, Apr. 4, 1852. Johnson MSS., Library of Congress.

ing brought about the election of Nicholson to the Senate in 1848, allowed the Democratic organization of Tennessee to present his own name to the Charleston convention, and to support him through many ballots. After the vicissitudes of that year he finally gave his adhesion to the Breckinridge-Lane ticket and made speeches in its behalf.

Meanwhile, the Whig leader, John Bell, so long overshadowed by Clay, and so often checkmated by the changes in the game of politics, led the forlorn hope of the Constitutional Union Party; and the large number of votes which that ticket received in the border States reveals the continuance of that conservatism which had appeared at the crisis of 1850, and which still clung to the hope of saving the Union. Within a few months the hand of a strange fate brought changes of bitter irony. John Bell, the apostle of the Union, wandered sadly with his people into the camp of the Confederacy. Parson Brownlow, the upholder of slavery, became the most violent enemy of that Confederacy which Bell had joined, while Johnson, more consistently perhaps, if his whole course be viewed, definitely threw in his lot with the Government of the Union, and returned early to the capital of the State of Tennessee, in the midst of public sentiment which denounced him as a traitor. But the election of Lincoln and the secession of the cotton States mark the beginning of a new transitional period in Tennessee politics, which lies outside the field of this paper.

XV. THE GENESIS OF THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT.

By P. ORMAN RAY,
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THE GENESIS OF THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT.

By P. OERMAN RAY.

The genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act presents a striking illustration of the importance of a careful study of State politics in order to arrive at a solution of not a few problems in the history of national politics.

My theory of the genesis of this important piece of legislation stated very briefly is (1) that the act originated in western conditions, particularly in political conditions in Missouri; (2) that the immediate occasion for the passing of the act in 1854 is to be found in the Missouri senatorial campaign of 1853-1854, when Thomas H. Benton was seeking restoration to the United States Senate in the place of David R. Atchison; and (3) so far as any one individual can be regarded as responsible for the repeal of the Missouri compromise, that such circumstantial and direct evidence as has been found points very strongly to Senator Atchison of Missouri. I believe that we shall never arrive at a true explanation of the origin of this celebrated act so long as we keep our eyes glued on Stephen A. Douglas and are unable to see the possible influence of others.¹

No theory of the genesis of this act is adequate which does not explain from the evidence at hand two essential points: (1) Why the passage of the act occurred in 1854, and neither sooner nor later; and (2) why the feature which repealed the Missouri compromise was added. A Nebraska bill without repeal of the Missouri compromise might have passed Congress in 1853. At least Douglas himself said in the Senate in March, 1853, that he knew there was a majority in favor of the bill which had passed the House, if only the bill could be brought to a final vote. It therefore becomes of the greatest importance to ascertain what had been happening between March, 1853, and January, 1854, which resulted in adding to the Nebraska bill the repeal of the Missouri compromise prohibition of slavery in the proposed territory.

During that period, and while Douglas was absent six months in Europe, the Wyandott Indians and the people of Iowa and Missouri

¹ This theory, together with the evidence upon which it is based, is elaborated in my book, *The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise: Its Origin and Authorship*, Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1909; hereafter cited as Ray.

had become intensely and actively interested in the organization of Nebraska Territory, in the construction of a Pacific railroad across it, and in the question of slavery or freedom in the new territory. All of these factors are important elements in explaining the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act *minus* the repeal feature. They would serve equally well to explain the genesis of such an act after 1854. But the most important factor of all, in my judgment, because it seems to be the only one which serves to concentrate the force of all these other factors and to focus them in a demand for definite congressional action at a definite point of time, was the schism which had rent the Democratic Party in Missouri during the preceding decade, and which culminated in the Missouri senatorial campaign of 1853-1854. This factor seems to me to be the only one which is sufficient to account for the appearance of the Kansas-Nebraska act *plus* its most distinguishing feature, early in the year of our Lord 1854.

Since the year 1844 there had existed a bitter factional contest in the Democratic Party in Missouri. One faction, comprising the conservatives on the slavery question and those with free-soil sympathies, was led by Col. Thomas H. Benton. The other faction included the radical proslavery men, led by David R. Atchison and James S. Green, who looked to John C. Calhoun for inspiration. After several years of plotting and strife, the Atchison wing of the party succeeded in 1850 in preventing Benton's reelection to the Senate. According to the reckoning of his enemies, this defeat should have annihilated Benton politically, but herein they miscalculated. In tracing Benton's subsequent political career we find a clue which leads us straight toward what I am convinced is the true explanation of the Kansas-Nebraska act, with the section which repealed the Missouri compromise.

Benton's election to the House of Representatives in 1852 was merely an episode in his efforts to compass his restoration to the Senate in 1853-1854 as successor to the leader of the opposing faction, David R. Atchison. The same fury and vehemence and vituperation that had distinguished Benton's senatorial campaign in 1849 characterized his campaign in 1852. A hostile New Orleans newspaper¹ thus describes it:

He spared no public or personal denunciation. He exhausted every expletive of abuse. He ransacked the entire range of the English language for terms of scorn and derision. He spared no character. He wavered in no contest. He struck at everything and everybody, fiercely, powerfully, and with a rude grandeur of gigantic rage and hate. He was an angry Vulcan, forging and launching thunderbolts of hate.

¹ New Orleans Crescent, quoted in Jefferson Inquirer, Aug. 28, 1852; also in Ray, 69, n. 87.

In the few minutes at my disposal I can indicate only in the briefest way some of the steps which marked the metamorphosis of a State factional contest into an issue fraught with the most serious national consequences.

It was an important, if not the leading, part in Col. Benton's plan of campaign in 1853 so to associate the organization of Nebraska Territory and the construction of the railroad from St. Louis across Missouri to the Pacific that the people of Missouri should look upon the establishment of the territorial government as indispensable to the success of the railroad.¹ In the execution of this plan Benton grossly misrepresented Atchison as not only not favoring the railroad but as being positively hostile to it, and also as hostile to the organization of the territorial government in Nebraska; and, therefore, as acting in opposition to the most important interests of his constituents.

As a direct result, we find a great reawakening of interest in Nebraska Territory late in 1852 and throughout 1853 among the people of Missouri and Iowa and among the Wyandott Indians. Consequently, the attitude of Senator Atchison upon the Territorial question underwent a change in the winter of 1852-1853. He came to realize that the people of western Missouri in particular, his own immediate constituents, eagerly favored the early creation of a Territorial government. As a practical politician he saw that there was nothing for him to do but to accede to their wishes, notwithstanding his own previous opposition to the organization of Nebraska, due in part to the prohibition of slavery therein. Accordingly, when the Nebraska bill came before the Senate in March, 1853, he turned as graceful and as dignified a political somersault as was possible and indicated his willingness to support the bill in spite of the obnoxious compromise restriction.²

From Atchison's remarks in the Senate upon this occasion and from the letters of Abelard Guthrie,³ the Wyandott delegate, written late in 1852, it was not difficult to forecast the attitude which Benton and Atchison would assume in case an issue arose which involved the retention or the repeal of the Missouri compromise as applied to the

¹ Although Benton, as early as 1849 and again in 1850, had introduced in the Senate bills which embodied his pretentious plan for a great "central national highway" from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and had made two speeches thereon in the Senate, I have been unable to find any evidence of belief on the part of Benton that a territorial government for Nebraska was "indispensably necessary," as Prof. Hodder says, to the success of the Pacific railroad prior to his speech at Jackson, Mo., late in October, 1852. (See Ray, Chapter III.) The emphasis which Benton placed on this alleged indispensability seems to me to have been designed for campaign consumption in Missouri. Inasmuch as Prof. Hodder's theory, to be discussed later in this paper, rests very largely on the assumption, without proof, that the territorial government was "indispensably necessary" to the Pacific railroad, I shall revert to the matter again. (See *post*, p. 267.) Congressional Globe, XXVI, 1111 ff; quoted in Ray, 102 ff. See also Ray, 112 ff. Quoted in Ray, 87 ff.

new territory. Upholding the power of Congress to exclude slavery from the territories, Benton would certainly oppose any attempt to repeal the old restriction. Denying the power of Congress in the premises, Atchison would be found vigorously supporting a direct or even an indirect repeal of that restriction; and, a fortiori, would he do so if his political existence seemed to depend upon it.

As soon as Congress adjourned in March, 1853, the Missouri senatorial campaign was vigorously renewed, and the organization of Nebraska Territory as a prerequisite to the construction of the Pacific Railroad, owing to Benton's tactics, became the all-engrossing issue. Benton soon visited the western counties of the State, which formed Atchison's "stamping ground," and found the inhabitants feverish to get across the river into the rich lands of Nebraska. In this eagerness Benton perceived an opportunity to make much-needed political capital for himself at the expense of his rival. Shortly thereafter he proclaimed the startling doctrine that Nebraska was then legally open to immediate settlement without the necessity of further action by Congress or by the Executive, and at the same time pledged himself to champion a Territorial bill at the next session of Congress. Thus he hoped to detach from Atchison and transfer to himself the political allegiance of those populous frontier counties.

Benton's disconcerting aggressiveness in declaring Nebraska legally open to settlement, as well as his misrepresentation of Atchison's attitude toward the Pacific Railroad, although in the end proving a boomerang, had the immediate effect of seriously weakening Atchison's position as a candidate and of compelling him to act upon the defensive, a situation relished by no politician who is opposed by a formidable antagonist. Indeed, the political situation throughout the summer and autumn of 1853 was full of difficulty for Atchison. In order to recover the ground lost as a result of Benton's unexpected maneuver, Atchison was not slow to see that he, too, must adopt even at the risk of a charge of inconsistency, an aggressive Nebraska policy; but it must, of course, be one essentially different from that of Benton. In this crisis, to extricate himself from a most embarrassing position in which his very political existence seemed at stake, he boldly announced himself in favor of the organization of Nebraska, *but only upon the condition* that the ancient restriction upon slavery be repealed in order to permit his slaveholding constituents to enter Nebraska and raise hemp with the help of their slaves.

This was the Missouri political situation, briefly summarized, at the time when the Thirty-third Congress met in December, 1853. There can be no mistake that the most important issue between the warring factions in Missouri was nothing less than the retention or the repeal of the Missouri compromise. Since these issues related directly to subjects peculiarly within the scope of congress-

sional action, the contest was certain to reappear in one form or another at Washington, for there alone could the issues be finally determined. It seems highly improbable that Members of Congress who had been conspicuous in the increasingly acrimonious discussions in Missouri in the summer and fall of 1853 should abruptly drop all their personal animosities and discard their interest in the Nebraska question as soon as Congress convened. Not only the Missouri newspapers but also prominent newspapers of the East, both northern and southern, freely expressed the belief that all the questions connected with the Nebraska movement in Missouri would be transferred to the halls of Congress.¹

At any rate, with Missourians, Iowans, and Indians all at work, the Nebraska question was certain to assume in the Thirty-third Congress an importance far greater than in any preceding session. In all probability it would have caused a renewal of the slavery agitation even if Senator Douglas had not been in Congress. Certain it is that the territorial question came before the Senate Committee on Territories, and Senator Douglas was thus compelled to take one side or the other of the issues championed by Atchison and Benton. He was obliged to act either with the conservative slavery-restrictionist element in the party or with the radical pro-slavery wing or else devise some middle ground upon which both factions could unite.

That Senator Atchison should seek to influence Douglas's decision was not unnatural but highly probable, especially since they were not only fellow-partisans but also close friends. It is not difficult to see how powerful an appeal Atchison could make for the incorporation into the Dodge Nebraska bill of some clause which should in effect repeal the old compromise restriction. It is not unfair to argue that Atchison's political necessity could have been so presented as to appear to be Douglas's great political opportunity. In the first place, by championing the repeal, Mr. Douglas would be assisting a political and personal friend in dire straits. Furthermore, he would be placing the southern Democracy under obligation to himself, and thus would materially increase his chances of obtaining the presidential nomination in 1856. The principle of popular sovereignty would afford ground upon which the rank and file of the factions in Missouri might unite with some semblance of harmony, since each faction there had but recently declared in favor of that method of deciding the "vexed" question; and this would enhance the popularity of the measure in other portions of the West. Ready at hand was a plausible justification for attaching the repeal feature to the bill, for Democratic newspapers had already interpreted the

¹ Quoted in Ray, 179 ff.

compromise of 1850 as applicable to Nebraska.¹ Loyalty to the compromise, as thus interpreted, could be made a test of political orthodoxy in New York where also the party was "in distracted condition." To this basis for the repeal, moreover, objections from either of the two national parties would be forestalled by the doctrine of supersedure, for both parties stood committed to the finality of the compromise of 1850. If, in addition to all these considerations it be conceded that Mr. Douglas was a sincere believer in the dogma of popular sovereignty as a cure for the slavery agitation, then it requires no abnormal imagination to conceive how effectually a personal and political friend could have made his appeal to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories so to shape the Nebraska bill as to meet the Missouri political situation. In a word, it might have been represented as a turning point in Douglas's political career.

At any rate, we all know what followed. Just how the plan embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill bore upon the old fight in Missouri is easily explained. After passing the Senate, the bill repealing the compromise came before the House, of which Col. Benton was then a picturesque member, and he was thus compelled to face a dilemma. If he supported the Nebraska bill with the repealing clause, he would go counter to his well-known free-soil opinions and sympathies, and, in consequence, he would lose the support of the Missouri restrictionists in the ensuing August legislative elections. If, on the other hand, he should oppose the bill, he would go counter to his recent and repeated pledges to bring about the immediate establishment of a territorial government, and consequently would be certain to lose the support of the populous pro-slavery counties on the western border, which he had taken such extraordinary pains to win over. Either course involved the loss of an important political following in his fight for restoration to the Senate. In the end, Col. Benton spoke and voted against the bill, thus doing, in the words of a Missouri newspaper editorial,² "all that his worst enemy could ask." His vote largely explains his defeat in the next senatorial election, but he doubtless derived a compensating satisfaction from the fact that Atchison also failed of reelection.

This, in greatly condensed outline, is my theory of the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act with its repeal feature. As to the relative

¹ Quoted in Ray, 187 ff. Prof. Hodder dismisses the importation by Douglas into the Kansas-Nebraska bill of the doctrine that the Missouri compromise had been superseded by the principles of the compromise of 1850 (Jan. 20, 1854), as "verbal jugglery intended to cover his defeat." To this method of historical writing, I for one take exception. There is evidence which tends to prove that this doctrine of repeal by supersedure was not an invention of Douglas; that, on the contrary, there was a considerable, respectable, and influential portion of the Democratic Party which held that the compromise measures of 1850 had established a new principle to be followed in the creation of future territories; and that their views had been publicly expressed editorially in leading Democratic newspapers weeks before the appearance of the doctrine in the Senate. Prof. Hodder ignores this evidence.

² Editorial in the Missouri Republican, Mar. 14, 1854; quoted in Ray, 224.

importance of Atchison, Douglas, and Dixon in shaping the act, I am content to rest my conclusion on the probabilities of the case thus briefly outlined, in order to simplify our discussion by avoiding controversy over Atchison's own claims in the matter as well as over the testimony of Col. Parker, Francis P. Blair, and others, which is a stumblingblock and rock of offense to some; whereas to me that testimony seems to be corroborative and cumulative in its effect.¹

The remaining portion of my remarks will be confined to an attempt to establish the unsoundness of Prof. Hodder's theory of the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act.

Prof. Hodder's paper on *The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act*² illustrates three not uncommon defects in historical writing, namely, (1) a tendency to attach to past events and discussions an importance, based upon subsequent developments, which is wholly out of proportion to that felt by most contemporaries, that is to say, by the general public. (2) The oft-noted and criticised tendency to write antebellum history chiefly from the pages of the *Congressional Globe* is also conspicuous; but since Prof. Hodder appears to rely mainly upon that source, I may perhaps be pardoned if I attempt to answer some of his arguments by appealing to the same source. (3) Equally prominent is the tendency of the special pleader plausibly to present all the evidence that supports his own theories and to overlook, if not to ignore, evidence which tends to establish a different conclusion. The specific points which seem to justify these three general criticisms will, I think, appear clearly if, passing over the introductory and irrelevant portions of the article, we analyze carefully the main assertions and arguments, together with the evidence or lack of evidence upon which they are based.

Prof. Hodder's main propositions, as I understand them, are (1) that the chief factor in the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act was the agitation for a transcontinental railroad;³ (2) that Douglas was "above all other things interested in the railroad development

¹ See Ray, 230 ff, and Appendices C, D, and E; also MS. of Philip Phillips, quoted in McMaster, VIII, 195, n.

² "The Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," Wisconsin State Historical Society Proceedings, 1912; hereafter cited as Hodder.

³ Hodder, 69. Prof. Hodder's statement (p. 70) that "the rivalry [over routes] was the keener because it was supposed at that time that not more than one Pacific railway would ever be needed and that the first one constructed would remain the permanent highway across the continent," seems to be disproved by a careful reading of the Senate debates in the second session of the Thirty-second Congress over the Rusk Pacific railroad bill. For example, Seward, of New York, said: "It is idle to suppose that one road across this continent is to answer the purposes of trade and commerce perpetually or for any long time." Cong. Globe, XXVI, 766.

Prof. Hodder also exaggerates the necessity for a Pacific railroad via the South Pass. Douglas himself did not regard the South Pass as essential. On Feb. 19, 1853, he said in the Senate while speaking in support of the Rusk bill: "When I used the expression 'South Pass' in an illustration, I had not the slightest idea that there was any implication, directly or indirectly, in the bill that would indicate that as the location of the road. I will go further and say, as I can say, I do not believe under this bill that Gen.

of the West";¹ (3) that the creation of a territorial government in Nebraska was "indispensably necessary" to the construction of the Pacific railroad,² and that these two subjects "were coupled in Douglas's mind from the beginning of his national career";³ (4) that his desire to promote western railroad interests, especially those of Chicago, was the controlling motive which induced him to champion the Kansas-Nebraska bill;⁴ (5) that in order to insure the passage of that bill, by attracting to its support southern votes in Congress, Douglas, reluctantly and under pressure, added the clause which repealed the Missouri compromise;⁵ and (6) that Douglas can not fairly be charged with having been actuated chiefly by selfish ambition for the presidency.⁶ With the last two propositions I am in general accord, but upon the first four I take issue with Prof. Hodder.

Prof. Hodder begins by saying that the Kansas-Nebraska act was the resultant of "four distinct elements."⁷ Although each of these

Pierce would locate it through that pass. And I will go further and say that I believe there are half a dozen passes through the mountains practicable for a railroad south of the South Pass, where it could be located, and that on a tolerably direct line, without touching any one of the States. I do not believe that the bill gives the slightest advantage either way in the location of the road. I believe that a central position will be selected under it, if it passes, not because I have any information, but simply because it is being left to the Executive to do justice to the North and to the South, and he will have a due regard to both sections. I disclaim any idea that the North is getting the slightest advantage under the terms here used." Cong. Globe, XXVI, 708.

In this connection it would be interesting to know the circumstances which led to the rescinding by the Illinois legislature of instructions to Illinois senators and representatives to support the bill of the preceding session, which made provision for the construction of both a northern and a southern road, mentioned by Douglas on the day of the remark quoted in the preceding paragraph. See Cong. Globe, XXVI, 714.

¹ Hodder, 71.

² Hodder, 72, 74. Prof. Hodder says (p. 72), "It was indispensably necessary that the territory through which the road was to be built be organized in order to provide means for building it by the sale of land and in order to provide both protection and business after the road should be built. Unless the northern territory could also be organized, the chance of securing a northern route was lost." Although it is essential to the validity of Prof. Hodder's theory that this indispensability be established, it should be noted that he produces no evidence to prove it. The assumption seems to me to be entirely unwarranted. (See ante, p. 267.) Certainly, in the lengthy Senate discussion of the Rusk Pacific railroad bill in 1853, in the course of which many members favorable and unfavorable to the bill took part, I think I am safe in saying that there is nothing which indicates at all conclusively that any Senator regarded the territorial government as in the least degree indispensable. As a matter of fact the subjects are not coupled in the Senate debate.

³ Hodder, 76.

⁴ Hodder, 71, 84.

⁵ Hodder, 81, 85.

⁶ Hodder, 85, 86.

⁷ Hodder, 69. As a matter of fact, it was the resultant of five elements: the four which Prof. Hodder names—(a) the agitation for a transcontinental railway, (b) the question of slavery in the Territories, (c) the local demand in Missouri and Iowa for the organization of Nebraska Territory, and (d) the activity of the Wyandott Indians. These elements may be sufficient to explain the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act minus the repeal of the Missouri compromise restriction; but, to me at least, they do not seem sufficient to explain the genesis of that act plus the repeal, which is the most important feature of the act, although kept in the background in the paper under consideration. Neither are these elements sufficient to explain why the act and repeal came in the year 1854. We must, therefore, if our enumeration is to be complete, add a fifth element, namely, the dissensions in the Democratic Party in Missouri of nearly 10 years' standing.

elements is clearly distinguishable from the others, I can not agree with Prof. Hodder that they were "distinct." To me it seems perfectly clear that they acted and reacted upon one another in a most unmistakable manner.

Neither can I agree with his assertion that of these elements or factors the "agitation for a transcontinental railroad" was "the first and most important." We must remember that this agitation extended over a period of nearly 20 years, a period longer than that which has elapsed since the Spanish-American War, before Congress finally passed the necessary legislation for its construction. The genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act fell in the first half of that long period when a priori it may fairly be presumed that there was much less public interest in the subject to warrant congressional action than in the years which just preceded the final legislation of 1862. Eight years elapsed after the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and then only after the Civil War had been in progress a year, before Congress felt justified in making the first definite provision for the actual construction of the road. I am not saying that the Pacific railroad project was not an important subject in 1853-1854, especially in certain sections and in some minds and with certain special interests. But it requires more evidence than Prof. Hodder has yet produced to prove that the subject had, in those years, become of sufficient general importance to justify us in calling it "the first and most important" element, "the mainspring,"¹ in the appearance and passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

This seems to be borne out in part (a) by my interpretation of Douglas's letter to Walker and Lanphier, his newspaper friends in Illinois, written in November, 1853, and which Prof. Hodder cites.² If the order of the topics mentioned in this letter is likely to come before Congress and the phraseology used is of any significance, one may, I think, fairly regard the Pacific railroad as the least important of the subjects which Douglas mentions. Characteristically, the first two subjects mentioned, and the ones which I think were probably "uppermost" in his mind, were (1) the distracted condition of the party and the importance of "consolidating its power and perpetuating its principles"; and (2) the mistakes of the admin-

¹ In this connection the remarks of John Bell of Tennessee are important: "I am sorry to see an advantage taken of the interest excited by other business and questions before the Senate to defeat this measure. The resolution in relation to Cuba, Central America, to the Clayton and Bulwer Treaty, British Honduras, the Bay Islands, the Tehuantepec grant, and the Texas debt bill have each and all of them been magnified into subjects of far greater public interest than the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. In the midst of so many more interesting and exciting questions it is difficult to get senators to give any attention to such a project as this. The truth is that this subject is not the advantage of the outside pressure of personal and individual interest and solicitude as some other measures have. All the influences of this kind are against it." *Eng. Globe*, XXVII, 227 (Feb. 17, 1853).

² This letter is printed in full in Ray, 185-186.

istration, especially in the distribution of the spoils, and his willingness to support the administration, nevertheless; but the difficulties ahead of it, he says, "*must* be met boldly and fairly." (3) There is a surplus revenue "*which must* be disposed of, and (4) the tax reduced to a legitimate revenue standard." (5) "The river and harbor question *must* be met and decided." And finally he goes around to mention (6) the fact that the Pacific railroad will be "a disturbing element," etc. Whether this order of topics and phraseology is of any significance or not, one thing is certain, it can not fairly be claimed from anything in this letter, written less than a month before Congress met, that Pacific railroad considerations were "the mainspring" to the movement for the organization of Nebraska Territory, a subject which, it should be noted, is entirely unmentioned in this letter.¹

(b) It should be further noted in this connection that less than two years before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act the subject of the Pacific railroad was not deemed of sufficient importance by any national party to be mentioned in its platform of 1852; and even in 1856, more than two years after the passage of the act, of which we are told that the mainspring was the Pacific railroad agitation, there is no mention of that subject in the Democratic platform or in the Whig platform.² In that year only the new Republican Party, the "progressive" party of that day, felt warranted in giving the Pacific railroad honorable mention in its national platform. It was not until 1860 that the subject had assumed sufficient importance in the estimation of Mr. Douglas's own party to find a place in the Democratic platform.

Passing to his second main proposition, we find Prof. Hodder asserting that "above all other things, Douglas was interested in the railroad development of the West." In support of this statement he cites (a) Douglas's well-known activity in procuring the land grant in 1850 for the Illinois Central; (b) his proposal of 1845, while Member of the House, for land grants to the four middle-western States for a railroad from Lake Erie to the Missouri River; and (c) his bill of December, 1844, for the organization of Nebraska and Oregon Territories, which, according to Douglas's father-in-law, provided for a land grant to these Territories for a railway from Missouri to the Pacific. These last two bills are cited for the purpose of showing that the creation of a Territorial government for Nebraska

¹ "Had Nebraska and the Missouri compromise been uppermost in his [Douglas's] thoughts, he would have referred to the subject; for the letter was written in strict confidence to friends from whom he kept no secrets and before whom he was not wont to pose." Johnson, Stephen A. Douglas, 228.

² Prof. Hodder says (p. 84) that in 1856 "both parties declared in their platforms for a transcontinental road." The Whig and Democratic platforms as printed in Stanwood's History of the Presidency and in Cooper's American Politics contain no such declaration.

and the construction of a Pacific railroad "were coupled in Douglas's mind from the beginning of his national career."¹

If this be true, what inference shall we draw from the fact that, so far as Prof. Hodder indicates, Mr. Douglas thereafter was silent on these important and so vitally related subjects for a period of over three years, from December, 1844, to March, 1848, during which period Asa Whitney, the John the Baptist of the Pacific railway movement, was going up and down the land not wholly unlike "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." Finally, in March, 1848, Mr. Douglas, then serving his first term in the Senate, broke his silence and introduced his second Nebraska bill. If this bill contained any evidence that the Territorial government and the Pacific railway were "coupled" in Douglas's mind, Prof. Hodder does not mention the fact. On the other hand, apparently the impulse resulting in the introduction of this second Nebraska bill came not from the State of Illinois but from Missouri, for, three months before Douglas introduced this bill, a Representative from Missouri and a Senator from Missouri had presented to Congress a memorial from the legislature of that State which argued for the organization of Nebraska Territory, but made no mention of the Pacific railroad. This memorial had been referred to Douglas's Committee on Territories, and not long thereafter appeared this second Nebraska bill. The following December (1848) Douglas introduced his third Nebraska bill and, at the same time, bills for the organization of Minnesota and New Mexico. Here again, if there is any evidence of the connection of the Territorial government and the Pacific railroad, Prof. Hodder does not mention it. Then there ensued a period of over four years during which Douglas did not introduce or report any bill for the organization of Nebraska.

In the meantime Douglas did introduce one bill which Prof. Hodder thinks has a tendency to prove Douglas's great interest in the Pacific railroad. In April, 1852, he introduced a bill "for the protection of the emigrant route" for a telegraph line and overland mail from the Missouri River to California and Oregon. But Prof. Hodder fails to give us Douglas's own explanation of how he came to introduce this bill at this particular time. With some show of impatience, it seems to me, Douglas declared that "Memorials upon memorials in piles, from all the western States" had been flowing upon the Committee on Territories during this session of Congress, "memorials for the protection of the emigrant lines * * * between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean." At least one such memorial had come from Missouri, having been drawn up in Park-

¹ The first Nebraska bill (1844) apparently originated not with Douglas, but with William Wilkins, Secretary of War, in his report submitted to Congress in November, 1844. (See House Executive Documents, 2 sess., 28 Cong., I, 124 ff; and Ray, 95 ff.)

ville on the western border of the State, and presented to the Senate by Senator Atchison a week before these remarks by Douglas. In spite of all this Western demand for the protection of the emigrant routes, Mr. Douglas could declare to the Senate: "I was not ambitious to come forward with a proposition of this kind."¹ A careful study of the debates over this bill² and over the Rusk Pacific Railroad bill of 1853 which was substituted for it in the Senate fails to disclose any distinguishing enthusiasm on Douglas's part for the railroad bill, or that there was any vital connection between the two measures in the mind of Douglas or of any other member of the Senate.

Another point which I wish to criticize is Prof. Hodder's reply to my objection that Douglas was not controlled by Pacific Railroad considerations or else he would have testified to the fact when defending himself either in Congress or upon the stump for his part in the repeal.³ The reply of Prof. Hodder is that Douglas "could

¹ Cong. Globe, XXIV, pt. II, 1161, 1683-84.

² That this bill at its inception had no connection with the Pacific railroad question appears from Douglas's statement in the Senate: "It is an important bill, I admit, but it is important only for this reason: That we have no protection provided for the emigrants, travelers, and traders, and the mail carriers between the western settlements and the Pacific Ocean; and murders, robberies, and all sorts of aggressions are committed by the Indians upon our people while they are passing through the Indian territory. Some protection is due and necessary to those people . . . The only new principle introduced into this bill is that under it volunteers are to be raised to go and build these [military] posts of the materials along the line . . ." Cong. Globe, XXIV, pt. II, 1684 (July 8, 1852). This is the burden of his entire argument for the bill. Several other speakers referred to the subject of the Pacific railroad, but in all of Douglas's remarks the following is, I think, the only allusion to the railroad: "Is there a man in this body who does not know that this Union can not exist unless we have some means, either this road [i. e., the military road] or a railroad, or some other means of communication with the Pacific?" Ibid., 1762.

From Prof. Hodder's summary reference to this emigrant protection bill of 1852 and to the Rusk Pacific Railroad bill of 1853 one is easily led to infer that Douglas was chiefly responsible for the substitution of the railroad bill for the former by the select committee to which his bill had been referred at the opening of the second session of the Thirty-second Congress. I am unable to discover that Douglas was even a member of this select committee. Rusk, of Texas, was the chairman, and without doubt the moving spirit in the committee. Weller, of California said: "I know and I admit that the Senator from Texas has labored more assiduously than any Senator on this floor in the preparation of this bill. I know that all his energies—and great they are—have been devoted to accomplish this great national work, and that the section of the Union from which I come owes him a deep debt of gratitude for the friendly interest he exhibited in it." Cong. Globe, XXVI, 774 (Feb. 22, 1853).

Of the two bills, Douglas was more interested in that for the protection of the emigrant route, for which the Rusk bill had been substituted. This will appear from a careful study of the debates upon the two measures. It is significant that two or three days after debate upon the railroad bill closed Douglas revived his bill to protect the emigrant route by offering it in modified form as an amendment to the Army appropriation bill, and it passed the Senate in this form, although later it was stricken out in conference. This bill could not have passed the Senate had any Senator believed that it had any vital bearing upon the route of the railroad. Senator Bradbury, of Maine had opposed the emigrant protection bill at the preceding session upon the specific ground that it was a measure "that would embarrass and probably defeat the railroad by absorbing the means necessary for that purpose;" and John Bell opposed Douglas's rider to the Army appropriation bill, saying, "it will retard a greater improvement—a railroad to the Pacific." See Cong. Globe, XXIV, pt. III, 1763; Ibid., XXVI, 845; and Senate Journal, 2 sess., 32 Cong., 242 (Feb. 25, 1853).

³ Hodder, 71, 85-86; Ray, 242.

not openly favor either a Chicago or a St. Louis terminal without losing support in one section [of Illinois] or the other," meaning the northern section, tributary to Chicago, or the southern section, tributary to St. Louis. In other words, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, with its repeal of the Missouri compromise, was a cleverly devised scheme to benefit Chicago at the expense of southern Illinois. If this was the true purpose of the bill, Prof. Hodder is quite right in his reply; such a purpose Douglas could not, of course, avow publicly, because it could be made to appear strangely like robbing Peter to pay Paul, a very reckless act of grand larceny for any politician to attempt in the arena of national politics. But to my mind this reply is wholly inadequate, as is the main contention underlying the reply, namely, that the act was primarily designed for the benefit of Chicago interests. In the first place, the reply is merely an unsupported assertion and a deduction from premises the insufficiency of which I am trying to indicate. Furthermore, if the reply gives us the real reason for Douglas's silence it belittles the political keenness and perspicacity of Douglas's numerous political opponents. If the existence of this subterranean motive is so perfectly clear to Prof. Hodder 60 years after the event, and without any direct contemporary evidence, is it reasonable to suppose that its existence could have escaped exposure in the debates in Congress, on the stump, or in the newspapers in those days when Douglas said, if my recollection is correct, that he could travel from Washington to Chicago by the light of his own burning effigies; or that it could have escaped the notice of all of our historians who have been over his period so carefully? Prof. Hodder unfortunately does not present in his article a scintilla of contemporary testimony, direct or hearsay, to support his reply to my objection.¹

Over against the lack of evidence of distinguishing interest or enthusiasm on the part of Douglas in either Nebraska Territory² or the Pacific Railroad, let us set the evidence of such activity and interest coming from the State of Missouri. The fourth Nebraska bill was introduced in the House by Willard P. Hall, of Missouri, in December, 1851; and, in July, 1852, Senator Atchison, of Missouri, presented the resolutions adopted at a meeting of citizens

¹ Although Prof. Hodder takes exception to my claim that the Senate vote of March, 1853, on the Nebraska bill indicates that the opposition to the bill was connected with the choice of route for the Pacific Railroad, he comes around to substantially the same conclusions, namely, that "the situation was too complex to render it possible to interpret the vote from any single point of view" (p. 79).

² This seeming lack of interest in Nebraska Territory on the part of Douglas is all the more surprising in view of the fact that in the first session of the Thirty-second Congress (December, 1851), several petitions from inhabitants of his own State, as well as Indiana, for the organization of Nebraska Territory were presented to the Senate, some of them by Douglas himself, and were referred to his Committee on Territories. (Senate Journal, 190, 330, 345, 478.)

in Parkville, on the western border of Missouri, asking for the early organization of Nebraska for the protection of the emigrant route but making no reference to the Pacific Railroad. Again, in December, 1852, Mr. Hall, of Missouri, reintroduced his Nebraska bill (called the Richardson bill by Prof. Hodder), which was the first of the series of Nebraska bills to pass either House of Congress. It is in the discussion of this bill in the House in February, 1853, that we have the two incidental references of Hall, of Missouri, and Richardson, of Illinois, to an opposition to the bill based upon Pacific Railroad considerations. When isolated, these remarks seem to have the significance attached to them, I admit; but when read carefully along with the entire context, there seems to me to be little if any, justification for the importance which has been attached to them.¹ Furthermore, it should be noted that the Nebraska bill of the Thirty-third Congress, which ultimately passed as the Kansas Nebraska act, was not introduced by Douglas, but by Senator Dodge of Iowa, and in the House by Mr. Miller, of Missouri.

Prof. Hodder seems to be deeply impressed by the activity of the Iowa people, especially Senator Dodge,² and properly so. Even before the Hall-Richardson bill had passed the House in February 1853, Senator Dodge, apparently dissatisfied with the inactivity of the Committee on Territories, seems to have attempted to prod that committee into activity by introducing a resolution early in 1853 which was adopted, actually instructing the Committee on Territories "to inquire into the expediency of a territorial government for . . . Nebraska."³

On the other hand, Prof. Hodder seems strangely blind in his article to evidence of similar activity with respect to obtaining land grants for railways on the part of Senator Atchison of Missouri. The latter's record in Congress shows quite as much active and efficient interest in obtaining such grants for railroads across Missouri, as preliminaries to the transcontinental road, as the record of the Senators from Illinois and Iowa. The very year in which

¹ Prof. Hodder is correct in saying that I erroneously state that Hall's remarks are the only ones in which reference is made to the subject of the Pacific Railroad in the House debates on the Nebraska bill in 1853 (p. 78, n.). I overlooked the brief allusion to the subject by Richardson, of Illinois, which, however, Prof. Hodder erroneously says that I quote (Ray, 241). He also erroneously quotes, as having been made by Hall, the remark which Richardson made (p. 78). The error is immaterial, however.

² Mention is also made of the bill introduced by Senator Jones, of Iowa, in March, 1852, and amended by Senator Dodge, providing for a land grant to aid in the construction of two railroads across the State of Iowa, apparently as preliminaries to the construction of the Pacific road.

³ This fact is not mentioned by Prof. Hodder, nor does he mention the fact that active interest among the people of western Iowa in the Nebraska question in 1853 seems to be directly traceable to the interest and activity which had previously developed in Missouri and among the Wyandotts. The earliest evidence of Iowa interest which I have been able to find appears in October, 1853, when Hadley D. Johnson was elected Territorial Delegate. Senator Dodge's visit to western Iowa occurred the following month. (See Hadley D. Johnson's statement, quoted in Ray, 175 ff.)

Douglas procured the land grant for the Illinois Central, Senator Atchison had introduced bills which subsequently became laws, providing for land grants to aid in the construction of a railway from St. Louis to the western limits of Missouri; and even before that, Atchison had introduced bills which became laws, providing for a land grant for a railroad from Hannibal to St. Joseph in Missouri. I believe that it is possible to cite as much evidence of legislative activity on the part of Atchison connected with the construction of preliminary sections of a transcontinental system as in the case of any other Member of Congress before 1854.¹ Moreover, in Atchison's case the success of railroad legislation, especially in 1853 and 1854, was essential to the maintenance of his political influence at home. About this last point there can be no mistake; there is no need for conjecture or mere assertion; the evidence is indubitable and unimpeachable. Atchison thus had a direct personal interest and motive in promoting Nebraska and Pacific railway legislation which has not yet been established in the case of Douglas.

It is in his treatment of the events of 1853 and 1854 that the weaknesses of Prof. Hodder's article as a piece of special pleading are perhaps most conspicuous. In the first place, I do not think that it is an unfair, but rather the obvious, interpretation of what Prof. Hodder says about the visit of Col. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Nebraska country in the summer of 1853,² to say that the statement seems calculated to convey the impression that the commissioner's visit was in some way unexplained, intimately connected with the choice of the route for the Pacific Railroad, and that his return without having negotiated any treaties of cession with the Indians was part of a conspiracy to rush through the choice of a southern route, in order to prevent which Douglas felt that "if anything was to be done to prevent it, it must be done quickly"; ergo, his support in the following winter of the Nebraska bill plus the repeal of the Missouri compromise.³ No evidence or authority is cited in

¹ See Ray, 77-80, and footnotes.

² Hodder, 80.

³ *Ibid.*, 80. For Prof. Hodder's further assumption that Douglas blocked the building the southern road, "which in 1853 was upon the eve of accomplishment," I can find no warrant. Where evidence may be found to justify this assertion, Prof. Hodder does not indicate. Yet, in order to explain why the Kansas-Nebraska act came in 1854, it is essential for him firmly to establish this point. In the Senate debate on the Rusk bill in 1853 I am unable to find the slightest ground for the assertion. That bill, which was discussed at length, did not fix upon any route, but left the choice to the incoming President after the necessary surveys, for which the bill carried an appropriation. For this very reason not a few Senators supported the bill who would have opposed it had it specified any route for the railroad. Douglas himself supported the bill. (See ante, 267.)

The surveys which Prof. Hodder mentions (pp. 78-79) were not submitted to Congress till 1855. If Douglas was excited in the winter of 1853-54 by the fear of a "snap" decision of the southern route, his fears were groundless. A simple inquiry at the proper place in Washington would have elicited the fact that the surveys would not be ready at that session of Congress.

support of this cavalier treatment of Manypenny's visit to Nebraska. If we may assume that in his subsequent report¹ Col. Manypenny told the truth—and his veracity has never, so far as I am aware, been impeached—the reason given for his failure to negotiate treaties had no connection whatever with the southern route. On the contrary, the commissioner distinctly states that his failure was due to the excitement stirred up among the Indians by reason of Benton's extraordinary claim, made in his campaign in 1853 to defeat Atchison for reelection to the Senate, that Nebraska was then legally open to settlement by white people without the necessity of preliminary treaties or cession on the part of the Indians or of any act of Congress establishing a territorial government.

From the little that Prof. Hodder says of this senatorial campaign in Missouri one might infer that it was a purely one-sided, *ex parte*, Bentonian affair in which Benton was running upon a platform "of a Missouri terminal for the Pacific Railway and the immediate opening of Nebraska to settlement in order to secure [the Missouri terminal]." He has nothing whatever to say about the equally vigorous and spirited campaign that Atchison was conducting for his own reelection nor of his pledges on the stump and in the press to support a Nebraska bill which should accomplish, for the benefit of his slave-holding constituents in western Missouri, exactly what the Kansas-Nebraska act accomplished. All this was taking place in Missouri while Mr. Douglas was enjoying himself; let us hope, on a six months' European trip, during which time the question of a Territorial government for Nebraska, the question of slavery in the new Territory, Missouri's interest in the route of the Pacific Railway, and the interest of the Wyandott Indians there had all become inextricably involved with the political fortunes of Atchison as well as Benton.

Prof. Hodder also makes the unsupported assertion that "The organization of Nebraska was not needed by the westward movement, as there were still in Missouri thousands of acres of unoccupied land; but it was indispensable to a Missouri terminus for the Pacific Railroad."² Now, it may be true that the organization of Nebraska was not needed, for the reason given by Prof. Hodder; but there is evidence tending to prove that the people of Missouri thought and claimed that it was needed by the "westward movement." Prof. Hodder can not have read carefully the well-known book of J. Madison Cutts, the proud father-in-law of Douglas, which he cites as an authority upon other points, or else he would have discovered this passage, purporting to come from Douglas

¹ See House Executive Documents, 1 sess., 33 Cong., pt. I, 243 ff, 269 ff; quoted in part in Ray, 154, and notes.

² Hodder, 74.

himself, respecting the necessity for the organization of Nebraska Territory. Please observe the prominence here given to political conditions in Missouri and also the statement respecting the purpose of Col. Manypenny's visit to the Nebraska Indians. The passage referred to is as follows:

In the meantime [1844-1853] the passion of the western people for emigration had become so aroused that they could no longer be restrained; and Col. Benton, who was a candidate in Missouri for reelection to the Senate in 1852 and 1853, so far yielded to the popular clamor as to advise the emigrants who had assembled in a force of fifteen or twenty thousand on the western border of Missouri, carrying their tents and wagons, to invade the territory and take possession, in defiance of the Indian intercourse laws and of the authority of the Federal Government, which, if executed, must inevitably have precipitated an Indian war with all those tribes.

When this movement on the part of Col. Benton became known at Washington, the President of the United States dispatched the Commissioner of Indian Affairs [Col. Manypenny] to the scene of excitement, with orders to the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth to use the United States Army in resisting the invasion if he could not succeed in restraining the emigrants by persuasion and remonstrances. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs succeeded in procuring the agreement of the emigrants that they would encamp on the western borders of Missouri until the end of the next session of Congress, in order to see if Congress would not in the meantime by law open the country to emigration. When Congress assembled at the session of 1853-54, in view of this state of facts, Mr. Douglas renewed his [sic] Nebraska act, which was modified, pending discussion, by dividing into two Territories, and became the Kansas-Nebraska act. From these facts you can draw your own conclusions whether there was any necessity for the organization of the Territory and of congressional action at that time.¹

We now come to the question, Was force or persuasion used upon Douglas to accomplish the repeal of the Missouri compromise? And if so, who employed this force or persuasion? Prof. Hodder says that "Douglas did not originally intend to repeal the Missouri compromise, but having made one concession he made a second, and then was forced to make a third and a fourth," referring, of course, to the mutations which the bill underwent in the Senate, and that Douglas "yielded to pressure."² In this last statement Prof. Hodder is quite right; but it is his answer to the natural and unavoidable question, whence came this pressure, to which I take exception. He asserts in a footnote that "it was Dixon who forced direct repeal,"³ and later on he asserts that Douglas's "hand was further forced by Dixon's motion for direct repeal of the Missouri compromise."⁴ This

¹ J. Madison Cutts, *A Brief Treatise upon Constitutional and Party Questions*, 90-91; cited in Ray, 163-164, n. 128. See also Atchison's speech in the Senate, March, 1853, *Eng. Globe*, XXVI, 1111 ff.; quoted in Ray, 102 ff.

² Hodder, 81. Douglas himself afterwards admitted this in a speech at the Illinois State Agricultural Fair in October, 1854, when he said, "I was no volunteer in this matter. It devolved upon me as a duty." Ray, 200.

³ Hodder, 73.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 81.

is all that Prof. Hodder has to say upon this important point, except that in a footnote he seems unwilling to concede that by any possibility, still less any probability, this pressure could have come from Senator Atchison of Missouri.¹

In other words, Prof. Hodder claims that a Whig Senator from a State which apparently was not peculiarly interested in the Pacific Railroad or in the Territorial question could have forced Douglas to a course of action which a Senator belonging to Douglas's own party and coming from a State where the Nebraska and allied questions had been prominent issues for months previous could not accomplish. I am perfectly willing to concede that the Dixon pressure—perhaps persuasion would be a better term—may have had some weight with Douglas, for there is some evidence tending to prove that. But from this admission, it does not follow that pressure or persuasion could not have come from other sources also, particularly from Atchison, who was a friend of both Douglas and Dixon. Leaving entirely out of consideration any subsequent claims made by Atchison, whether drunk or sober, is there anything unreasonable or even improbable in the suggestion that pressure or persuasion coming from a personal friend and a fellow partisan who was fighting for his political existence should have been quite as effective with Douglas as any pressure that might have come from a Whig Senator serving the unexpired term of Henry Clay? In this case, the probabilities are supported by evidence, irrespective of Atchison's own claims, which is not impeached by Prof. Hodder, nor even mentioned by him.³

But, says Prof. Hodder in a footnote, "Atchison was allied with the Calhoun wing of the Democratic Party and would not have fathered a bill which assumed popular sovereignty."⁴ It is true that Atchison was allied with the Calhoun wing of the party; I will go further and say that for years he had been one of the bright and shining leaders of that wing of the party in Missouri. But Prof. Hodder's assertion assumes that a practical politician, fighting for his political existence, did not modify his position in order to win reelection and to satisfy the demands of his slaveholding constituents.⁵ This is precisely what Atchison did, and for the inconsistency he was vehemently denounced by his enemies in Missouri. Nevertheless, under the circumstances existing there, it was the only course left for him to take in the face of Benton's disconcerting tactics in 1853. His inconsistency was rendered less damaging than one might suppose by his being able to plant himself squarely upon the resolu-

¹ Hodder, 73-74, note.

² See Ray, 273.

³ See Ray, Chs. VII and VIII.

⁴ Hodder, 73-74.

⁵ See Ray, 112 ff.

tions adopted by the Missouri Legislature of 1845, wherein the principle of popular sovereignty had been formally indorsed, as well as upon similar resolutions more recently adopted by numerous popular meetings in Missouri. The evidence that this change of attitude on the part of Atchison actually took place is incontrovertible, although ignored by Prof. Hodder.¹

But what was the ultimate purpose in Douglas's yielding to pressure? Prof. Hodder answers, and I agree with him so far, that "His object was to clearly secure the organization of the Territory at any cost,"² and that "he yielded to pressure to save the party" which was "in distracted condition." Further on he tells us, and again I concur, that Douglas was "an opportunist in politics."³ Now why does not Prof. Hodder tell us where the party stood in peculiar need of salvation, where it was in a peculiarly "distracted condition," and where lay Douglas's greatest opportunity to play the part of "an opportunist in politics"? Had these questions been answered from the evidence in the case, we should have been informed that in New York and Missouri the Democratic Party was rent with dissensions as in no other States in the Union; that in New York we find clear-cut enunciations in the Democratic press of the doctrine of supersedure applied to Nebraska some weeks before Douglas proclaimed it in the Senate; that in Missouri, Atchison and Benton had been waging, on the stump and in the press during the summer and fall of 1853, perhaps the bitterest political campaign that has even been waged in American State politics; that the leading issues in this campaign related to the organization of Nebraska, the permission or prohibition of slavery therein, and the Pacific Railway—all of them subjects within the peculiar province of Congress to consider and determine, and in which the people of Missouri appear to have been more generally interested than the people of any other State, not excepting Iowa. Why does not Prof. Hodder tell us that during this campaign Atchison had repeatedly given pledges to his slaveholding constituents, who were eager to enter Nebraska with their slaves, to endeavor to bring about the repeal of the old restriction upon slavery in that Territory at the opening of the Thirty-third Congress; and further, that the form in which the repeal of that restriction was finally consummated fitted in exactly with the political needs of Atchison at just this time; that the method provided for the settlement of the slavery question in the new Territory harmonized perfectly with the method formally recommended to Congress by the Missouri Legislature and upon which Atchison had firmly planted himself in 1853; that Missouri newspapers early in 1854 saw the

¹ See Ray, Ch. VI.

² Hodder, 85.

³ Hodder, 82.

direct connection between this early expression of the Missouri Legislature on the subject of slavery and the provisions in the pending Kansas-Nebraska bill; that the Washington correspondents of the principal newspapers in Missouri and in the East perceived and repeatedly called the attention of their readers to the bearing which the various changes in the Nebraska bill would have upon the contest going on in Missouri?¹ These are facts which are not disproved by anything contained in Prof. Hodder's article; indeed, to establish his main propositions he is obliged to ignore them. But surely, if anywhere, here in Missouri existed an ideal situation for one who was "an opportunist in politics."

For the foregoing reasons, I find myself unable to extend a more cordial welcome to this new theory of the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska act. In a word, the theory is inadequate to explain why the repeal of the Missouri compromise was added to the act, or why the passage of the act occurred in 1854, and neither sooner nor later. It can be established only by producing new evidence or by ignoring a large amount of evidence supporting a different theory. It is of course quite possible that in time evidence will be discovered which will supply all the deficiencies which I have pointed out. My contention now is merely that as Prof. Hodder has presented his case we must return a Scotch verdict, "Not proved."

It seems to me that Prof. Hodder took a much more defensible position when, in reviewing my book in "The Dial,"² he said—

The question as to what was Douglas's motive remains very much the same as before. It is necessarily a matter of pure conjecture, since there is no particle of [direct] evidence bearing upon it. His primary purpose probably was to secure the success of the bill, since the fate of the Richardson [Hall] bill had shown that Nebraska could not [?] be organized under the Missouri restriction.³ His most probable secondary purpose seems to have been to compromise opposing opinions in his own party with respect to slavery in the territories.

¹ See Ray, Chs. VII and VIII.

² Issue of Sept. 1, 1909, 120 ff.

³ *Contra*: The passage of the Hall (Richardson) bill in the House, 1853, and Douglas's remarks in the Senate to the effect that he knew the bill would pass if it could be brought to a vote. I have not taken pains to verify Prof. Hodder's assertions with respect to Douglas's interest in Pacific Railway legislation *after* the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act. Until supported by other than inferential evidence, they have no tendency to prove Douglas's great interest in the Pacific Railroad *before* 1854, whatever the extent of his interest may have been after that date. May it not be that Douglas's apparent interest in the Pacific Railroad during and after 1854 was the effect, not the cause, of the Kansas-Nebraska movement? At any rate it would be interesting to follow up this suggestion.

XVI. ASIATIC TRADE AND AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF THE
PACIFIC COAST.

By ROBERT G. CLELAND,
Professor in Occidental College.

ASIATIC TRADE AND THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

By ROBERT G. CLELAND.

"On all great subjects," says Walter Bagehot, quoting from Mill, "much remains to be said." Certainly this is true with regard to the westward expansion of the American people, a movement which, forming the characteristic feature of our national life, was the product of many complex and diverse motives. In the present paper an attempt is made to show the influence of one of these motives, namely, the desire to secure control of Asiatic trade upon the acquisition of Oregon and California. Owing to limitations of space the treatment of the subject is confessedly inadequate, and should be regarded more as a general survey than as a finished treatise.

If we look first at the occupation of Oregon, we shall find that American interest in that Territory owed its very beginning to commercial motives.¹ Thomas Jefferson, whose far-sighted wisdom began the trans-Mississippi westward movement, throughout his long life cherished a desire to secure a share of oriental trade for the United States. With this object in view he encouraged the somewhat chimerical but none the less heroic scheme of John Ledyard to journey eastward from Paris to the northwest coast and from there to explore a way across the continent to the American settlements, thus opening an overland route for the transportation of the merchandise of China.

Some 10 years later, when engaging the services of André Michaux on behalf of the American Philosophical Society for the proposed explorations of the regions west of the Mississippi, Jefferson showed that his interest in the idea of Ledyard had not abated and that the primary purpose of the Michaux enterprise was the discovery of the suggested route for eastern commerce. Michaux was given permission to disregard all instructions concerning the conduct of the expe-

¹ In this discussion no attempt whatever is made to describe the actual commerce which American merchants carried on with the Orient. Their first acquaintance with the Pacific Northwest and California was due to the fur trade from those regions to China. This continued to be a most lucrative enterprise until well along in the nineteenth century, when other and more ordinary forms of commerce took its place.

dition, "except, indeed, what is the first of all objects," as Jefferson wrote, "that you seek for and pursue that route which shall form the shortest and most convenient communication between the higher parts of the Missouri and the Pacific Ocean."¹

The same purpose also constituted the principal motive for the explorations of Lewis and Clark. "The object of your mission," ran Jefferson's instructions to Lewis, "is to explore the Missouri River and such principal streams of it as by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean may offer the most direct and practical water communication across the continent for the purpose of commerce."² As Benton afterwards said, "Jefferson thus was the first to propose the North American road to India and the introduction of Asiatic trade on that road."³ Benton might have added that Jefferson thus was the first to bring about the exploration of Oregon and prepare the way for the American advance to the Pacific.

The first settlement in Oregon, like its exploration, had its beginning in oriental trade. In later years, giving his reason for the establishment of Astoria, Astor wrote that he desired it "to serve as a place of depot [deposit] and give further facilities for conducting a trade across this continent to that river [the Columbia], and from there . . . to Canton in China, and from thence to the United States."⁴

In 1818 when the agitation for the occupation of the regions around the Columbia began to assume considerable proportions, the influence of Asiatic trade becomes even more important. The chief objection to the treaty of joint occupation with Great Britain was the strategic position of Oregon relative to the Orient. And when Floyd, as chairman of the House Committee on the Occupation of the Columbia River brought in his report, he was careful to lay emphasis upon this point.

From every reflection [he said] which the committee have been able to bestow upon the facts connected with this subject, they are inclined to believe the Columbia, in a commercial point of view, a position of the utmost importance; the fishing on that coast, its open sea, and its position in regard to China, which offers the best market for the vast quantities of furs taken in those regions, and our increasing trade throughout that ocean, seems to demand immediate attention.⁵

Elsewhere in the report, following Jefferson's idea, Floyd outlined a plan for a route from the Atlantic to the Pacific by making use of

¹ Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Ford ed., VI, 158-161.

² *Ibid.*, VIII, 194. The same idea was emphasized in practically all of the letters from Jefferson to Lewis touching the expedition.

³ Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 14.

⁴ Astor to Adams, Jan. 4, 1823. *American State Papers*, Miscellaneous, II, 1009.

⁵ *Annals of Congress*, XXXVII, 955-956.

the waterways of the continent and constructing a road from the headwaters of the Missouri to those of the Columbia. This road he believed could be built by 20 men in 10 days. A final suggestion was offered that an immediate settlement of Chinese colonists be made in Oregon to hold the territory until the arrival of sufficient Americans to displace them.

When this report was politely but effectually killed by an incredulous Congress, the interests of Oregon passed into the hands of a small group of western Senators and Representatives one of whose leaders was Thomas H. Benton. The motives of Benton in advocating the occupation of Oregon were numerous. His chief purpose, however, is best expressed in the following extract from one of his public addresses near the close of his political career. After tracing the historical development of the idea of a transcontinental route for Asiatic commerce, going back indeed to the very early days of French and Spanish colonization, Benton continued:

About 30 years ago I myself began to turn my attention to this subject and conceived the plan of the establishment of a route extending up the Missouri River and down the Columbia. I followed the idea of Mr. Jefferson, La Salle, and others, and I endeavored to revive attention to their plans. . . . I believed that Asiatic commerce might be brought into the Mississippi Valley along that line and wrote essays to support that idea. The scope of these essays was to show that Asiatic commerce had been the pursuit of all western nations from the time of the Phenicians down to the present day—a space of 3,000 years; that during all this time this commerce had been shifting its channel, and that wealth and power followed it and disappeared upon its loss; that one channel more was to be found—a last one, and our America its seat. . . . Occupied with this idea I sought to impress it upon others. Looking to a practical issue I sought information of the country and of the mountains from all that could give it . . . and the results were most satisfactory.¹

The final contest over the Oregon question from 1842 to 1846 brought out afresh the important part Asiatic trade had in quickening American interest in securing the territory. Frémont, having found that the mythical Buena Ventura River, supposed to flow from the Salt Lake to the Pacific, was nonexistent, laid new emphasis upon holding the Columbia as the only feasible continental route.² Calhoun, while opposing the abrogation of the treaty of joint occupation, agreed with Benton's estimate of the importance of the territory.

A vast market in China and India will be created, and a mighty influence will be given to commerce [he declared]. No small portion of the share that will fall to us . . . is destined to pass through the ports of the Oregon

¹ Delivered in the Senate, February 7, 1849. Reprinted in California Pamphlets, No. 53. It is fitting that Benton's monument in St. Louis was erected with its face toward the Pacific, while underneath was the inscription: "There lies the East; there lies the road to India."

² Frémont, Report of the Exploring Expedition of 1842, etc., 255-256.

Territory to the valley of the Mississippi. . . . It is mainly because place this high estimate on its prospective value that I am so concerned to preserve it.¹

The whole issue I have so far been trying to set before you was well summed up by C. J. Ingersoll in the course of an address before the House in February, 1845.

The Oregon question [said Mr. Ingersoll], by too many deemed a mere matter of land or territorial acquisition, is, in its larger and better estimate a commercial question. . . . It embraces consequences to the Republic equal, if not superior, to any question of acquisition or annexation that has arisen. . . . The American Continent presents extraordinary advantages to its population for commercial intercourse. Its position is one of nature's monopolies. From its Atlantic ports it can grasp the commerce of Europe from those on the Pacific it may seize the trade of the East Indies and China. Seat the United States firmly in Oregon and the commercial enterprise and the wealth of the world will centralize within our limits. . . . It [Asiatic commerce] would diffuse its stores throughout the Union—the long and dangerous passage around the Capes would be given up—and Europe would seek in our Atlantic ports the products of the tropical garden of southern Asia. No question has yet arisen in our history so closely connected with the extension of American power and greatness.²

Asiatic trade as a motive for annexation was even more apparent in the case of California than of Oregon. It is significant that the first extended description of California to attract the attention of American readers was written by a sea captain engaged in the Chinese trade and bore the title, "Journal of a Voyage between China and the Northwestern Coast of America made in the Year 1804."³ The author, a New Englander named Robert Shaler, devoted especial attention to a description of the harbors of the California coast and to the latent commercial possibilities of the province, making no attempt to conceal his purpose of arousing interest in its acquisition.

In later years, also, when the sentiment for securing California had begun to crystallize throughout the United States, commercial motives continually intrude themselves into the foreground. In the several attempts that Jackson made to secure the province from Mexico, he emphasized chiefly the importance of acquiring the harbor of San Francisco because of the advantages it possessed for the trading interests of the Nation.⁴ During the presidency of Tyler, when principally through the activities of Daniel Webster the California movement was given new impetus, San Francisco continued to appear the chief object of desire. Webster's interest in securing the Pacific port was for the most part of commercial concern. As part of the same program, he advocated sending a special diplomatic

¹ Thirty Years' View, II, 471.

² Appendix, Congressional Globe, 28 Cong., 2 sess., 241. Much of the quoted extract was from a newspaper clipping read by Ingersoll.

³ Printed in the American Register, III, 136-175.

⁴ House Ex. Doc., 25 Cong., 1 sess., No. 42, pp. 361-362.

mission to China, largely for the purpose of fostering trade relations between the two countries, and of strengthening a commercial intercourse that, already of considerable proportions, was susceptible of enormous increase.¹

The natural interest of the administration in the commercial importance of California was still further increased by dispatches from Waddy Thompson, the American minister to Mexico, whose chief purpose during his diplomatic career was the purchase of California. A single extract from one of his communications to the home Government will serve to illustrate the general tenor of the remainder. On April 29, 1842, he wrote Webster:

I believe that this Government would cede to us Texas and the Californias. . . . As to Texas, I regard it as of but little value compared with California—the richest, the most beautiful, the healthiest country in the world. Our Atlantic border secures us a commercial ascendancy there; with the acquisition of Upper California we should have the same ascendancy on the Pacific. The harbor of St. Francisco is capacious enough to receive the navies of all the world, and the neighborhood furnishes live oak enough to build all the ships of those navies. Besides this there is the Bay of St. Iago [San Diego], Monterey, and others. . . . The possession of these harbors would . . . no doubt, by internal communication with the Arkansas and other western streams, secure the trade of India and the whole Pacific Ocean.²

Although Thompson was mistaken in thinking that Mexico would sell California to the United States, Webster and Tyler still hoped to secure its cession by the so-called tripartite agreement. The sanction of Congress was sought for a special mission to England which Webster himself should head for the purpose of securing Upper California for the United States. Upon the defeat of this plan, Tyler proposed to Everett, minister to England, that he accept the position of minister to China and allow Webster to take his place at London and push forward the negotiations for California and the settlement of the Oregon dispute. Everett declined and Webster's active part in the acquisition of the province came to an end.³ His interest in it, however, remained unabated. Four years later he wrote Fletcher Webster:

You know my opinion to have been, and now is, that the port of San Francisco would be twenty times more valuable to us than all Texas.⁴

The President who succeeded Tyler was from the beginning an avowed expansionist and particularly an ardent advocate of the annexation of California. Commonly this policy is ascribed to a

¹ Webster to Cushing, May 8, 1843. Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster (national ed.), XII, 141-146. See also XIV, 433-442.

² MSS., State Department. See also Rives, *United States and Mexico*, II, 46.

³ For a discussion of the tripartite agreement and Webster's interest in the annexation of California, see Cleland, *The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California*. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, No. 1, pp. 32-34.

⁴ Curtis, *Life of Webster*, I, 250.

desire to extend the area of slavery; yet the dominant motive was not slavery but oriental trade. A few citations from Polk's official correspondence and messages should make this clear.

In the instructions issued to guide Slidell in his negotiations for California, emphasis was placed entirely upon the purchase of the ports of Monterey and San Francisco. "The possession of the bay and harbor of San Francisco," ran Buchanan's note, "is all important to the United States. The advantages to us of its acquisition are so striking that it would be a waste of time to enumerate them here. If all these should be turned against us by the cession of California to Great Britain, our principal commercial rival, the consequences would be most disastrous."¹ Instructions of similar character were sent to Larkin upon his appointment as confidential agent of the United States Government at Monterey. "The interests of our commerce and of our whale fisheries on the Pacific Ocean demand that you should exert the greatest vigilance in discovering and defeating any attempts which may be made by foreign governments to acquire control over that country."²

On another occasion Polk told Benton that the "Fine Bay of San Francisco" was to be kept from the clutches of Great Britain at all hazards.³ And, indeed, from the beginning to the end of his dealing with California runs this note of the necessity of holding the commercial possibilities of the Pacific coast as a monopoly for the United States. It occurs, for example, in his third annual message of December 7, 1847, when Congress is urged to keep California as indemnity for the Mexican War, because otherwise European nations long eager for commercial opportunities, will seize the province; and its ports, certain one day to become "the marts of an extensive and profitable commerce with China and the countries of the East," will be lost to the United States.

In two subsequent messages⁴ Polk similarly brought out the importance of Chinese trade to the commercial interest of the country; while in his last formal communication to Congress, justifying the policy of his administration in foreign affairs and predicting large benefit from the acquisition of California because of its great resources, he added:

From its position it [Upper California] must command the rich commerce of China, of Asia, of the islands of the Pacific, of western Mexico, of Central America, the South American States, and the Russian possessions on that ocean. A great emporium will doubtless speedily arise on the California coast which may be destined to rival in importance New Orleans itself. The depot of the immense commerce which must exist on the Pacific will probably be

¹ The Works of James Buchanan (Ed. J. B. Moore), VI, 304-306.

² Ibid., 275-278.

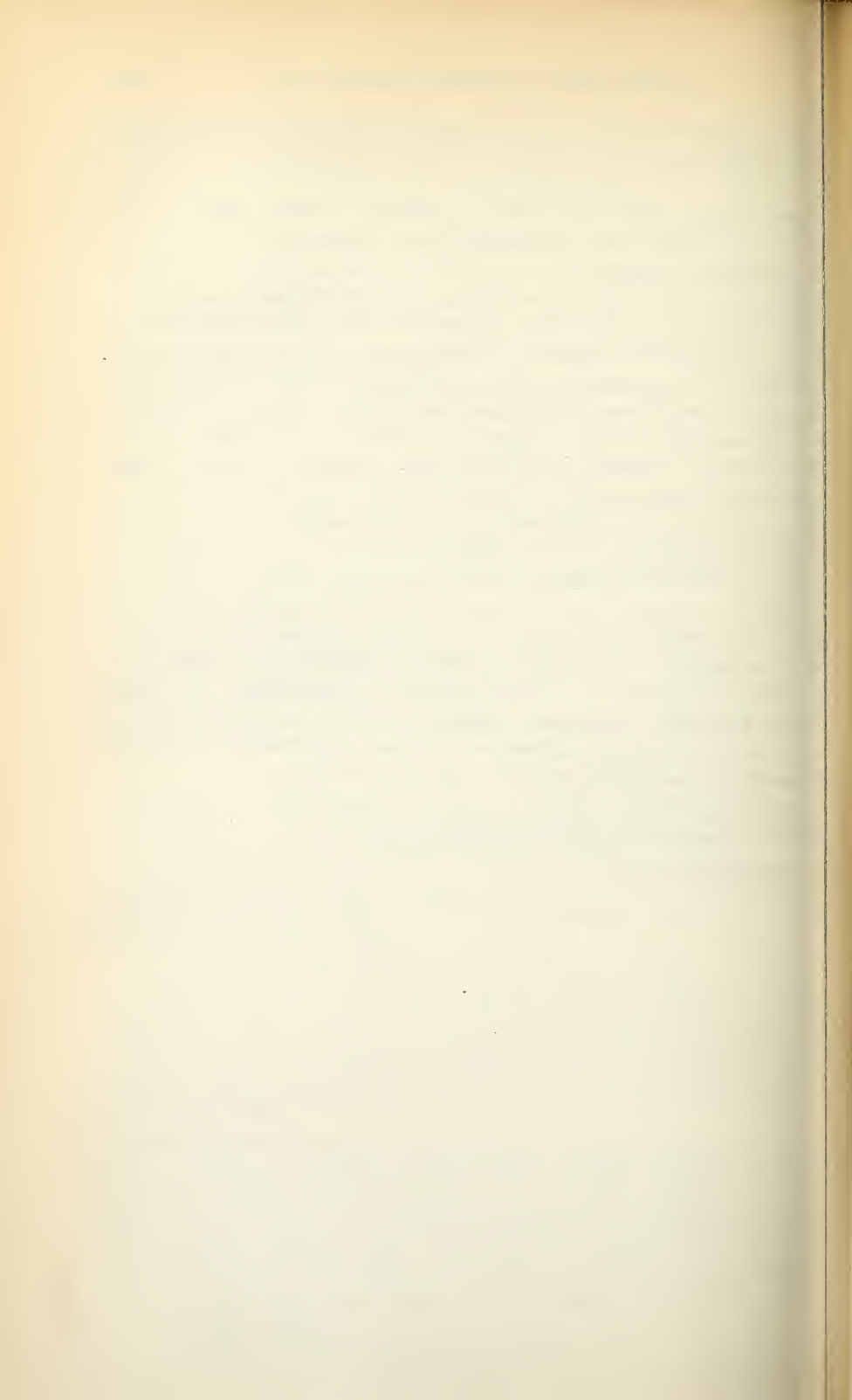
³ Diary of James K. Polk, I, 71.

⁴ Messages of July 6, 1848, and of July 24.

at some point on the Bay of San Francisco, and will occupy the same relation to the whole western coast of that ocean as New Orleans does to the Valley of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico.

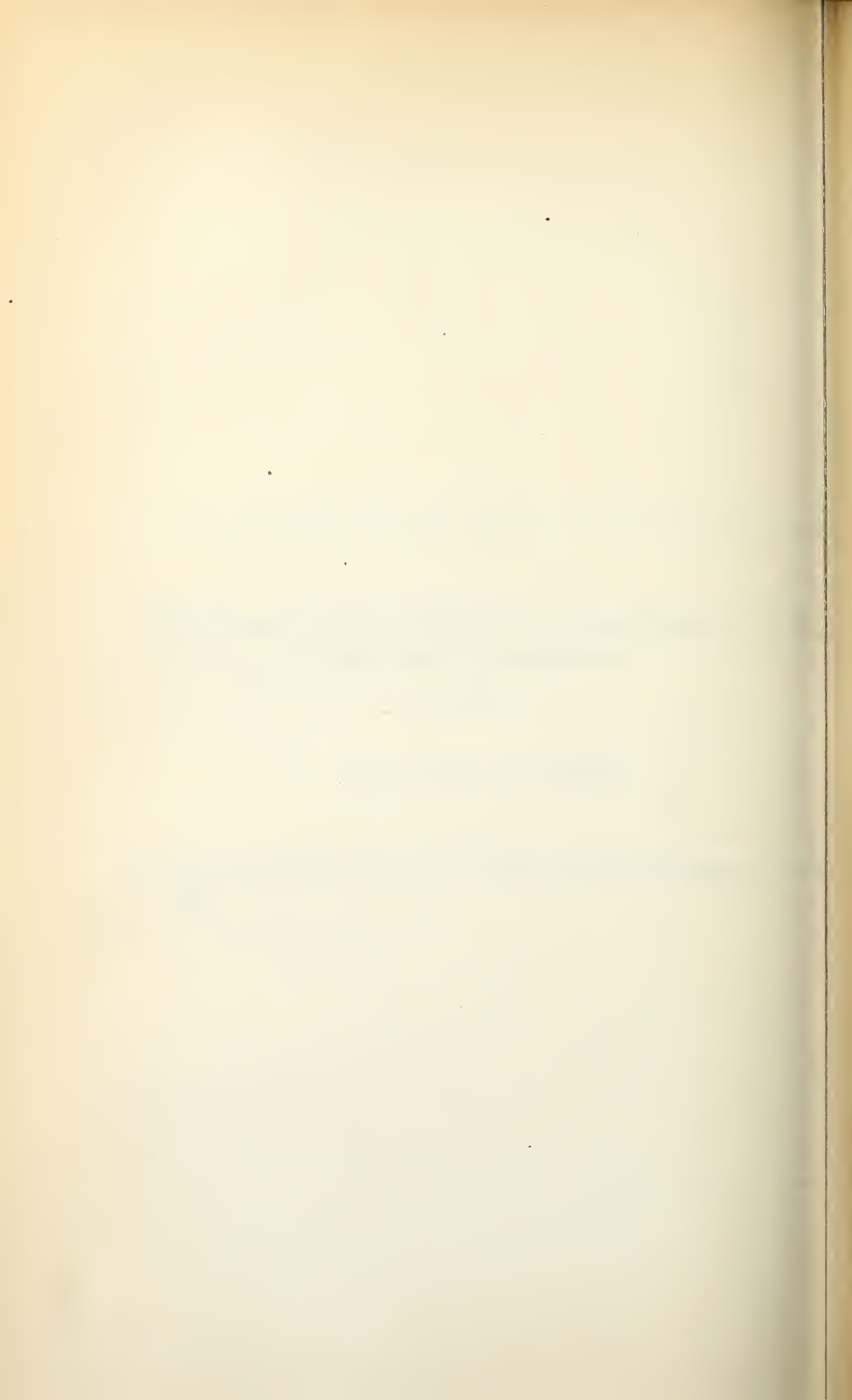
Lack of time forbids the further discussion of this subject. But if the view I have been endeavoring to set before you is correct, then the American occupation of the Pacific coast assumes a new and peculiar interest. It becomes a chapter in the oldest movement of our history—a movement that reaches back from this present day to the far voyages of Columbus, of Magellan, of Henry Hudson, of La Salle, of that adventurous host of Spanish explorers who sought through unknown seas the mysterious and fabled Straits of Anian; of that even larger host of English colonists on the Atlantic coast who “looked to find the South Sea up the nearest northwest branch of the spreading river at their feet.”¹ At the same time, it becomes a part of the great world-struggle for the control of the rich and varied Eastern trade—a trade which has been one of the powerful forces of the world’s past, as it is of its present, and bids fair to be through the unknown years of the future. As a phase of this old rivalry for commercial supremacy through the control of Asiatic trade, especially in this day of oriental awakening and canal construction, to those of us whose faces turn hopefully across the Pacific, the early American occupation of Oregon and California takes on new meaning and becomes clothed with fresh significance. Assuredly the subject is one of transcendent interest.

¹ Woodrow Wilson, “The Truth of the Matter,” in *Mere Literature*, p. 184. The quotation has been changed from the second to the third person.



XVII. PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

CHICAGO, DECEMBER 31, 1914.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The eleventh annual conference of historical societies was held during the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, December 31, 1914. It was presided over by Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and a member of the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, and was attended by about 70 people, most of whom were delegates from various historical societies.

The chairman opened the conference with a paper on the Chicago Historical Society in which he reviewed briefly the history of the society, outlined its present activities, and discussed its plans for future work.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By OTTO L. SCHMIDT.

The Chicago Historical Society, the oldest society of its kind in Illinois, was organized in April, 1856, and legally established in February, 1857, by a special act of incorporation passed by the Illinois State Assembly.

Chicago, then a city of unparalleled growth, having increased its population of 4,000 in 1837, when it was chartered as a city, to 93,000 at the time of our society's foundation, possibly had been somewhat neglected in the creation of such higher cultural institutions as are usually dependent in this country on the public spirited munificence of citizens. Possibly the strife of business, the tremendous demands on the public interest element of its citizens in the building and plotting of a city having many peculiar and disadvantageous conditions, such as being placed mostly on low, marshy lands, with great difficulties of drainage, the advent of the all-absorbing railroad-building period, prevented the city from embarking earlier in ventures of a higher endeavor. To be sure, schools and societies of higher learning were in existence and some even had already had their existence finished, for instance, from the founding of the city to about 1847 there existed an institution called the Chicago Lyceum, at which for many years lectures of high quality were regularly delivered. Now, evidently came a new impulse, as within a year

of 1857, the first Chicago University, the Chicago Historical Society, the Chicago Academy of Sciences, and the Chicago Astronomical Society were started.

Of these, the Chicago Historical Society and the Academy of Sciences have celebrated their fiftieth anniversaries and are constantly increasing their usefulness, while the Chicago University favored during the last years of Stephen A. Douglas by his personal assistance and his liberal donation of land, eventually was forced to close its doors. It was a Baptist institution, and may be said to have reappeared in 1888 as the present University of Chicago, but related only in a somewhat similar name and by virtue of both institutions being dedicated to the glory of the same religious sect.

The Chicago Astronomical Society flourished for many years, and during its existence was a bulwark of western American astronomical work.

The organizers of the Chicago Historical Society declared its function in the first article of its constitution, as follows:

Its object shall be to institute and encourage historical inquiry, to collect and preserve the materials of history, and to spread historical information, especially concerning the northwestern States.

This liberal and well-defined direction for the society's work gave a rapid start and quick progress in its library and museum collections, as it was Chicago's first larger library. None of the other large libraries of to-day had yet been established, the present public library coming into existence after the great fire largely through the overflowing munificence of charity toward the stricken city. The Newberry and Crerar libraries are of very much later date.

The incorporators of the society were: William Barry, James Van Zandt Blaney, Mason Brayman, William Hubbard Brown, Nathan Smith Davis, Van Hollis Higgins, John Harris Kinzie, George Manierre, Ezra Butler McCagg, Mahlon Dickerson Ogden, William Butler Ogden, Charles Henry Ray, Franklin Scammon, Jonathan Young Scammon, Mark Skinner, William A. Smallwood, Edward Islay Tinkham, Samuel Dexter Ward, Joseph Dana Webster.

This coterie of citizens is worthy of a few words, as it shows the high type of men that came to Chicago within the first few years of its city charter, in fact, a number of them even before this.

While the majority of these 19 incorporators were lawyers by education, business men preponderated slightly as a body when we consider that some of those counted as lawyers were essentially in commercial pursuits. There were eight practising lawyers, two physicians, one civil engineer, one journalist, and one minister. The latter was William Barry, a Unitarian, who truthfully may be called the founder of the society, as through his enthusiasm and energy the society was organized and flourished to the time of his death.

William Hubbard Brown, the first president, lawyer, and financier, had been in Vandalia, the capital of the State at that time, from 1820 to 1835; there he had been a member of the first historical society in the State, the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois. He was one of the group of early patriots who successfully resisted the attempt to plant slavery in Illinois, 1823-1824. At the Chicago Lyceum in 1840 he read a paper on "The History of Illinois."

John Harris Kinzie, the second Kinzie of Chicago, was brought by his father from Detroit to Fort Dearborn in 1804. In his early boyhood he was a famous Indian interpreter and Indian agent in Fort Winnebago, Wis., but at the close of the Black Hawk War took up his permanent residence in Chicago and became one of the prominent men of affairs in the city up to the time of his death in 1865.

William Butler Ogden, first mayor of Chicago in 1837, was the city's great railroad builder, concerned especially in the Galena and Chicago Railroad, which ultimately became the Chicago and North Western Railroad. He was prominent in many of the largest municipal and financial undertakings of the city and generally recognized as Chicago's foremost citizen from 1837 to the time of his death in 1877.

Dr. Jerome Van Zandt Blaney, a chemist of national fame, whose services were frequently called upon even in New York, and the founder of Rush Medical College in 1843, during the war was medical director and surgeon-in-chief on the staff of Gen. Sheridan.

Mason Brayman, lawyer and soldier, a commissioner appointed by Gov. Ford to adjust the Mormon troubles, revised the statutes of the State, 1844-1845, was prominent as a railroad attorney, especially of the Illinois Central Railroad, and for conspicuous services in the Army received the brevet rank of major general at the close of the war.

Dr. Nathan Smith Davis, the most eminent physician of Chicago for many years, founder of the Chicago Medical College, was the so-called father of the powerful American Medical Association and a fearless advocate of many public sanitary and hygienic advances in Chicago.

Van Hollis Higgins was a lawyer, politician, and judge.

George Manierre was a lawyer and judge of high repute.

Ezra Butler McCagg, a very eminent lawyer of Chicago, lived to read a lecture on the society at its fiftieth anniversary in 1897.

Mahlon D. Ogden, lawyer, probate judge, and financier of Chicago, was partner of Isaac N. Arnold.

Charles Henry Ray, journalist, was associated with Joseph Medill and John C. Vaughan in the purchase and management of the Chicago Tribune. Dr. Ray was editor-in-chief and was one of the most

influential writers during the period of the organization of the Republican Party.

Jonathan Young Scammon, prominent lawyer and banker, was the third president, 1868-1870.

Mark Skinner, eminent jurist, held many political positions in Chicago, was city attorney in 1840, died in 1887.

Joseph Dana Webster, engineer and soldier, president of the commission that perfected the Chicago sewerage system and designed and executed the raising of the grade of a large portion of the city from 2 to 4 feet, served during the war and was breveted major general of volunteers in 1865.

The presidents of the society have been William Hubbard Brown, Walter Loomis Newberry, Jonathan Young Scammon, Edwin Holmes Sheldon, Isaac Newton Arnold, Elihu Benjamin Washburn, Edward Gay Mason, John Nelson Jewett, Franklin Harvey Head, Thomas Dent, and Clarence W. Burley, the president at this time.

Mr. William Hubbard Brown and Jonathan Young Scammon, incorporators, respectively, the first and the third presidents, have already been mentioned.

Walter L. Newberry, the second president, one of the great merchants of Chicago, active in municipal affairs from the village era of Chicago to his death, became the founder by legacy of the Newberry Library.

Edwin Holmes Sheldon, the fourth president, has been one of the commercial and real estate upbuilders of the city.

Isaac N. Arnold, the fifth president, famous Congressman from 1861 to 1865, was a stanch friend and supporter of President Lincoln and the well-known author of "Life of Abraham Lincoln."

Elihu Benjamin Washburn, sixth president, was Congressman, secretary of state under General Grant and envoy to France during the Franco-German war.

Edward Gay Mason, president from 1887 to 1898, was one of the most active officers of the society, through whose personal efforts the funds for the present building were subscribed and the building erected. Mr. Mason was prolific as an historical writer of early Illinois history at a time when scientific historical research had not yet been introduced in the colleges of the State. Mr. Mason's writings were in a charming style and of historical value. At his untimely death he was engaged in the writing of a history of the State.

Among the secretaries and librarians Mr. William Barry, the founder, was the most prominent; Albert A. Hager and John Moses added much to the society's stores; Miss Caroline M. McIlvaine has been its energetic librarian since 1901; Mr. Seymour Morris has been secretary for three years.

The existence of the society twice met with almost ruinous catastrophes. The Great Fire found the society in possession of a suitable building, on the present location, which had been proudly announced publicly as fireproof, as the frequent fires in the city, consisting mostly of frame houses, demanded of the society the utmost protection against destruction of its valuable possessions by fire. Through its active librarian, Dr. Barry, and through the support of its members the library within 15 years had grown to large proportions. Its shelves contained 100,205 volumes, pamphlets, and manuscripts, much of which was irreplaceable.

Dr. Barry, with truly historic insight, had collected almost complete files of the session laws and legislative records of the old northwest States, and much associated documentary material. Such men as John H. Kinzie and Gurdon S. Hubbard, of whom the latter had lived here since 1818, when there were but few houses outside of Fort Dearborn, with other pioneer citizens of the village of Chicago, had taken great pride in bestowing on the society many collections of private letters and early business files. The Chicago Historical Society was one of the favorite institutions of the city. Within a few hours in the night of October 8 to 9, 1871, its entire collection of colonial, territorial, and State documents, with its other innumerable collections of manuscripts, letters, and writings, was destroyed. Its collection of slavery and Civil War material was thought to be the largest in the country. The original Emancipation Proclamation also had been in its possession and was destroyed.

The secretary, Dr. Barry, to almost the last moment believed that the building would withstand the fire. He endeavored to save some of the most valuable items, but through the peculiarities of the rapid spread of the fire, which was at many places recorded as jumping over blocks and attacking houses at a great distance from the actual flames, he was unable to carry off anything.

With renewed effort another collection was brought together, but was again destroyed in the second large fire of Chicago in August of 1874.

Through a lucky streak the manuscript of the Edwards papers had been loaned to a member of the society at this time and thus the valuable manuscript of this later publication of the society was saved.

In 1877 the society again occupied a modest building of its own, also on the present location. The building was replaced by the present structure, dedicated in 1896. On account of the society's sad experience with fires this building was erected in an absolutely fireproof manner at a time when the modern fireproof construction had not yet been introduced. There is not a piece of wood in the construction of the house not even in doors or window frames. To guard against other destruction of its collections there was no water

pipe above the basement floor. This latter precaution appears excessive, but to demonstrate that there is much reason for care in this particular, considerable damage has been done to the writer's knowledge in a library of this State by the flooding of books from water coming from a break in a water pipe on a floor above. Even the furniture in the present building is of metal construction. The intention of the president, Mr. Mason, had been never to permit any wooden furniture in the building, but his successors have found it necessary to use some wooden showcases and a few wooden chairs and desks.

At present the society values its real estate and building at \$225,000. It is maintained by annual membership dues amounting to \$5,000, and a further income of about \$7,000 from its special funds originating in bequest and gift.

The principal fund is the Henry D. Gilpin fund, donated by Henry D. Gilpin, a resident of Philadelphia, one time Attorney General of the United States, who had had large investments in Chicago. He died in 1860.

The proceeds of this fund are stipulated for use of the Gilpin Library only.

The present library contains about 100,000 items, among which are:

The James Wilkinson Papers—1779–1823, in four folio volumes containing many letters of Wilkinson, Jefferson, Pickering, Claibourne, Gen. Dearborn, and letters from Spanish and French commanders, and also copies of letters of Aaron Burr and of letters in regard to his capture.

The Ninian Edwards Papers, consisting of public and private letters, and of documents of Illinois Territorial governors from 1800–1832.

The Pierre Menard Papers, consisting of three volumes mostly of official documents of the first governor of Illinois.

Many papers of the French régime in Illinois and many files of letters of the pioneers of the State.

Complete files of the Northwest, Indiana, and Illinois territorial laws from 1787–1818, with the exception of the volume of the laws of 1812.

The earliest newspapers of Chicago and also a complete file of the Chicago Tribune.

The society owned the James Madison Papers—1778–1836, in eleven volumes, and also the Diary of James K. Polk, kept during his administration, but at the solicitation of the Library of Congress the society sold these valuable collections to the Library of Congress at the original cost of purchase, thereby showing its endeavor to place this source of material at its proper place in the national capital.

The Brig.-Gen. Mason Brayman Papers, lately acquired, consisting of correspondence from 1852 to 1883, many of the period when he was governor of Idaho, 1876-1880, but also many slavery and Civil War letters, telegrams, military maps, and newspaper clippings, gathered apparently with a view to publication; also many political and Illinois miscellanii, political and otherwise—1829-1876, containing valuable Mormon items, Illinois Central Railroad correspondence of 1848 to 1868, and many Lincolniana.

The publications of the society are the following:

COLLECTIONS.

- Vol. I. The History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, by George Flower.
- II. A Sketch of Enoch Long, an Illinois Pioneer, by Harvey Reid.
- III. The Edwards Papers.
- IV. Early Chicago and Illinois, which latter includes a selection of Pierre Menard Papers and other manuscripts relating to the early French settlement.
- V. The Settlement of Illinois, by Arthur Clinton Boggess.
- VI-IX. The Polk Diary, in three volumes, edited by M. M. Quaife.

PAMPHLETS.

- Early Society in Southern Illinois, by Robert W. Patterson.
- Eleazer Williams, by William Ward Wight.
- The Chicago Common Council and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, by Charles W. Mann.
- Early Days of Peoria and Chicago, by David McCullough.
- In Memoriam: John Nelson Jewett.
- The Boundary Dispute Between Illinois and Wisconsin, by William Radebaugh.
- Some Indian Landmarks of the North Shore, by Frank R. Grover.
- Biographical Sketch of Hon. Joseph Duncan, by E. W. Blatchford.
- Biographical Sketch of Hon. John Peter Altgelt, by Edward Osgood Brown.
- The Old Kaskaskia Records, by Clarence W. Alvord.
- Abraham Lincoln, the Evolution of His Emancipation Policy, by Paul Selby.
- Chicago Historical Society: 1857-1907. Addresses by Ezra B. McCagg and Franklin H. Head.
- The Indian as a Diplomatic Factor in the History of the Old Northwest, by Isaac Joslin Cox.
- Father Pierre François Pinet and His Mission of the Guardian Angel of Chicago, by Frank R. Grover.
- Biographical Sketch of Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, by Henry E. Hamilton.
- The Masters of the Wilderness, by Charles B. Reed.
- The Preamble and Boundary Clauses of the Illinois Constitution, by Herman G. James.
- Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1914, by Horace White.
- The Jefferson-Lemen Compact: the Relations of Thomas Jefferson and James Lemen in the Exclusion of Slavery from Illinois and the Northwest Territory, by Willard C. MacNaul.

The policy of the society in later years has been to confine its collections more strictly to Illinois on account of the establishment of larger libraries capable of covering the field of general United States history and the adjoining States more thoroughly.

Greater efficiency for serving inquiries in detailed local history is one of the society's constant aims.

The society owns much museum material and on account of lack of space is continuously changing many of its exhibits according to anniversary celebrations, etc. At present on account of the celebration of December 3 as Illinois Day, marking the day of 1818 when Illinois was admitted into the Union, there is on exhibition a large collection of letters, public documents, and pictures of the early governors and officials of that time.

The policy of the society is partly directed toward publication, and as it was long felt that its publications can not be thoroughly advertised and placed before the public unless in the hands of a publishing firm, it entered into an agreement with the University of Chicago Press whereby the latter regularly advertises the publications of the Chicago Historical Society of the past as well as of the present and handles them in a manner as if they were its own publications. The society believes that this is a step in advance from the older method of society publications by which usually only the members and the friends of the society know of its publications. Furthermore, the society believes that it is doing thereby more justice to the authors in making their works more accessible for purchase by the general public.

The society is now maintaining in its fourth year regular Saturday lectures for school children on Chicago and Illinois history during the school months. In the first year the society's lecturer, Mrs. Mary Ridpath Mann, visited the different schools, but the difficulty in getting suitable accommodations with lantern slide facilities and regular announcement gave rather unsatisfactory results. The society has now developed a system of attendance at these lectures by means of delegates from the seventh grade of the grammar schools. There is a usual attendance of 300 pupils. There is great enthusiasm among them for the lectures and also for the museum exhibits. We are thus enabled to bring approximately 18,000 children into the building yearly. From numerous letters from teachers and the pupils themselves the society is assured that these lectures have greatly stimulated the interest of the pupils in history and that regularly after the attendance of a class this manifests itself in the essays and conversations of the children with their teachers.

The secretary of the conference, Dr. Solon J. Buck, presented no formal report, but stated that the usual blanks had been sent to the

various State and local historical societies and that the replies would be summarized in the appendix to the annual report of the conference. The secretary stated also that the resolution adopted by the conference in 1913, requesting the council of the American Historical Association to consider ways and means for the continuation and revision of Griffin's Bibliography of Historical Societies, was presented to the council and referred by it to a committee, which is to report at the next meeting of the council.

The report of the committee on cooperation among historical societies and departments was presented by Dr. Dunbar Rowland, as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND DEPARTMENTS TO THE CONFERENCE OF STATE AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The committee on cooperation of historical societies and departments submits the following report of progress:

The last report of the committee submitted to the conference at its meeting at Charleston held out the hope that a final report on the work of calendaring the documents in the French archives concerning the history of the Mississippi Valley would be submitted to this meeting. That hope would have been realized under ordinary conditions. The great events which have been in progress since last summer now fill the thought of the world.

In August a state of war existed between France, Russia, England, Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro on one side and Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other. France was invaded by the German-Austrian army, and Paris for a time was in danger of being besieged and occupied. In the face of this danger the French Government, with all its activities, was removed to Bordeaux, and the work of the committee for a time made impossible. But for this most unexpected delay, our work, in so far as the direct use of the archives is concerned, would have been completed by this time.

Mr. Leland, the scholarly representative of the committee, has submitted to us the following statement of the work accomplished since the last report:

REPORT OF WORK IN 1914 ON THE CATALOGUE OF DOCUMENTS IN FRENCH ARCHIVES RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

My report of December 5, 1913, presented a résumé of the results of the work accomplished to that date. The report for this year covers mainly the first half of the year, for since July 1, owing first to the illness of assistants and later to the outbreak of war, the work has been nearly at a standstill. Mr. Doysié, who so faithfully supervised the immediate execution of the work, was called to the colors

on August 4. The rest of the assistants left Paris during August and I returned to America in September. Within the last month however, one of the assistants, Madame Vila, has resumed the work which I am directing by correspondence. The task must then be completed very slowly, and while by far the greater part of the more important of the documents have been listed there still remain a considerable number to be dealt with. I am glad to say that the notes have all reached America in safety and are in my office in Washington, where consultation of them (although they have not yet been put into final form) is possible.

The work of the year has been mainly in the Foreign Office, in the Colonial Archives, and in the National Archives. Of the material found in the Foreign Office should be noted a number of letters, accounts, and other documents relating to G. R. Clark, to Collot, and to others employed by Genet in his intrigues in the Mississippi Valley. These originally formed a part of the archives of the French legation in Washington, which were transferred to Paris during the last century.

In the Colonial Archives the most important work has been the searching of the series for Martinique and Santo Domingo. Some 226 volumes have been examined, and the work is being continued to include the series for all the French West Indies. They contain a considerable amount of material relating to commerce with Louisiana, to the supply of provisions, to vessels bound to or from Louisiana and putting in at Santo Domingo, etc. There have also been listed the contents of five cartons which serve as a supplement to the main series for Louisiana. Nearly every one of these documents, of which there are over 500, is very valuable.

In the National Archives, properly speaking, there have been found a number of edicts relating to Louisiana, as well as many documents relating to negotiations under the Directory touching on Louisiana. All the American maps in the National Archives have also been listed—most of them cover, in part at least, the Mississippi Valley.

It should be understood that the work has been performed in conjunction with my work for the Carnegie Institution—a fact which has made it possible to cover far more ground than could have been done had the Mississippi Valley research been made a distinct and separate undertaking.

Although the work of cataloguing is not yet completed, and cannot be until after the close of the war, it will probably not be necessary to secure additional funds, and the editorial work can now be commenced.

Respectfully submitted.

W. G. LELAND.

WASHINGTON, *December 18, 1914.*

Dr. J. F. Jameson, the treasurer of the committee, has submitted his financial report, as follows:

Report of the treasurer of the fund for calendaring documents in the French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley.

	Cr.	Dr.
Balance on hand December 15, 1913-----	-----	\$250. 00
Received from the Louisiana Historical Society-----	-----	200. 00
Interest to date-----	-----	3. 23
Remittances to W. G. Leland at various times from December 27, 1913, to October 10, 1914-----	\$440. 00	-----
	440. 00	453. 23
Balance on hand December 24, 1914-----	-----	13. 23

Respectfully submitted.

J. F. JAMESON, *Treasurer.*

WASHINGTON, December 24, 1914.

Mr. Leland's report shows a balance in his hands of 828.38 francs (about \$160.85), and \$200 has been subscribed by the Texas State Historical Library.

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FUND.

W. G. Leland in account with J. F. Jameson, treasurer, December 3, 1913-December 18, 1914.

RECEIPTS.

		Francs.
1913. December 3, cash on hand-----	-----	674. 48
December 27, remittance from treasurer-----	\$50. 00	260. 65
1914. January 22, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	259. 20
February 26, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	257. 50
March 26, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	259. 25
April 25, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	258. 50
June 25, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	256. 15
August 3, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	256. 60
August 31, remittance from treasurer-----	50. 00	250. 00
October 10, remittance from treasurer-----	40. 00	198. 00
	440. 00	2, 930. 33

DISBURSEMENTS.

Services of assistants, research and cataloguing:	Francs.
Mme. Vila, December 27, 1913-December 18, 1914-----	1, 127. 65
A. Doysié, December 29, 1913-July 16, 1914-----	626. 50
Mme. Autissier, April 30-July 31, 1914-----	112. 50
Mlle. Mairesse, December 23, 1913-March 31, 1914-----	106. 00
Miss Norman, June 15, 1914-----	33. 00
	2, 005. 65

Customary fees to attendants-----	54.0
Postage and supplies-----	31.0
Car fares of assistants-----	11.2
	<hr/>
	2, 101.9
Balance on hand December 18, 1914 (about \$160.85)-----	828.3
	<hr/>
	2, 930.3

Respectfully submitted.

DUNBAR ROWLAND.
 WORTHINGTON C. FORD.
 J. F. JAMESON.
 THOMAS M. OWEN.
 EVARTS B. GREENE.
 B. F. SHAMBAUGH.

The two subjects assigned for discussion were then taken up as follows:

RESEARCH IN STATE HISTORY AT STATE UNIVERSITIES.

By JAMES A. WOODBURN.

It is not the purpose of this paper to describe the extent to which State universities are carrying on research in State and local history, or what courses they may be offering to their students in this field of research and study. Information on that subject is being sought by a committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and when it is obtained it will be made available to the members of this organization. I shall speak rather of the duties, opportunities, and responsibilities of the State university in this direction. In the brief time at my disposal I shall attempt only a categorical summary of observations, leaving to the discussion any elaboration that may be thought fruitful.

1. The first obligation resting on a State university is that which rests on every university—it should be a university within the scope of its endeavor. As university men we all have the same aim. Whether in research or in teaching the purpose of a State university is the same as that of any other university—to advance learning, to promote culture, to discover truth, and to give to men and women an opportunity, in touch with leaders and laboratories of learning, to know more of the arts and sciences of life. I do not see that research in State history is essentially any more the function of a State university than of any other university.

2. But a State is a people under some form of political organization, and every organized society, and more especially the State, owes something to its history. A State entirely indifferent to its

history would be a sorry spectacle. Such a State is hardly known in the record of human life, because should a State sink to that low level or fail to attain above it, it would cease to have a history and would drop from view. Having lost all interest in its own ancestry it would cease to be of interest to its posterity. The State is under obligation, for its own sake, not only to preserve its history, as found in its materials and memorials, its archives and documents, but to celebrate that history, to publish it, and to make it available to its students, its historians, and its people. The State may, therefore, very properly endow and employ its university for the promotion of this end within limits consistent with the privileges and duties of the university in all other directions. This obligation the State ought to recognize and fulfill. There is not a better, more efficient, or more constant agency for this work of the State than the State university. It is the obvious medium, in connection with its State historical society and its historical commission, for the prosecution of this function of the State.

3. It is not to be deemed essential, nor even important, that the university should establish undergraduate courses in State history in its college of liberal arts. Arts are long and time is fleeting. Other things demand attention in a liberal-arts education. Graduate courses in State history would be more proper; but no one has a right to demand even these in a State university or in any other university. Such courses, it should be candidly recognized, may be of interest and benefit to but a small body of students. In a short university life most students will desire, very properly, to devote their time to other and more important lines of study. I say this with some appreciation of the fact that upon the question as to what knowledge is most worth while there will be sharp differences of opinion and that there are those who will contend that it is most important for a student to know his own life and that of his own people in his own State. I can only give my judgment for what it may be worth, and that judgment is that other things than State and local history are more likely to be conducive to a student's culture, to his training, and to his higher education. We may properly appreciate our local history without contending that it is just as important for the training of our youth in history that they should know as well the battles of "Pigeon Roost" and "Horse Shoe Bend" as to know the significance of Marathon and Waterloo. Let us base our contention for local history on tenable ground.

4. The department of history in a State university should be ready and willing, within the limits of its equipment, its powers, and its other duties, to lend its aid and cooperation to every agency of the State toward the promotion of a public interest in, and a

knowledge of, the State's history; to an intelligent, public-spirited preservation of historical materials; and toward making the contents of this material available in published forms. State and local historical societies, teachers' associations, the public schools, etc., may be sought by departments of history in State universities as fitting instruments for cooperation.

5. The State university should do more. It should sustain some agency to promote the collection and publication of such materials in State history. A special historical library and librarian, scholarships, and research fellowships in State history, lectureships, bulletins, magazines, a well-organized and well-directed historical survey—these are obvious connections and instrumentalities by which research in State history may be promoted. This would involve subsidy, support, a money maintenance of men who give all or much of their time to this work, whether they be on or off the teaching staff. These workers in State history at the State universities should be in close cooperation with the State libraries, the State historical commissions, and State historical societies.

6. The work by such means should be in connection with and under the direction of the department of history. There need be no separate department of State history, except in the sense that here is a special field of research in which trained historical workers may serve the State. But a separate teaching department in the college of liberal arts is uncalled for. A student is not to be expected, nor should he be allowed, to choose such a local field as a major subject for graduation. The field may be a department of useful and fruitful labor worthy of additional laborers, to which State encouragement and subsidy may be given; but it does not call for a coordinate department of teaching and administration.

7. But research in State history offers a very fruitful field for the application and further training of advanced students in history. It offers a field from which, if the field be properly tilled, we may expect valuable contributions which will be of great assistance in the study of our national history as well as valued additions to our historical literature. It is now easy to be discerned that he who would study our national development must needs study the country in sections; he must study the South or West, the frontier, the State that grew up here in the Mississippi Valley, the people that settled and builded these commonwealths, the motives and influences and spirit that prompted these people. He who would study our national politics and parties of a hundred years ago must study the States—the parties, the factions, the conditions, the political leaders in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Virginia, and the Carolinas. The intelligent student sees clearly that the decisive influences moved

from the States to the center. No one will understand what happened and why in national politics without a knowledge of State affairs and State life. Nothing is more obvious than this to the students of our history. Not only these students but intelligent men of affairs readily understand this. It is very forcibly illustrated for them as they look at current political history. Recent American history can not be indifferent to what Oregon has been doing in the field of politics. What is going on in the political life of Kansas, of New York, of Pennsylvania, of Wisconsin, and of Illinois, determines the course of American politics. From a knowledge of conditions in these and other States must the historian of America make up his account. Without the records from the States he can not portray our national life in any serious or significant way. For his sources he will have to look to the documents preserved in the States, to monographs and contributions on local history which have been produced by laborious workers in the local field. As we know, much of this kind of work has already been done, and certainly the State universities should encourage more of it in every possible way. They have, or they can collect, the materials. They have, or they can train, the advanced students capable of doing the work. They can find fruitful themes for master's theses if not for doctoral dissertations, with a view to productions, not merely of local or remote or antiquarian interest but of interest to our common history. I may be pardoned for naming a few such themes as have been used in Indiana which may serve to suggest similar themes for use anywhere else: The Whig Party in Indiana, 1832 to 1852; The Greenback Party in Indiana; Party Politics in Indiana During the Civil War; Internal Improvements in Early Indiana; State Banking in Indiana, 1816-1860; Early Indiana Journalism; the edition of the Governors' Messages of Indiana. These are merely examples of the possibilities that are open.

It behooves the State to collect and preserve the materials of its history, not only for its own sake but for the sake of the country at large. The State's history will best be served in this direction by the trained historical student, by men and women who can live in library and university centers apart from earning a livelihood, and who, if not themselves experts, may be apprenticed to experts in investigation and research. It is at this point and in this direction that the State university should lend its aid to State history by providing men who can oversee and direct capable students in the study of appropriate topics, and in arranging and editing local historical material. There is abundant reason why the State university should cultivate this field. It is a rich field for historical study and production. The problem and expense of publication and

preservation need not be assumed by the university alone. It may be undertaken in cooperation with other agencies of the State. Some State historical societies have direct State connection and support. Where they have not, the State should be encouraged to establish permanent historical commission which should perform for the State one of its most sacred duties—the collection, preservation, and publication of the State's archives and documentary history. It means, of course, not monographic productions, nor any one's account of any movement or event, but the letters, correspondence, messages, documents, and other materials from which the history of the State may be studied and written. To such a commission the State university, or any university or college within the State should lend its consistent aid and cooperation. And the commission through State appropriations, should aid the university by making available to the public the edited documents and such worthy monographs as the historical workers of the university may be able to produce.

In discussion of Prof. Woodburn's paper, Prof. E. C. Barker, of the University of Texas, spoke as follows:

Prof. Woodburn truly remarks that the first duty of a State university is to be a university. A painful distance separates some of us from that ambitious goal of academic development; and for us without adequate libraries for intensive work in European or even in general United States history, research in State history is a blessed solace. We go perforce to the State capitol, the county court house, and the local newspaper files to settle our little problems but we go cheerfully, and, sometimes, with a lurking feeling of complacency, a conviction that our labor is neither mean nor unimportant.

In fact, if we guard our perspective, there is ground for this satisfaction. The mosaic-like texture of history is nowhere better illustrated than in the study of the United States. Each State besides being a part of the broader national fabric, has generally figured as the prize in international rivalries. Scarcely a foot of soil of the United States has been unknown to the imperial ambition of at least three European nations; so that our local studies can frequently be made to illuminate some phase of British, French, or Spanish colonial activity or diplomatic contest.

Moreover, we are assured by our departments of education, with that unctious which always embellishes their announcement of an obvious platitude, that the natural method in educational procedure is from the particular to the general. We have the satisfaction,

therefore, of working on a plan that is fundamentally sound, as well as providentially shaped to our means. Few State universities as yet have many candidates for the doctor's degree, but the crop of M. A.'s is fairly large, and topics in State history are generally better adapted to them than to doctoral dissertations. In another sense our tool is a convenient one; it furnishes a ready means for proving our usefulness, our reason for being, to the sovereign people who pay our salaries. There exists everywhere a surprising amount of local patriotism and interest in State history, and work in that field is sure of appreciation, which may be turned to good account in other directions. I think that as a rule history faculties in State supported institutions recognize their opportunities and obligations—one need only compare Von Holst, Schouler, and even Rhodes with the "American Nation" to convince himself of the genuine service of local studies to the historiography of the United States. This, in turn, has unquestionably reacted on the public and resulted in more liberal appropriations for State libraries, historical commissions, provision for transcripts and archive publications. Even in the South, during the past 10 years, we have begun to realize the futility of denouncing the unfairness of Yankee historians and to turn some of the energy thus saved to the collection and exploitation of our own historical materials—the only possible means, of course, of combating error, because we alone are in a position to do this work.

Research in local history is not a privilege of State institutions alone. All colleges and universities encourage it. The only real problem involved in this discussion, therefore, is how to better and advance such work in State universities, and the solution of this will vary from place to place. Seminars in a general field of American history, with thesis topics in local history, furnish training for a few students each year, but have little effect in stimulating public interest. Programs for club study, with brief notes on the nature of historical sources, can be employed to plant ideas here and there among the patriotic organizations, which may be useful in a movement for the preservation of history material. The University of Texas publishes *History Teachers' Bulletin* three times a year, which is mailed free to all public-school teachers of history. While this is concerned primarily with problems of teaching, it can be used also to suggest lines of investigation in local history by high-school classes. And such exercises, I may remark, are much more effective agencies for training, when directed by a competent teacher, than can be derived from any "source book" in American history yet published. The publication of a history series, to include meritorious articles on State history by faculty, students, and others, will do much to stimulate productive interest. Of the 7,000 pages constituting the 18 volumes of the Texas State Historical Association Quarterly (now

the Southwestern Historical Quarterly), probably 6,000 would never have seen the light in any other publication, would not have been written, in fact; and yet one need only compare, for example Smith's "Annexation of Texas" and Rives's "United States and Mexico, 1821-1848," with older books to realize the profound value of the Quarterly in every phase of southwestern history.

All these agencies, however, are more or less indirect. Thorough and effective development of State history demands for its success the alert and persevering industry of a man who makes that his chief labor. Preferably he should be a member of the history faculty of the State university and should do enough teaching to keep himself in touch with the passing generations of students through whom much of his work may be accomplished; but his principal effort must be directed to a systematic survey of the historical resources of the State, a campaign for their better preservation, and their concentration, so far as possible, in preparation for their future exploitation. The work demands trained investigators of a somewhat special type and funds. I believe that most State universities can now supply well-trained men for the work; and in time we shall get the funds I am sure of this.

The discussion was continued by Prof. O. G. Libby, of the University of North Dakota:

In this discussion of research in State universities the definition of research that Prof. Woodburn gave us was that dealing largely with local history that is not found in documents but in the minds and memories of old settlers and of public men. The few remarks I make will have reference to that material, as well as to the material that is found in State archives.

Two by-products, it seems to me, will be produced if the State universities attack the problem of research in State history. First, the State university in its course will come in contact with the officers and members and supporters of the State historical society. Unfortunately, in many States they do not so come in contact. A charmed circle seems to be drawn about the university and its activities, and in the outer darkness are the people interested in State history. When a university man crosses that circle and gets into the field of history made by men who are living, or history known by the descendants of those who have made history, then he does not find a classroom with students who must stay and listen whether they want to or not. He has to find his audience, and he must say something that is worth listening to. In other words, the professor of history

must learn how to interview men who carry their historical documents in their heads. If he can not do it, he is a failure as far as historical societies are concerned. The man who can interview others and obtain valuable historical information from them can discount the man who can lecture perhaps learnedly on any subject assigned to him. I fancy better relations will come about between the historical societies and State universities, particularly in the working forces of the two, if universities will attack the problem of State history practically, not theoretically. That better relations are much needed we all know from personal experience.

The second by-product which will come about as a result of this activity on the part of the university is that university men will find their place in the State. The university man, in State research, is not addressing himself to a sympathetic or homogeneous audience. He is dealing with refractory material—material which has never yet yielded to publication, or even to definition or statement, and the question is, can he learn how to get valuable materials before they are lost? We believe the university man can obtain much valuable information by asking questions skillfully, but to do this some of them must pursue different methods from those in use in the class room, otherwise no results will follow.

There are just as many fakes now as there ever were, and the local men try them out on the university professor as the easiest mark. After he has been thus properly hazed, he will be taken into fellowship and into their organizations if he can stand being fooled with good nature, and can not be fooled again. That is the experience of some who have undertaken the problems of State research.

One of the points not touched on, but which I want to speak of briefly, is this: The man who goes out of the university into the problem of State research has a large constituency in touch with his problems, and having the same ideals and purposes as himself, and that constituency is the large body of college and university alumni to be found in every State in the Union. They are the farmers, the lawyers, the doctors, the bankers who have come from their alma mater with high ideals, which have been somewhat lowered and blunted by the practical affairs of life. These men, however, still carry in their memories, and in their hearts the belief in, and love for those things they learned in university life.

The thing for the university man to do in research work is to find out this most valuable constituency. They were the pioneers of the State. They may not be familiar with the written history of the State, but they have come to know the men intimately in business and in professional life who have made history. We cannot, perhaps, reach the pioneer so as to do anything with him, or get

from him what he knows, but we can go to the general banker, who loans him money, to the lawyer who gets him out of difficulty, and to the doctor who saves the lives of children. These are the men who belong to us. They are our university constituency, and we need to reach them first. Let us try them in our effort to carry on research and they can help us to reach John Jones or Tom Smith, who has the story we want. I feel certain that in this way you will get something worth while, and at the same time you will be making for the university and for State research invaluable friends. If this alumni constituency has not been utilized to any great degree we do not know it. Lists of alumni are published every year, but they are not very accurate; it is a part of our research to make them accurate and to make full use of them. I point this out as one of the many things that can be secured in attempting genuine historical research in State history.

Prof. C. W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, spoke as follows:

The subject which we are discussing here finds its justification in an aphorism. There can be no doubt about the duty which the universities of our country owe to the study of local history; and it seems to me that the mere statement of that duty is sufficient to carry conviction to the mind of everyone. There are, however, only a few universities that are performing that duty systematically and are using their opportunity to the fullest advantage at present but it is a pleasure to note that more and more are coming into line. The statement of the duty is so much of an aphorism and has been discussed by three such able men, that there remains nothing for me to say concerning the principle, and so I shall limit myself to making suggestions on methods drawn from the experience of the University of Illinois.

Our local historical societies are obliged, or think they are obliged, to consider the public taste in their historical work, and in this way there is justified a certain lowering of the scientific standard of work, although it is doubtful whether such is absolutely necessary in order to gain popularity. In fact, I am rather inclined to think it is unnecessary, but still there is a feeling in historical societies that academic scholarship can never satisfy the public taste. In universities, however, no such necessity for pleasing the masses is placed upon those engaged in historical research, and the scientific standard of the work may be maintained at the highest. It is therefore of the utmost value to the State that university men should be engaged

in conducting researches in local history that will result in publications which will gain recognition by historians throughout the world.

The University of Illinois has for several years conducted scientific studies in State history, and we have at no time taken into consideration the necessity of courting popularity, but our sole criterion has been the requirements of the science of history. Strange as it may seem, we have received public support for these undertakings.

The other suggestion I have in mind is of a more practical nature. There has been some jealousy expressed by historical societies against the universities whenever the latter have attempted to enter the field of local history. It seems to me that historical societies have a work in the publication of collections of sources which will engage their attention for hundreds of years to come. The fulfillment of this duty will be doing the greatest good to the science of history, since it will make known to scholars the sources which are to be found. The use of these sources in monographic studies may well be left to the university scholars. If there can be brought about such a division of labor, jealousy between universities and societies will come to an end. In each State this problem naturally presents itself in a different form and its solutions will follow different lines.

A second suggestion is one that will not meet with the approval of all scholars. A quarterly publication is a difficult proposition for a university or a State historical society to maintain at the proper scientific standard. It seems to me that publications of universities at least should be more of a sporadic nature. That terrible grind of preparing copy every three months should be avoided, if possible. The better plan is to publish only when some study worth while is ready. The periodic publication means too frequently poor quality.

A final thought takes its origin directly in Prof. Woodburn's paper. He said, possibly not meaning it exactly in this limited form, that a study produced in a State survey should be published by some State agency. We have had that question up in the University of Illinois, and it has finally been decided that studies may be published wherever the particular author finds an opportunity. If there comes out of the department of the Illinois survey a worthy article it may be submitted to the editors of the *American Historical Review* or to Prof. Shambaugh for the *Iowa Journal*. If it is in book form it may be printed as a book by some publisher. In other words, we do not limit our scholars to the publication of the results of their labors in the bulletins or reports of the University of Illinois.

The result is, of course, that our students are more eager to do good work, because it may result in a very dignified publication.

In closing the discussion, Prof. Woodburn said:

With reference to the point raised by Prof. Alvord, I need not emphasize the importance of provision by the State for the publication of monographic material, and in that respect I am heartily in accord with the view expressed by him. If the material is valuable and meritorious, and can not be published by the State, some other means of publication should be sought, as the collection and sources of the material should be provided for and published and thus made accessible.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE USE OF HISTORICAL MATERIALS.

By LAWRENCE J. BURPEE.

At first sight it might seem that the subject we have before us offered little opportunity for profitable discussion; that there could be, at the most, but two points of view—that of the custodian, putting preservation before use, and that of the student, putting use before preservation. If one were inclined to be flippant, the case might be stated as *Man v. Manuscript*. The more one considers the problem, however, the more angles it presents, and the more involved become the relations of custodian and student to the document, to each other, and to the public. We are to discuss some of the phases of this many-sided question, and as the duty has been put upon me of opening the debate, I shall try to be as brief and judicial as the circumstances will permit.

For our present purposes the definition of historical materials may be confined mainly to manuscript sources, though the question of restriction might also be applied to rare printed books. Our problem, then, is how and to what extent should manuscript material be made accessible to students? It will be seen at once that any consideration of the question, to be satisfactory, must embrace not only restrictions on, but also facilities for, historical research. Broadly speaking, each is complementary to the other.

To get to the bottom of the matter, what is the primary object of archives? The answer to the question depends, no doubt, a good deal upon circumstances. "Preservation of documents," says one authority,¹ "should be the first end to be attained." "It must be borne in mind," says another,² "that to supply historical sources to the investigator is not the principal function, although an important

¹ Charles M. Andrews, *Lessons of the British Archives*, in *American Historical Association. Ann. Rep.*, 1909, 350.

² Waldo G. Leland, *American Archival Problems*, *ibid.*, 347.

one, of archive depositories." One large library¹ lays down the principle that "the manuscript division has been established for purposes of reference and research;" and another² puts it this way: "Manuscripts and manuscript collections should be considered first as to preservation, second as to use. Preservation necessarily precedes use and largely determines and governs it, though it must be borne in mind that a manuscript withheld from consultation might almost as well be nonexistent." In theory at least there is no very serious difference of opinion as to the primary object of archives. In practice, one finds every conceivable variation from the practically total exclusion of the student to an almost reckless freedom of access and circulation. Nevertheless, the extremes of policy are comparatively rare, and there is an increasing tendency to find a mean that will meet all the legitimate needs of research workers without sacrificing the essential safeguarding of the documents.

The following replies from a number of representative institutions in the United States and Canada bear out the above statement:

Connecticut State Library:

We should encourage the use of manuscript material by all competent to use it to advantage for the public good.

Massachusetts State Library:

I think in this age of general knowledge and research the greatest freedom should be given in the use of historical materials in the possession of an historical society or archives bureau.

Pennsylvania State Library:

My invariable rule has been to furnish all the information possible to each student making a request for original material.

Iowa State Library:

A historical society or archives bureau, when supported by the State, should allow the fullest liberty to all who have a serious purpose either to copy or to photograph the material in its possession. I can see no justice in depriving any citizen of the State of opportunity to use material collected by the State at the taxpayers' expense.

California State Library:

Our plan in regard to historical material is to permit the freest consultation commensurate with the safety and preservation of the material.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin:

Our past and present policy favors the broadest and freest possible use of our historical materials.

Michigan Historical Commission:

My experience leads to the firm belief that all archives should be made accessible to any student or society either to copy or to photograph.

South Dakota Department of History:

I have conceived that our mission is to give the widest extension to the knowledge and use of the materials of history, and that in consequence everything we have and every service in our power have been at all times placed at the use of the public.

¹ New York Public Library, Rules of the Manuscript Division.

² J. C. Fitzpatrick, Notes on the Care, Cataloguing, Calendaring, and Arranging of Manuscripts (Library of Congress), 1913, p. 5.

Alabama Department of Archives and History:

The practice here has been to allow the most liberal use of our entire collections, either printed or in manuscript.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

In my opinion all the United States, State, and other archives should be made accessible to all persons engaged in genuine historical research. Historical societies and public libraries which receive State aid should also come under this class.

Harvard University:

When papers have become historical documents I believe that a library or society should permit the freest use of them to serious-minded students. Their use as historical sources should not, it seems to me, be confined to members of the society that owns them or to students working in that particular library.

Yale University:

It is my policy as librarian to regard myself as custodian of the manuscripts and other treasures in my charge for the benefit of qualified users.

Princeton University:

No restriction should be placed on the liberty of use of manuscripts, save such as provide for the proper preservation of the manuscript itself. All selfishness in the way of reserving things for individuals, for institutions, so that they may have the exclusive or prime glory is contrary to the spirit for which institutions are founded and to the essence of the idea of scholarship.

University of Illinois:

Historical material should be open for use and copying so long as the original is not damaged.

Toronto University:

Our principle is to allow the freest possible use of historical material consistent with its safeguarding.

McGill University, Montreal:

Libraries, societies, archives, etc., should regard the books, records, and manuscripts which they possess in the light of a trust which they hold not for their own use or benefit, not alone for the use or convenience of their own immediate constituents, but for the benefit of all persons who are qualified to use them with advantage to themselves or to the world at large. On the other hand, the institutions, being trustees, must take all reasonable precautions against damage to or loss of the property they hold in trust.

Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario:

I feel very strongly that historical societies and bureaus of archives should as freely as possible allow other institutions to make copies of the materials in their possession. The materials exist for the use of historians, and the more widely they are made use of the better.

New York Public Library:

I agree with Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick that "Manuscripts and manuscript collections should be considered first as to preservation, second as to use." This is the kernel of the whole matter, whether applied to manuscripts or rare and costly printed works. This principle carries with it respect for to-day, to-morrow, and generations yet to be. It does not deprive the present-day investigator of any legitimate use, and it also preserves the originals with a pious regard for the rights of the scholars of the future.

Chicago Public Library:

We believe in the widest liberty and latitude to students consistent with the safeguarding of the materials consulted.

Newberry Library, Chicago:

I believe that, in general, historical societies and archives bureaus should be most generous in granting permission to other institutions or to individuals to make copies of the material in their possession.

Having gained some light on the general practice as to the use of historical materials in public institutions, let us go a little more into detail. With a few exceptions, the concensus of opinion is that research workers should have the freest access to and use of historical materials consistent with their preservation. The character of these materials, however, makes imperative some restrictions in their use. Principles of access and circulation that are justifiable and praiseworthy in the case of books may be more than questionable in the use of manuscripts. A book destroyed or damaged may, as a general rule, be replaced. The loss of a manuscript, if no copy exists, is irreparable.

Let me state, then, some of the questions that suggest themselves in connection with the general subject of restriction:

To what extent should an institution possessing valuable historical material allow other institutions or individuals to make copies?

Should such material be loaned for use in another institution, either in the same city or farther afield?

Is it justifiable to refuse access to documents in course of publication, or whose publication has been decided upon, or which may be published by the institution possessing the documents, or by some individual acting under its authority?

Should the use of public documents be refused on or before a certain date, or of private documents of a confidential nature?

What restrictions should be placed upon the liberty of students desiring to consult manuscript or other material?

Should they be subjected to oversight in making copies or tracings of material?

Should they be required to submit their notes to an attendant?

Should their work be subjected to censorship or should they be left to their own judgment as to the character and extent of their extracts?

What credentials should a research worker be required to submit?

Should there be an age limit?

Is the custodian entitled to know the purpose for which copies are made; is he justified in refusing permission if the proposed use seems trivial or undesirable; and, on the other hand, is he entitled to grant exclusive use of certain material?

Should there be any limitation of the number of manuscripts or volumes used by a student at one time?

What hours should be available for research work?

What facilities should be provided, research rooms, suitable tables adequate lighting, etc.?

What aids should be available, calendars, indexes, classification guides, etc.?

Should an archives bureau contain a collection of books of reference for the use of the research worker?

What implements are permissible in the copying of manuscripts or rare books: Pencil, pen and ink, fountain pen, typewriter, or photostat?

Should tracing be permitted, with or without supervision?

Should the institution be equipped with a photostat?

Should one institution permit another to make photostat or other copies of its material, or should it exchange copies of material?

Taking these points in the order mentioned, it may be helpful to bring together a few notes based on the experience of representative men and institutions both in Europe and America. No attempt has been made to get the views of all the principal archivists and librarians of the two continents, but perhaps sufficient information is available to show the drift of opinion based on more or less varied experience.

First as to cooperation with other institutions or individuals. The chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress writes:

Complete cooperation between manuscript depositories can only be accomplished by complete confidence; and in order that they may serve the full measure of their usefulness and purpose, they should do unto other depositories as they would have other depositories do unto them. Unless manuscripts have been deposited in this library under restrictions by the donor, the library allows other institutions to take copies for their own use freely. As a concrete instance, however, it may be mentioned that when an institution desired that several copies might be made of a valuable manuscript, in order that it might exchange some of them with other institutions, the library felt constrained to decline to permit its possessions to be converted into merchantable material by another institution. When copies are made for another institution, no restriction is placed upon their use by that other institution.

The Dominion Archivist at Ottawa states that it has been his policy from the beginning to cooperate with the Provincial Archives, and other similar institutions in Canada and elsewhere, by exchanging copies of manuscripts. His only objection is that hitherto the balance of trade has been very much against his own institution. A great deal has gone out, but very little has come in. Individuals are given every possible facility for research in the thoroughly equipped building at Ottawa. The State librarian of Massachusetts says:

We are always glad to have individuals or institutions make copies either by photostat or typewriter or in longhand of rare laws, and the same is true of the manuscripts in the archives department. I feel that all the material we

possess at least is of a public nature, and that we have no right to restrict its use any more than may be positively necessary. *The fact that it is photographed or copied simply gives it larger publicity.*

Let me draw your attention particularly to this last point, which we will come back to later. The superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin writes:

May I suggest that historical materials properly belong to society, rather than to the institution or the individual who may have a legal title to them. To the extent that the public may properly claim a greater interest in the affairs of institutions than of individuals, it seems to me that the policy of sealing historical materials against the scholarly world is more reprehensible in the case of the former than the latter.

Many of you are no doubt familiar with the very generous policy of cooperation carried out by this society under the direction of the late Dr. Thwaites. It is gratifying to know that his successor possesses the same broad ideals. The Historical Department of Iowa has adopted substantially the same policy as that of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The curator, referring to the accumulation of private papers, makes the following interesting suggestion:

As this sort of material comes out of the repositories of business men, literary men, soldiers, politicians and others, some connected with other Governments and other States, and not connected with Iowa itself, I propose the eventual exchange of such materials so that they will finally find a resting place in the region to which they properly belong.

Prof. C. W. Alvord of the University of Illinois, writes:

The disasters that historical manuscripts have suffered by fire in recent years is a sufficient excuse for reproducing all important manuscripts as many times as possible and scattering them all over the country.

The librarian of Princeton University says:

I believe that in the fullest manner consistent with the means of the library, photostat copies of all important manuscripts in any collection should be made by the library owning the manuscript, when requested by other libraries, and loaned to these libraries, the idea being to form a lending collection of facsimiles of one's own manuscripts. At all events, I believe that the having photostat copies of one's manuscripts made at the expense of other libraries which will keep these copies for use should be encouraged as much as possible as a precaution against the destruction of the originals in any way. The Vatican Library makes, I believe, this the only condition, i. e., that we shall keep the photographic copy that we have made open for free access of scholars.

The associate director of the University of Chicago, in commending the same principle of cooperation, says:

I should like to see American libraries and institutions show the same generosity in this respect as some of the foreign institutions, notably the German.

The librarian of McGill University says:

Material should be lent as a rule not to individuals but to other institutions for use by individuals. The lender may reasonably stipulate that the material lent shall only be used within the walls of the borrowing institution. In the case of very rare materials a photostat or cameragraph reproduction might reasonably be substituted for the original.

The only stipulation suggested in allowing other institutions the privilege of obtaining facsimile or other copies of material for their own archives or for the use of students, is that copies from the copy should not be made without permission from the institution possessing the original, and that authors using or citing a copied document should mention the original institution. The librarian of the University of Toronto writes:

We send our material freely for the use of bona fide students and scholars, but always to some responsible institution, such as a library, under whose superintendence the reader consults the book or manuscript. The risk of loss in transit can not be overcome, and in common with other libraries in the United States and Canada we take that risk.

The chief of the division of American history in the New York Public Library writes:

Closer cooperation between historical societies and other similar institutions in photostat or transcript interchanges of material would remove some of the difficulties that now stand in the way of historical research. I think it desirable that this question should be treated in as liberal a spirit as possible for the mutual benefit of all.

The director of the library adds:

We have recently agreed to lend some manuscripts pertaining to Massachusetts to the Massachusetts Historical Society for photostat reproduction. We shall probably borrow from them New York manuscripts for photostat reproduction here. I hope this is merely a beginning of an exchange of courtesies of this sort between libraries. Personally I believe, as Mr. Worthington C. Ford does, that the photostat process has made the facsimile reproduction of manuscripts so cheap and easy that there is no reason why such interchanges as I have mentioned should not be made.

That there is perhaps another side to the question has already been suggested by Mr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Library of Congress, or perhaps it would be more exact to say that there is a possibility of an institution's generosity being imposed upon. The librarian of the John Crerar Library of Chicago enlarges upon the same point:

Loans for use outside the library are in a very different position from access within it. Here I see many objections to a too generous policy. This might result in a library being called upon unnecessarily and even unfairly. One eastern university has complained that another gives a course in a special field or on a special era and then meets the needs of its students for material by wholesale borrowing from its neighbors.

A few words will suffice as to the experience in Europe. Prof. William I. Hull, writing on the "Lessons of the Dutch Archives,"¹ says:

National and local, public and private cooperation is illustrated in many ways. For example, the national archivist has recently secured 318 marine maps in manuscript for the splendid collection of maps in the library of the University of Leiden. He has also supplied to Dutch colonists in Surinam and elsewhere copies of archives in which they were specially interested; he has mediated between various towns and brought about mutually advantageous exchanges of documentary materials; his specialists have deciphered the most difficult manuscripts, restored and mounted those most abused, and catalogued the most important new discoveries in the possession of province or town.

Dr. Amandus Johnson has this to say of the Swedish archives:²

Records are loaned to libraries and other archives all over the Kingdom. If an investigator finds it more convenient to work in the Royal Library, or any other library, he can get the particular documents he needs for his investigation brought to his desk without charge from the Royal Archives or from any library or archives in the country by applying to the officer at the head of the manuscript department in the institution in which he works. In this manner documents are even sent to foreign countries. The convenience of this system is evident.

Dr. Johnson is at the same time evidently conscious that such liberality is not entirely without its disadvantages, for he adds somewhat ruefully in a footnote:

In the spring of 1909, when the writer was completing his investigations in Sweden on the History of New Sweden, he desired to reexamine certain Usselinx letters, but the letters were at Utrecht to be copied.

The next point is as to restrictions on account of publication. Dr. John W. Jordan writes:

Since I have become librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania there is but one set of papers withheld from the public—that is, the Wayne papers—and this is because the society intends to print them.

The librarian of Harvard University says:

Perhaps the only restriction on the use of historical documents should be when the society intends to print documents in extenso itself. Even then I see no objection to having copies or photographs made for other societies, with the provision that the papers should not be printed as a whole.

Mr. M. M. Quaife, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, writes:

The one restriction which I am disposed to make upon the use, by students and other institutions, of our manuscripts is this: Our own society has a research and publication bureau, and in connection therewith has plans, of course, for future work. I am disposed to reserve, therefore, for publication by ourselves such manuscripts as we have formulated plans for bringing out in the near future. I think there is a clear and just distinction between this

¹ American Historical Association, Ann. Rept., 1909, 358.

² Ibid., 367.

reservation and the policy pursued by some institutions of monopolizing historical material which may have come into their possession, but which they are either unable or undesirous to publish.

The State librarian of Pennsylvania, Mr. T. L. Montgomery writes:

I should think it perfectly right to withhold material that was in the process of publication.

Mr. Montgomery raises another point worth considering:

I have had to deal [he says] with a great many historians, in the limited sense of the term, who delighted in holding material until some publication had come out, in order to prove how radically wrong the other was. This kind of parasite sometimes obtains a position in a public office. Death and infection are accomplishing a great deal of good in this direction, but some of them seem to have lived on preservatives.

Another point is suggested by Mr. F. K. W. Drury, of the library of the University of Illinois, as to restriction on material owned by a society or university upon which its own researches are being carried on. Is temporary restriction justifiable in such a case? The story is told of a certain professor of American history who was refused access to a famous collection in another university relating to his subject that, as the only way out of the difficulty, he finally joined the faculty of the offending institution. That does seem rather a desperate remedy.

It is also related of an institution not so very far from Chicago that it would only consent to the use of certain indispensable material in its possession on condition that the historian should submit to having his book brought out under their control. In another case an investigator asked permission to make photostat copies of certain copies of documents the originals of which had apparently been lost. No answer was ever made to his request.

While we are talking scandal one or two other instances may as well be given. A certain eastern authority was asked to go to a western institution to report upon a very valuable collection of manuscripts. He did so, and it is understood that his report was a factor of some importance in the acquisition of the material. Later he sent one of his assistants to look up certain points in the collection. The assistant was allowed to see but a small portion of the material and was refused permission to copy anything whatever. The institution had adopted the policy of refusing to all students the use of this material because there was a possibility that at some future time it might wish to publish some portion of it.

Another anecdote; this time at the expense of an eastern institution. The victim relates that he visited a certain city on the Atlantic seaboard to consult a newly discovered historical journal in which he was deeply interested. He found it in a well-known

library. The custodian of the manuscript courteously consented to let him see it, had it brought to his own desk, pulled out the sliding shelf, placed the manuscript thereon, and permitted the expert to turn over the pages while he kept a watchful eye on man and manuscript.

One more story, lest it be supposed that this sort of thing is peculiar to America. The Dominion archivist was very anxious a few years ago to obtain copies of certain documents relating to the early history of Canada in the French department of foreign affairs. He went to Paris and after being politely referred to one official after another and wasting several days, finally gave up the attempt and returned home. Some weeks later a permit arrived in Ottawa conveying the necessary permission to the archivist to make the copies. He joyfully sent it over to a trusted copyist in Paris. The latter took it to the department of foreign affairs and presented it to the official in charge of the documents. "But, monsieur," said the latter, "this permit is in the name of the archivist. It is impossible that the documents should be copied by another."

The question of restricting the use of documents dated before a certain year is a difficult one, and one as to which there is a considerable difference of opinion. It involves, among other things, in the case of public documents the policy of governmental departments, and in the case of private documents restrictions imposed by the donor.

Prof. Charles M. Andrews, writing of the British archives,¹ draws a lesson for American archivists from the restrictions placed for half a century by departmental authorities upon the Public Record Office. Records were turned over to the Record Office, but official tape placed arbitrary limits upon their use by the public. Such dates as 1759, 1779, 1780, etc., have in the past marked the limit beyond which the searcher could not go, except by personal application to the individual department." In 1909, as the result of the recommendations of an interdepartmental committee, the restrictions were removed and the documents submitted to regulations framed by the custodians of the Public Record Office. Mr. Fitzpatrick, of the Library of Congress, emphasizes the importance of Government documents being transferred to the archive bureau only when they are officially dead.

Control over such papers [he adds] is undesirable, for there can be no right of claim of historical investigator, not legitimately overridden by administrative need; and, where this need continues to exist, its interference would result in practically transforming the archive bureau into an adjunct of the department from which the files came."

¹ American Historical Association, Ann. Rep., 1909, 350.

² Notes on the Care, etc., of Manuscripts, 8.

Is it possible or desirable to fix a uniform date for the transfer of Government documents? European practice in this regard is becoming more generous. It is said that the French ministry of foreign affairs permits the use of its archives to February, 1848 and the Archives Nationales communicate documents that are 50 years old. The Public Record Office in London has fixed the year 1840 as its limit. In the Dominion archives at Ottawa documents are available down to the year of confederation, 1867. Various other dates obtain in different countries, depending upon historical and other considerations. Of course, in nearly all cases serious students with suitable credentials can obtain access to documents of a late date if they possess the necessary patience and perseverance to press the matter through the proper channels.

As to a fixed date, one finds a considerable difference of opinion even among competent authorities. Mr. Leland, for instance, says that—

while a chronological dead line is convenient, especially for the archivist, it may be questioned if it is not better to decide each case upon its own merits. It is clear that certain kinds of material can safely be communicated to within very recent times. Why, then, should they be withheld because other material cannot be communicated?

Prof. W. L. Grant, of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, suggests the adoption of a definite date of, say, 75 years from the present documents of later date to be available under suitable restrictions. Prof. C. R. Fish, speaking of the Italian archives,² brings up another point. He urges the desirability of a uniform date being agreed upon for the transfer of documents from the various departments to the archive authorities.

The question of subjecting investigators to oversight, requiring them to submit their notes to an attendant, etc., is one that is viewed from widely different angles by archivists. Mr. Fitzpatrick, who voices no doubt the policy of the Library of Congress, says:³

Consultation of manuscripts should be allowed only in the presence and under the constant observation of the archivist or his assistants.

He takes the view also that in the case of confidential documents subject to restrictions the archivist must see the notes or copies made therefrom by the investigator; that application for use of a document should be made in writing; and that the application should state the purpose of the investigation.

On the other hand, Prof. W. R. Shepard, writing of the Spanish archives,⁴ says:

But the greatest boon of all to the worker in the Spanish archives is the total absence of censorship. Either a manuscript is supplied along with an absolute

¹ American Historical Association, Ann. Rep., 1909, 347.

² Ibid., 355.

³ Notes on the Care, etc., of Manuscripts, 5.

right of copying or of photographing its contents, or it is simply withheld from the outset. Never is the vexatious experience undergone of having some choice passage blue-penciled and the labor of the copyist expended in vain because of some petty regulation devoid of sense or reason.

The views and practice of a number of representative archivists and librarians on this continent may be briefly summarized:

Mr. E. R. Harlan, of the Historical Department of Iowa:

Taking reasonable care that each applicant is one worthy of confidence, no restrictions are placed upon his use of the materials so long as they are not removed from the room in which they are examined.

Mr. Hanson, of the library of the University of Chicago:

I have seen so much carelessness and ignorance of the simplest safeguards, even on the part of prominent professors, that I am convinced of the necessity of strict supervision; at any rate, in the use of original manuscripts.

Mr. Langton, library of the University of Toronto:

If the reader or consulter lives in Toronto, we require him to use our material in the library building, and, in the case of particularly valuable material, in one of the rooms occupied by the staff, so that he may be under observation.

The New York State Library:

Places no restrictions upon the liberty of students consulting manuscripts except that necessary for the proper preservation and guarding of such manuscripts.

Connecticut State Library:

We have insisted that the manuscripts be used in the immediate presence of assistants.

Mr. Belden, of the Massachusetts State Library:

The only restriction is that the volumes or manuscripts should be used under proper supervision by one of the members of the library staff, and that in case the volume or manuscript is brittle or torn because of age that the library assistant should handle the same.

Mr. Carlton, of the Newberry Library:

Manuscripts and other rare material should be consulted and used only under the direct supervision of the regular custodian of the room or department, who is, or should be, an expert.

Mr. Owen, of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama:

The State archives are open to the public without restriction other than their use in conformity to the usual office regulations as to examination in the presence of an attendant, etc.

Mr. Robinson, of the Department of History of South Dakota:

No restriction whatever has been placed upon the use of our material by students, except that ordinary prudence which protects rare matter from injury or loss.

Mr. Brigham, of the Iowa State Library:

My reluctant judgment, drawn from experience with students, is that one cannot safely turn them loose among books or papers of value, for I have known not a few who seem to be lacking in conscientiousness in the matter of autograph-collecting or print-collecting who apparently are otherwise honest. It would seem to me best to supervise a student's examination of papers and make a note of papers turned over to him.

Dr. G. H. Locke, of the Toronto Public Library :

I should certainly put restrictions upon the liberty of students consulting manuscripts. My experience has led me to believe that about one in seven of such investigators really knows a little about tackling such job as a collection of manuscripts. The rest wear out the material and gain nothing.

A few words as to credentials, age limit, hours for work, implements, and other facilities. The rule as to credentials of the New York Public Library, manuscript division, is as follows:

Persons desiring a card of admission to the manuscript division should make a written application to the Director of the library, specifying name, address, profession, or occupation, and the purpose for which admission is desired. Such application should be made, if possible, at least two days in advance and must be accompanied by a written recommendation from some person of known position.

In the British Museum an applicant must be vouched for by a property holder. The Library of Congress requires a written application, and favors, though it does not apparently demand, a letter of introduction. Yale University and several other institutions require identification. The Dominion Archives and many other similar bodies demand nothing in the way of credentials. In the European archives an introduction is generally necessary; if a foreigner, from the diplomatic representative of his country.

As to an age limit, the rules of the manuscript division of the New York Public Library provide that "no person under 18 years of age will be admitted to the manuscript research room." In most institutions the matter is left to the judgment of the custodian.

The general rule as to hours for research work seems to be that students have access to material whenever the institution is open to the public. In the Dominion Archives a research worker may obtain access to his material after the regular hours. On the other hand, the Newberry Library closes its manuscript and rare book department at 5 p. m., the librarian taking the view that such valuable material should not be consulted except under the supervision of experts.

The use of pen and ink in copying manuscripts has generally been thought objectionable. Mr. Fitzpatrick, speaking of the proper use of such material,¹ says:

It must not be touched with either pen or pencil point, and copying should be with pencil if possible, as the open, dripping inkwell is a constant menace to the document. The fountain pen is only less objectionable. With some well-meaning but awkward individuals, however, the pencil for copying or making notes is all that can safely be permitted.

The rule of the New York Public Library is that, except in very special cases, pencils must be used in copying or taking notes.

¹ Notes on the Care, etc., of Manuscripts, 5.

In the Swedish archives there is no restriction in the use of ink, the only rule being that the student must not rest his notes on the documents while making excerpts.

This brings us down to the question of the photostat. A good deal has already been said as to the manifest advantages of cooperation in the exchange of copies of manuscripts by archive bureaus and libraries. A word or two may be added as to the value of the photostat in this connection, and for other purposes. The photostat supplies an unquestionable duplicate of the original manuscript, infinitely preferable to the work of even the most painstaking copyist. Think for a moment what the world has lost in the destruction of great collections of manuscripts, even in modern times,¹ and how incalculably richer we would have been had photographic copies of these documents been supplied to other institutions.

Mr. Paltsits, speaking of the "Tragedies in New York's Public Records,"² says:

The lost records give rise to serious reflections in us. There are cases in which we must depend wholly upon some printed or contemporary or later transcript, the accuracy of which can no longer be ascertained with certainty, because the original is either lost, mutilated, or decayed from neglect. Too often the key of truth has perished, leaving us only the uncertain premises that are afforded by incompleteness.

Cases will occur to each one of us, within our own experience, of incomplete stories, missing links in a chain of historical facts, due to the loss of one or more indispensable documents. How we would have blessed the man, or his memory, who could have been far-sighted enough to deposit authentic copies of these manuscripts in some other institution before his own went up in smoke.

Nor, finally, is the value of the photostat confined to its use in providing an absolutely correct and trustworthy copy of original manuscripts. As Mr. Leland points out in his article on the "Application of Photography to Archive and Historical Work"³

It is also of service in the restoration of partially destroyed documents or when it is desired to ascertain the original wording of documents that have been modified by erasures. The artificial lens is so much more powerful than that of the eye, and the photographic plate is to such a degree more sensitive than the retina, that much that is invisible, or at best quite illegible to the vision even when aided by a glass, is easily made out in the photographic copy.

The photostat furnishes also the means of preserving facsimiles of documents that have begun to disintegrate.

¹ See Chronological Sketch of the Destruction of Libraries by Fire in Ancient and Modern Times, in Report of Library Association of the United Kingdom, 1879, 149-154; and article by R. B. Poole on the same subject in Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1892-93, pt. 2, 724-726.

² American Historical Association, Ann. Rep., 1909, 373.

³ American Historical Association, Ann. Rep., 1908, I, 154.

One word more, as the preacher saith, and I have done. Mr. Hanson, of the library of the University of Chicago, contributes the interesting suggestion that, as all students do not fully realize the importance of preserving original documents or appreciate their duty to coming generations, it might be a safe rule to place before them photostat copies instead of the originals, at any rate in the case of peculiarly valuable manuscripts. "I rather think," he adds, "that we may have to come to this more and more, not only in the use of manuscripts by students but in their exhibition or display."

The discussion of Mr. Burpee's paper was opened by Dr. George N. Fuller, of Ann Arbor, Mich., as follows:

Beside a keen analysis, Mr. Burpee has given us a working selection of what is most vital in the experience of seasoned men. Two or three things of a general nature occur to me for special emphasis.

Respecting the relation of custodian and investigator, I would regard both as cooperative servants of collective society. I believe the custodian can best serve this larger public by putting upon the trained investigator the least possible restriction consonant with the rights of posterity. A closer sympathy and understanding between the keepers and users of historical manuscripts would favor a more hopeful advance in both practice and theory. Certainly, all manuscripts need not be treated alike. I do not see that original and rare manuscripts have a legitimate function for any but the trained investigator, at least any function that a photostat reproduction would not serve as well. As to college students untrained in the use of manuscripts, I am impressed with the experience of Dr. Locke, of the Toronto Public Library, that only about one in seven does much more than wear out the material. The photostat apparently would solve the problem of student use of originals of unusual value, and it would help in cases where restrictions are felt necessary that would seriously hamper even the trained investigator.

As the basis of loan and exchange, I very much favor the theory that all historical manuscripts of a public nature belong to collective society, of which the individual or institution having legal title is but an agent. This theory is, of course, opposed to all forms of commercialism in the use of such manuscripts and to all varieties of selfishness in custodianship, with due regard for that subtle form we know as "enlightened self-interest," which among those who have been constrained to realism by abuses of privilege seems to be a substantial excuse for some practices that at times seriously hamper the scholar. In general, it seems to me, it is involved in the essential meaning of all institutional life that stands for the ideals

of scholarship. According to this theory, chance possession and legal title ought not to stand in the way of the freest exchange of manuscripts of a public nature, especially to the end that originals may find their way into the safest depositories easily accessible to the places where they were made. Where, for imperative reasons, it is not possible to answer requests for loans by sending originals, the petitioner might well be met with generous privileges for copying. This is not expecting the custodian of manuscripts to be a sort of institutional angel. We observe that the platitudinous old law of the Golden Rule is coming to be regarded as a plain, common-sense proposition even in avowedly competitive business. It seems to me its thorough application should come more rapidly to pass in the relationships of avowed idealists engaged in preserving and using sources of knowledge for scholarly purposes.

Continuing the discussion, Dr. M. M. Quaife, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, said:

Two regrets have been foremost in my mind while listening to the reading of Mr. Burpee's paper and to the discussion that has taken place upon it: First, that we could not have had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Burpee himself deliver this paper; second, that it could not have been heard by some of the people scattered up and down the country, who, it seems to me, would be likely to profit most by it.

In a certain department of the Government at Washington you can find, if you are fortunate enough in your introduction to have succeeded in making a favorable impression upon the official in charge, a number of old volumes of inspection reports of a group of forts in the old Northwest, covering, I believe, the period from 1814 to 1836. Some time ago I visited the department in question with the hope of gaining permission to examine and copy some of the inspection reports that I was particularly interested in. I was told, after considerable preliminary negotiation, that I might see and take notes upon them, but that I must not copy anything which reflected unfavorably upon anyone. I tried to observe this instruction, partly, possibly, because I understood that my notes must be submitted to censorship before I would be permitted to carry them away. One of the inspection reports which interested me began with a list of all the officers of the garrison, each name accompanied by a brief characterization of the individual in question. In general the inspector was much pleased with the results of his inspection and most of his comments were highly favorable; but in the case of two or three officials there were less favorable reports. Not perceiving the utility of copying all the favorable comment, while leaving out the

unfavorable, in my notes, I proceeded to summarize this whole portion of the inspector's report by the generalization that the inspector's opinion of the condition of the garrison and the efficiency of the officers was in most cases highly favorable; "in a few cases not so favorable." The official who censored my notes carefully blotted out this concluding generalization—"in a few cases not so favorable."

With respect to the discussion of the paper itself and of the points which it raises, it would be vain for me to attempt to bring forward anything entirely new on the subject. There are one or two items, however, which seem to me worthy of comment, and such comment as I have to make will be based largely on my own experience in connection with the work in which I have been engaged. One question of much importance to the society which I have the honor to represent has to do with the acquisition, and with the administration after acquisition, of manuscript material which, from the nature of its contents, can not with propriety be thrown open to the public. Perhaps I may be permitted to give you a concrete illustration of what I have in mind. We have published at Wisconsin within the last year, as many of you know, an "Artilleryman's Diary," kept by a man who is now a prominent preacher and civic leader of this city. Our artillery private of 50 years ago had quite as high ethical and moral standards as he has to-day; he was not then as discreet, however, as he would be to-day in expressing his opinions. Accordingly the "diary" abounds in frank and forceful characterizations of the officers and other individuals with whom he came in contact during his army career. Now, it would not be discreet at this time in publishing a Civil War diary to say that Gen. John Doe was drunk on a given occasion or that he was addicted to gambling or other questionable practices. Such things would stir up trouble, and another 50 years will have to elapse before information of this sort may properly be given freely to the public. We published the diary precisely as it was written, with the exception that we felt constrained to omit certain entries and comments of the character indicated. To apply the illustration to the acquisition and administration of manuscripts: Supposing you have deposited in the society's archives material that comes down close to the present time or that reflects unfavorably upon the character, career, or motives of men now living. In the nature of things you can not now make such material public. Going further back, you will not be able to acquire such material unless you are willing to assure the owners that when private or family papers are turned over to you no improper use or publication of them will be made.

The Wisconsin Historical Society under the régime of my predecessor let it be known up and down the State that anyone might entrust his private papers, containing his family and business secrets, to the

society for preservation with perfect confidence that the trust so confided would not be abused. Thus it has come about that we now have papers, and are at all times anxious to acquire papers, to which, in the nature of things, we can not allow students and others free access. In this connection it is pertinent to observe that but for this policy and the confidence engendered by it, just the class of papers, which from the nature of their contents possess the greatest interest and importance, would never come into the possession of the society.

To illustrate: We have a certain considerable collection of the business and private papers of a man who was prominent in Wisconsin in the territorial period. I am told by one of our research workers, who is familiar with the contents of the collection, that these are of comparatively little interest. Evidently the man himself, in his own lifetime, or some one else acting in his behalf, went through the collection before it came into our possession, and removed everything of a confidential or unfavorable character. So, unless the historical society is willing to adopt such a policy as our society pursues, and is glad to acquire collections of private papers subject to such restrictions as to freedom of use as the particular circumstances in each case render proper, you may be sure that comparatively seldom will papers really interesting and confidential in character come into its possession.

[At this point in the address reference was made, by way of illustration, to a number of manuscript collections in the Wisconsin Historical Library whose contents are of such a character that it is deemed necessary to put certain restrictions, the details of which vary with each collection, upon their use by the general public.]

I would suggest then, in concluding this point, that, while I believe as thoroughly as anyone can in affording the greatest possible freedom of access to and use of a manuscript collection, there are some materials which, in the nature of things, the institution must hold in trust. Our society welcomes the deposit of private papers subject to any reasonable conditions as to their administration and use that the donor may see fit to prescribe, and discharges with the utmost fidelity the trust thus entered upon. Naturally, the restrictions referred to are of a temporary character, and when the requisite period of time shall have elapsed the papers thus acquired are likely to prove to belong to the really interesting and valuable portion of our manuscript collection.

The other point suggested by Mr. Burpee in his paper, to which I wish to call attention, pertains to the practice of loaning manuscripts. I judge from what Mr. Burpee has said that some institutions indulge in this practice with a degree of freedom quite foreign to our society. When I took charge of its work and began to familiarize myself with its practices, I found in existence only one

rule, or law, which was supposed never to be broken; that is, a manuscript is not to leave the building under any circumstances short of absolute necessity. Since my comparatively recent connection with the society began I have had no particular occasion or temptation to test this rule. In fact, I believe no request has come to me as yet for the loan of a manuscript. Without undertaking to say what my attitude in the future may be, my present disposition is to see that the rule shall continue to be strictly enforced.

For the sake of my own enlightenment I would like to ask this question: How can you feel safe if you are going to embark upon the practice of loaning manuscripts that you will ever get them back? I am willing to minimize the possibility of destruction through railroad wrecks or similar infrequent accidents; but a more serious question presents itself: How can you know in advance of trial that the person or institution to whom the manuscript is to be loaned is trustworthy? I do not wish to be misunderstood in this connection, for in general I am far from pessimistic. There are plenty of persons and institutions in this country that can be trusted implicitly as far as the loan of manuscripts is concerned. But the important point as I see it is this: There are plenty of others who can not be trusted. Even in my own comparatively brief experience in connection with an historical society I have seen enough to lead me to be very skeptical of the practicability of placing reliance in a person because of his official position or his general reputation. If the question is one of loaning books, which, by the way, our library practices freely, it is usually possible to replace any loss that may occur. Should this not be the case, still the loss is seldom irreparable, since some other institution will commonly have a copy of the book in question; but in the case of manuscripts once lost they are gone forever. Recognizing as I do the encouragement to scholarship that would result from the free loan of manuscripts, I am inclined to believe that in the long run the broader interests of the scholarly world are better conserved by the policy the Wisconsin State Historical Society pursues of requiring the would-be user of the manuscript to come to the fireproof library building where it is housed. Especially is this the case, it seems to me, if a library stands ready to provide freely photostat copies of its manuscripts to any scholar for the bare cost of making them.

Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library, spoke as follows:

I may say that I recognize a number of the points in Mr. Burpee's summary as derived from the special rules which I drew up for the administration of the manuscript division of the New York Public

Library, which have been adopted by the library's trustees since an advance proof was sent to him; likewise, points from an opinion that I wrote in answer to a questionnaire which Mr. Burpee submitted to the director of the library. In some respects, therefore, you have already my views as presented through his paper.

My exception to this paper is that it presents a combination of two things that are distinct, namely, archives and historical manuscripts. These two terms are too generally misunderstood and misapplied in America. If we had come here to discuss the restriction of public archives, we could have reached, I believe, a logical conclusion that would find general acceptance; or, if we had considered alone the restriction and treatment of historical manuscripts in libraries, historical societies, or similar depositories, as well as in private hands, we might have been able to determine upon principles that should govern with respect to them. But this combination of two distinct things confuses the entire matter with regard to administration, use, privileges, methods of exchange, and so on.

Public archives are in large measure the property of the people, and theoretically they are accessible to all the people. That can not be said of historical manuscripts in libraries, historical societies, and so on, or of the manuscripts of a private corporation or in a man's private house. True, historical, literary, illuminated, or scientific manuscripts may repose here in great abundance and may be of considerable textual value. Accessibility and use must depend upon circumstances. The subject must be viewed from various angles, for there is a public as well as a private interest involved. When you are charged with the custody of historical or literary materials in a large cosmopolitan city like Chicago or New York, and in a semi-public institution of the kind already mentioned, the rules that you will make for their safety as a custodian or as a responsible board of trustees, will be very different from the regulations you would need for a small body of manuscripts in a small library of a small town in the Middle West or farther west; because the conditions are very different. In a cosmopolitan center it may be necessary to have in the library a staff of detectives, under an organized policing system, to apprehend thieves and vagabonds of all kinds, as is done in New York. Rules are made to safeguard property against theft, mutilation, or misuse, in accordance with the needs of the institution and locality in which it operates.

The rules for the administration of the manuscript division of the New York Public Library have considerable flexibility, particularly when the keeper of manuscripts applies them to responsible persons. They are on paper, and he has some discretion in interpreting them; but, for obvious reasons, the rules exist so they may be executed to the letter when that is necessary. Saneness and

personality in the administrator can not be separated from rules. He who does not possess these qualities had better not be trusted with the responsibility.

Several points have been made and some questions have been asked with regard to the loan of manuscripts. Doubtless you know that at the present time there are manuscripts belonging to Germany on deposit in England, and, likewise, manuscripts loaned by England in Germany. Whether they will ever be returned to their respective ownerships is problematical. Such exchanges have been advocated by scholars in the professional interest; but I believe that when the European war is over there will be a narrowing of such privileges.

Mr. Quaife has told us of his experience in Wisconsin, of the aberrations that grow out of liberality. The trouble with some of our professors, who have not been librarians or custodians of books of great value or of manuscripts of great price, is this—they advocate liberality without having the experience of its abuses. I have never exacted more than reasonable concessions when prosecuting a research in manuscript divisions or public archives, and I have never failed to meet with a generosity equal to kindness itself. Saneness and personality are as important in the investigator as they are in the administrator.

May a manuscript in the State Department at Washington be sent to the Illinois Historical department? Conditions might arise when such a concession would be possible. These public documents might be loaned to Illinois, if for the public interest. Mr. Quaife has shown how, with the best of intentions, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has sent manuscripts out for public use and how difficult it was to secure their return in a reasonable time. But his society receives public support and is, therefore, more of a public institution than the New York Public Library, whose possessions in the central building are owned by the corporation and not by the city, nor does the city contribute toward the salaries of the central reference buildings. A while ago the Massachusetts Historical Society applied to the New York Public Library for the loan of a collection of papers and minutes of the Boston committee of correspondence for the purpose of reproducing them by the photostat, with a view to publication. Nothing of the kind had ever been granted by the library. When my opinion was asked, I favored the concession. The grant was made subsequently by a vote of the trustees. Provisions have been made as to the manner in which the loan is to be carried out. The Massachusetts Historical Society has reciprocated by offering to loan in like manner materials in its possession to the New York

Public Library. The concession does not establish a precedent. These two institutions have made an exchange as a special transaction. Now, the New York Public Library has a large and valuable collection of manuscripts. Conservatively stated, it may be worth a million dollars. The library has a photostat, and it is possible to procure photostat copies in conformity with the rules and upon proper application.

I know that my friend, Prof. Alvord, is waiting to defend his position with respect to the transfer and interloan of manuscripts. I told him that I would illustrate my views by an hypothetical case in the State of Illinois. I do not know that anything about it represents an historical fact; I use it merely to illustrate the point I am about to make. Let us suppose, then, that the family of Abraham Lincoln, about 20 or more years ago, received an offer from the Illinois State Historical Society for the manuscripts and books of Lincoln at a reasonable price, with the understanding that the society would seek an appropriation for the purchase from the legislature; that my friend, Alvord, thoroughly interested and conscious of the importance of the material, had agreed to take up the matter with the legislature and to do his best to have the appropriation made in a reasonable time. The representative of the Lincoln family agrees to wait until the legislature has met. Prof. Alvord takes up the matter immediately and prepares for the convening of the legislature. The time has come; the legislators listen; and the legislature adjourns without making the appropriation. Another appeal is made to the Lincoln family to wait another year so the matter may be presented again. This request is granted. The results with the next legislature are nil. The representative of the Lincoln family comes now to Prof. Alvord and says:

We do not want this collection to go to Washington. We prefer to have it stay in Illinois; if not at the Capitol then in the city of Chicago.

He goes to the Chicago Historical Society and says:

We have tried for two years to get the State to buy these Lincoln manuscripts for the Illinois State Historical Society and have failed to secure a reasonable appropriation. We wish to keep them in Illinois. Can you do anything in Chicago for us?

Let us suppose that a number of men of means in Chicago put their hands into their pockets and buy the collection for the Chicago Historical Society—a society which is also a publishing society. The gift may stipulate that the Lincoln papers be published in a reasonable time, say within ten years. Suppose that the legislature, in the course of years, has changed its policy and has made some grants for historical purposes at the Capitol, and that the professors at the

State university have now an opportunity to do some editorial work for the Historical Commission of Illinois, and they go to the Chicago Historical Society and say:

We want to copy all of the Lincoln papers, so we may publish them.

I think it would be quite reasonable for the directors of the Chicago Historical Society to reply:

Well, that is peculiar. You know of the history of these papers, and you know that we have been gathering a fund for their publication. We have a right and duty to publish them, and we would be glad to have you cooperate with us, but we can not let you have copies for publication.

These things occur constantly. People who have property have a moral right to that property. The house in which Washington or Lincoln was born may have been neglected because nobody has been public-spirited enough to buy and preserve it. Some day a man comes along and makes of the house his home. He puts it in good order. It begins to attract attention. It is his. He is bound only by his deed and the laws of the land. He may admit visitors or he may exclude them. So private corporations or semipublic institutions are governed by their acts of incorporation and by-laws, and by the conditions of their bequests or gifts. Public archives are different. They belong to the people who support the government. I am not favoring the restriction of liberality for real historical uses. I am merely pointing out that there is a fitness in all things that must be considered.

Prof. Alvord replied to Mr. Paltsits's remarks as follows:

Historical societies, whether private or State, are the custodians of manuscripts that belong to the public. Their property is, therefore, held in trust for the service of scientific men. This statement, which probably everybody here will regard as a self-evident truth, must be occasionally insisted upon, because historical societies and their administrative officers so frequently allow their duty as custodians to become involved in their interest as publishers, which is based on entirely different principles. In most of our societies these two functions are performed by the same man; and it is not right that the man as an historical student should allow his personal interest to affect his duty as custodian. The custodian guards a manuscript simply that it may be of service to historians; its very value depends upon such use. His selfish interest as an historical student will induce him to guard a valuable manuscript from all eyes in order that he may be the first to publish it. No society should permit such a policy to be practiced. In the realm of science there is no such thing as a newspaper scoop.

The discussion was closed by Dr. Solon J. Buck, of the Minnesota Historical Society:

With reference to restrictions because of plans for future publication, I wish to say that so far as the policy of the Minnesota Historical Society is concerned, and so far as I am able to represent that policy, the materials belonging to the Minnesota Historical Society will never be reserved from the use of anyone because of any plans for future use or publication. I firmly believe that if any other person or institution can get these materials before the public and into the hands of scholars and students before I can or before my institution can, that person or institution should be allowed that privilege.

APPENDIX.

REPORTS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1914.¹

CALIFORNIA.

Historical Society of Southern California (Los Angeles).—President, George F. Bovard; secretary, J. M. Guinn. Membership, 87; increase, 5. Income derived from dues and sale of publications. Bequest of \$5,000. Housed in Museum of History, Science, and Art. Publications: Parts 1 and 2 of Volume IX, Annual for 1912-1913; part 3 of Volume IX will be issued in 1915; Annual for 1914. Collections: 2,400 books; increase, 200; MSS., 189; 30 cases museum objects.

California Genealogical Society (San Francisco).—President, Henry B. Phillips; secretary, Sarah L. Kimball. Membership, 166; increase, 54. Income derived from dues. Collections: 400 books. Society has called an International Congress of Genealogy to assemble in San Francisco during 1915. Expects to have accommodations in the new San Francisco branch of the California State Library.

COLORADO.

State Historical and Natural History Society (Denver).—President, Edward B. Morgan; secretary, Charles E. Dudley. Membership, 75. Society is moving its collections to a new building erected by the State.

CONNECTICUT.

Corn Club of Connecticut (New Haven).—President, John Murphy; secretary, Lucius B. Barbour. Income derived from assessments and sale of publications. Publications: B. F. Palmer Diary.

ILLINOIS.

Chicago Historical Society (Chicago).—President, Clarence A. Burley; secretary, Seymour Morris. Membership, 361; decrease, 21. Funds: \$118,-464.34 invested. Publications: Annual Report; Masters of the Wilderness, by Charles Bert Reed; Catalogue of Exhibit Relating to Liberia; the Lincoln and Douglas Debates, by Horace White. Collections: 50,000 books and pamphlets; increase, 1,279; MSS., 20,000; increase, 122; museum objects, 1,021.

In accordance with the usual custom, requests were sent out to historical societies, commissions, departments, etc., in the United States and Canada for information designed to show the present status, activities, and progress during the year. The number of blanks sent out was reduced from nearly 500 the previous year to about 300 by eliminating those societies and institutions which have never taken sufficient interest in the conference to fill out and return one of the blanks. The returns made by the 93 societies reporting are here summarized.

Woodford County Historical Society (Eureka).—President, L. J. Freese; secretary, Miss Amanda L. Jennings. Membership, 69. Income derived from dues and special county appropriations. Housed in courthouse. Publications: List of land grants given soldiers of the county. Collections: 1 books; increase, 4; museum objects, 30.

Polo Historical Society (Polo).—President, J. W. Clinton; no secretary. Membership, 30. Income derived from voluntary contributions. Housed in Township Library. Collections: 50 books; MSS., sketches of early pioneers.

Illinois State Historical Library (Springfield).—President of the board of trustees, E. B. Greene; secretary, O. L. Schmidt. Funds derived from State biennially. Publications: Travel and Description, 1765-1865, by Solon Buck; Catalogue of Genealogies in Library, by Georgia Osborne; Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Illinois Survey (Urbana).—Director, C. W. Alvord. Income derived from appropriations by University of Illinois from funds of Graduate School. MSS. acquisitions: Photostatic reproductions of old Illinois newspapers and Indian Office letter books; Messenger papers.

Whiteside County Historical Society (Sterling).—President, L. C. Thorne; secretary, W. W. Davis. Income derived from city and contributions. Housed in city hall. Collections: 1,000 books; MSS., 100; museum objects, 500.

INDIANA.

Department of History and Archives of the Indiana State Library (Indianapolis).—Director, Harlow Lindley. Department is cataloguing manuscripts and indexing newspapers. Notable acquisitions: "Hoosiers Nest," by John Finley, and an autograph letter of John Hampden, of England, 1642.

IOWA.

Jefferson County Historical Society (Glendale).—President, Dr. T. L. James; secretary, Hiram Heaton. Membership, 31. Funds on hand, \$26.85. Housed in Carnegie Public Library. Publications: Reminiscences of Army Life, An Old Well, and The Only Tanner of Pioneer Days of the County, by Hiram Heaton. Collections: 26 books; museum objects, 500.

State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City).—President, Euclid Sanderford; superintendent, B. F. Shambaugh; secretary, F. E. Horack. Membership, 600. Income derived from State. Publications: Iowa Journal of History and Politics; The Quakers of Iowa; History of Township Government in Iowa; History of Education in Iowa; One Hundred Topics in Iowa History; Applied History, VII. Collections: 41,170 books.

KANSAS.

Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka).—President, J. N. Harrison; secretary, William E. Connelley. Membership, 511. Income derived from State and the Booth bequest of \$500. Housed in the Memorial Building. Publications: List of Kansas Newspapers and Biennial Report, 1913-1914. Collections: 41,518 books; MSS., 44,628; museum objects, 9,621.

LOUISIANA.

Louisiana Historical Society (New Orleans).—President, Gaspar Cusach; secretary, Robert Glenk. Membership, 456; increase, 58. Income derived from dues. Collections: 2,000 books; increase, 500; MSS., 65,000. Publications: Vol. 7 of Proceedings in preparation.

MAINE.

Piscataquis Historical Society (Dover).—President, John F. Sprague; secretary, Francis C. Peaks. Membership, 150. Funds: \$1,000 appropriated by the legislature in 1910 for the publication of a volume of Collections.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Amherst Historical Society (Amherst).—President, Mrs. Mabel L. Todd; secretary, Prof. David Todd. Membership, about 40. Income derived from dues. Housed in old Strong House. Collections: 150 books.

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts (Boston).—President, Frederick J. Turner; corresponding secretary, Rev. Charles E. Park. Membership, 123. Funds: \$10,000 received from the estate of Edward Wheelwright; \$5,000 subscribed by a few members. Publications in preparation: Two volumes of the Records of the Corporation of Harvard College to 1750; two volumes containing the Instructions to the Royal Governors of Massachusetts prior to 1776.

Military Historical Society of Massachusetts (Boston).—President, Col. Thomas L. Livermore; secretary, W. Ropes Trask. Membership, 210. Income derived from small trust fund and annual assessments. Collections: 4,000 books.

The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (Boston).—President, Charles K. Bolton; corresponding secretary, William S. Appleton. Membership, 1,412. Income derived from dues and invested funds. Publications: Bulletin No. 10, April, 1914; Bulletin No. 11 in press. Collections: 1,008 books and pamphlets; photographs, views, etc., 11,563; museum objects, 831. Society is acquiring old historic buildings in New England.

The Billerica Historical Society (Billerica).—President, A. Warren Stearns, M. D.; secretary, Mrs. Clara E. Sexton. Membership, 49; increase, 4. Funds, \$173.77.

Cambridge Historical Society (Cambridge).—President, Richard H. Dana; secretary, Albert H. Hall. Membership, 145. Publications: Annual volume of Proceedings, No. VIII. Collections: 1,500 books, pamphlets, etc.

Harvard Commission on Western History (Cambridge).—Chairman, A. C. M. Davis; secretary, Roger Pierce. Funds: \$1,000 a year from Mrs. Wm. Hooper; gifts for special needs from various donors. Soon to be housed in the new Harvard Library. Collections: All turned over to Harvard Library. Notable acquisition: Mormon collection of 2,600 volumes.

Fitchburg Historical Society (Fitchburg).—President, Hon. Ezra S. Stearns; secretary, Ebenezer Bailey. Membership, 167; decrease, 22. Funds: Life membership fund, \$150; Crocker fund, \$1,000. Publications: Proceedings in press. Collections: 3,370 books; increase, 208; MSS., 794; museum objects, 277.

Haverhill Historical Society (Haverhill).—President, E. G. Frothingham; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Mabel D. Mason. Membership, 325. Income derived from dues and invested fund of \$6,000. Housed in colonial mansion, with fireproof room for collections, and in a very old frame house. Collections: 100 books; MSS., 150; museum objects, 3,000.

Malden Historical Society (Malden).—President, Hon. Charles E. Mann; secretary, George W. Chamberlain. Membership, 175; decrease, 25. Invested funds, \$600. Housed in public library. Publications: Register, No. 3, 1913-14. Collections in storage.

Medway Historical Society (Medway).—President, Herbert N. Hixon; secretary, Orion T. Mason. Membership, 125; increase, 20. Income derived from dues and entertainments. Collections: Mostly old household articles, paintings of old-time folk, and manuscripts of local interest.

Roxbury Historical Society (Roxbury).—President, Winthrop Alexander; secretary, Walter R. Meins. Membership, 262; decrease, 27. Housed in Municipal Court Building. Income derived from invested funds. Collections: 185 books.

The Essex Institute (Salem).—President, Gen. Francis H. Appleton; secretary, George F. Dow. Membership, 588. Income derived from dues and a fund of \$204,514.96. Rare manuscripts and books in fireproof building. Publications: Historical Collections, Vol. 49: Vital Records of Chelmsford Records and Tales of the Quarterly Courts of Essex Co., Vol. III. Collections: 500,000 books; pamphlets, 9,875; MSS. acquisition, two sixteenth century antiphonaries.

Sherborn Historical Society (Sherborn).—President, Walter E. Blanchard; secretary, Elizabeth Dowse Coolidge. Membership, 60. Funds, \$17.60. Housed in the Dowse Library Building. Collections not catalogued but to be exhibited next fall.

American Antiquarian Society (Worcester).—President, Waldo Lincoln; secretary, Charles S. Nichols. Membership, 173. Funds: \$305,000 invested. Housed in new building. Publications: Proceedings, October, 1913, and April, 1914; beginning of Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820. Collections: Increase, 3,094 bound volumes, 2,076 pamphlets, 451 maps, 17,793 unbound newspapers from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania.

MICHIGAN.

Keweenaw Historical Society (Houghton).—President, J. T. Reeder; secretary, J. A. Doelle. Membership, 175. Income derived from fees. Collections: 225 volumes relating to history of the Copper Country of Michigan or the Old Northwest, numerous pamphlets, documents, photographs, relics, etc.

Michigan Historical Commission (Lansing).—President, William L. Jenks; secretary, Charles Moore. Funds supplied by State. Publications: Bulletins, numbers 3 and 4; several pamphlets; First Annual Report; Vol. 37 of *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* is in press. Collections: Books in State Library; MSS. acquisitions: Margry papers from French archives; Schoolcraft papers; museum objects, 7,396.

MINNESOTA.

Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul).—President, William H. Lightner; superintendent and secretary, Solon J. Buck. Membership, 453; increase, 31. Funds, \$140,000 invested; annual appropriation from State, \$20,000. Housed in State Capitol. Publications: Vol. XV of *Collections* in press. Collections: 118,000 books; increase, 3,500; museum objects, about 28,000. The society is about to begin the publication of a quarterly.

MISSOURI.

Missouri Valley Historical Association (Kansas City).—President, John B. White; secretary, Mrs. Nettie T. Grove. Membership, 300. Income derived from dues and invested funds. A fund of \$100,000 is being raised for a building and endowment. Publications: "Father De Smet," by Rev. Father W. J. Dalton.

Pike County Historical Society (Louisiana).—President, R. B. Simonson; secretary, Clayton Keith. Membership, 150. Income derived from dues. Publications: History of the Watson Family, compiled by the secretary; History of the Lampton Family, by Clayton Keith; Pike County Sketches. Collections: MSS., 50; increase, 10.

MONTANA.

Historical and Miscellaneous Department of Montana State Library (Helena).—Librarian, W. Y. Pemberton. Housed in State Capitol. Publications: Biennial Report. Supported by State appropriations.

NEBRASKA.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association (Lincoln).—President, Isaac J. Cox; secretary, Clarence S. Paine. Membership, 1,213; increase, 150. Income derived from dues and contributions. Publications: Vol. 6 of Proceedings; Mississippi Valley Historical Review, begun as a quarterly in June.

NEVADA.

Nevada Historical Society (Reno).—President, G. F. Talbot; secretary, Jeanne E. Wier. Membership, 158. Income derived from dues and legislative appropriation. Housed in new building. Publications: Third Biennial Report, 1911-12; Some Suggestions for the Celebration of Nevada's Semi-centennial, October 31, 1914; several pamphlets of programs for historical pageants. Collections: 2,500 books; increase, 100; MSS., 20; museum objects, 1,000.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

New Hampshire Historical Society (Concord).—President, Frank S. Streeter; secretary, Otis G. Hammond. Membership, 628; increase, 97. Publications: Manual, 1914; Dedication of a Monument to Rev. John Tucke (1702-1773). Funds: \$500 per year from State.

Manchester Historic Association (Manchester).—President, William G. Farmer; secretary, Fred W. Lamb. Membership, 250; increase, 50. Housed in new Carpenter Memorial Library. Will soon receive the relics of Gen. John Stark, now owned by his descendants.

NEW JERSEY.

Bergen County Historical Society (Hackensack).—President, Mrs. Frances A. Westervelt; secretary, C. V. R. Bogert. Membership, 111. Income derived from dues and gifts. Publications: Year Book, 1913-14. Collections: 143 books, 655 pamphlets; MSS., 8; notable acquisition, Gen. Green's manuscript order book, June-August, 1776; museum objects, 1,000.

New Brunswick Historical Club (New Brunswick).—President, Austin Scott; secretary, Richard Morris. Membership, 75; increase 25. Publications: List of Readers; History of the Charity Organizations of the City of New Brunswick. MSS., 100. The society is cataloguing collections.

New Jersey Historical Society (Newark).—President, Francis J. Swayze; corresponding secretary, A. V. D. Honeyman. Membership, 916. Funds: Bequest of \$10,000 from Miss Alice W. Hayes.

Salem County Historical Society (Salem).—President, Edward S. Sharpe; secretary, George W. Price. Membership, 76; decrease, 2. Income derived from dues. Collections: 675 books; increase, 10; MSS., 340; increase, 30.

Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society (Vineland).—President, Rev. William M. Gilbert; secretary, Frank D. Andrews. Membership, 44. Publications: Annual report. Collections: 9,108 books; increase, 241; notable museum objects, inlaid cabinet from Austria 300 years old; four painting of Bassano, 1510-1590; old painting of Cortez.

NEW YORK.

Montgomery County Historical Society (Amsterdam).—President, Robert M. Hartley; secretary, Charles E. French. Membership, 175; increase, 8. Income derived from dues and endowment fund. Housed in old colonial house built by Sir William Johnson in 1742. Collections: 300 books; increase, 8; museum objects, 7,000; increase, 43.

Buffalo Historical Society (Buffalo).—President, Henry W. Hill; secretary, Frank H. Severance. Membership, 678; increase, 14. Income derived from invested funds. Publications: Volume 17, containing Gen. Sheaffe's official correspondence, War of 1812; Volume 18, in press. Collections: 33,125 books; increase, 652.

New York Historical Association (Glens Falls).—President, Sherman Williams; secretary, Frederick B. Richards. Membership, 850; increase, 50. Publications: Proceedings, Vol. XII. Income derived from dues. Housed in private house. Collections: about 1,000 books.

American Jewish Historical Society (New York).—President, Cyrus Adler; secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg. Membership, 374; increase, 4. Income derived from dues, gifts, bequests, and subscriptions; savings bank account of \$2,867.46. Housed in Jewish Theological Seminary. Publications: No. 22; index to the publications, Nos. 1-20. Collections: 1,601 books; 901 pamphlets; MSS., about 50; museum objects, about 50.

New York Historical Society (New York).—President, John A. Weekes; secretary, Fancher Nicoll. Membership, 920. Income derived from investments. Publications: Collections for 1910-1913. Collections: 124,263 books; increase, 3,514; a card catalogue of manuscripts is in progress.

Onondaga Historical Association (Syracuse).—President, George G. Fryer; secretary, Franklin H. Chase. Membership, 239; decrease, 10. Income derived from invested funds and dues. Housed in own building. Publications: Volume of Onondaga History in press. Collections: 2,500 books; increase, 400.

OHIO.

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (Cincinnati).—President, Joseph Wilby; corresponding secretary, Charles T. Greve. Membership, 95; increase, 5. Income derived from private funds and dues. Publications: Quarterly, Volume IX. Collections: 26,212 books; increase, 205.

Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association (Fremont).—President, Isadore H. Burgoon; secretary, Basil Meek. Membership, 200. Income derived from voluntary contributions and an annual allowance of \$100 by the county commissioners. Publications: Yearbook.

Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland).—President, William P. Palmer; secretary, W. H. Cathcart. Membership, 300. Publications: The Chas. G. King Collection of Books on Costume; Annual Report. Notable acquisitions, Ephraim Brown papers; Gen. Simon Perkins's papers covering settlement of the Reserve and War of 1812.

Old Northwest Genealogical Society (Columbus).—Librarian and acting secretary, H. Warren Phelps. Collections, 3,100 books. Housed in Memorial Building. Income derived from dues. Publication, a quarterly.

Muskingum County Pioneer and Historical Society (Janesville).—President, A. R. Josselyn; secretary, Miss Annie Stokes. Funds, a few dollars.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Delaware County Historical Society (Chester).—President, Hon. William P. Broomall; secretary, Charles Palmer. Membership, 91. Income derived from dues. Collections, 260 books.

Bucks County Historical Society (Doylestown).—President, Henry C. Mercer; secretary, Clarence D. Hotchkiss. Income: Library endowment fund, \$2,000; publication fund, \$1,000; another special fund, \$1,000. New building soon to be completed. Collections: 4,500 books; increase, 250. Museum objects, 4,000, exclusive of Indian Department of at least 1,000.

Site and Relic Society of Germantown (Germantown).—President, Charles F. Jenkins; secretary, Horace M. Lippincott. Membership, 754. Income, \$1,500. Publication: *The Gardens and Gardeners of Germantown*, by Edwin C. Jellett. Collections: Books, 1,050; increase, 116; MSS., 246; increase, 7.

Lancaster County Historical Society (Lancaster).—President, George Steinman; secretary, Charles B. Hollinger. Membership, 310; increase, 25. Publications: 13 pamphlets. Collections: 2,647 books; increase, 155; acquired valuable early newspapers.

Lebanon County Historical Society (Lebanon).—President, Capt. H. M. M. Richards; secretary, S. P. Heilman. Membership, 225; increase, 7. Income derived from dues, sales of publications, and appropriation of \$200 from county funds. Housed in courthouse. Publication: Volume VI. Collections: 5,000 books, manuscripts, and museum objects.

Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies (Lebanon).—President, Benjamin M. Nead; secretary, S. P. Heilman. Membership, 39 societies; increase, 6 societies. Income derived from dues and State appropriation. Publications: Acts and Proceedings of Ninth Annual Meeting.

Historical Society of Montgomery County (Norristown).—President, Joseph Fornance; secretary, Mrs. A. Conrad Jones. Membership, 420; increase, 13. Income derived from dues, appropriation from county, and rentals. Publication: Volume III, in press. Collections: 2,261 books; increase, 161; newspaper files, 914; museum objects, 1,238.

American Baptist Historical Society (Philadelphia).—President, B. MacMackin; secretary, John W. Lyell. Income derived from invested funds. Collections: Books and pamphlets, about 28,000; acquired autograph letters of eminent Americans and Europeans connected with the American Bible Union, 1869-1871.

American Catholic Historical Society (Philadelphia).—President, Rev. William J. Lallou; corresponding secretary, Miss Jane Campbell. Membership, 600 to 700. Housed in its own building. Publications: Quarterly.

Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).—President, J. Granville Leach; recording secretary, Edward S. Sayres. Membership, 292; decrease, 11. Funds, \$4,300, invested. Publications: Volume V, no. 3. Collections: MSS., 301.

Historical Society of Frankford (Philadelphia).—President, Franklin Smedley; secretary, Caroline W. Smedley. Membership, 277; increase, 57. Income derived from dues and private donations. Publications: *Bulletin*, Volume 2, no. 4. Collections: 300 books, 700 pamphlets, and old newspapers; museum objects, 100.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).—President, Hon. S. W. Pennypacker; librarian, John W. Jordan. Membership, 2,200. Publications: *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Collections: 225,000 books; MSS., 280,500 unbound, 2,539 bound. Income derived from dues.

Pennsylvania History Club (Philadelphia).—President, Herman V. Ames; secretary, Albert E. McKinley. Membership, 57; decrease, 1. Composed of members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania who are interested in research.

Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia).—President, Rev. Henry Van Dyke; secretary, Rev. Joseph B. Turner. Membership, 325. Funds, endowment of \$12,000. Publications, quarterly journal. Collections: 20,000 books, 70,000 pamphlets; acquisitions, Minutes of Presbytery of Huntingdon.

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh).—President, William F. Stevenson; secretary, Burd S. Patterson. Membership, 700; increase, 200. Income derived from annual dues, \$200 contributed by Allegheny County. Moved into own building February 17, 1913. Collections: 1,000 books, increase 1,000; MSS., 20; museum objects, 50.

Historical Society of Berks County (Reading).—President, Louis Richards; secretary, William Fegley. Membership, 253; increase, 11. Housed in own building. Income derived from dues and invested funds. Collections: 3,100 books, increase, 300; MSS., 474, increase, 39; museum objects, 330, increase, 40.

Snyder County Historical Society (Selingsgrove).—President, Rev. Frank P. Manhart; secretary, W. M. Schnure. Membership, 59; increase, 40. Income derived from dues. Publications: *Bulletin*. Collections, 300 books. Society is marking historical points.

Bradford County Historical Society (Towanda).—President, John H. Chaffee; secretary, J. Andrew Wilt. Membership, 100. Income derived from county. Housed in building furnished by county. Publications: *The Annual*. Collections, 1,000 books.

Wyoming Historical and Geological Society (Wilkes-Barre).—President, Irving Ariel Stearns; secretary, Rev. Horace E. Hayden. Membership, 396. Income derived from \$55,000 endowment fund. Housed in three-story brick building. Publications: Vol. XIII of *Proceedings*. Collections: 22,000 books; increase, 1,000.

RHODE ISLAND.

Newport Historical Society (Newport).—President, Hon. Daniel B. Fearing; secretary, Hon. John B. Sanborn. Income derived from dues, State, and small invested fund. Housed in brick building. Publications: *Bulletins* and other pamphlets. Collections: Books and pamphlets, 14,586; museum objects, 2,000. The society is raising a fund for a fireproof building.

Rhode Island Historical Society (Providence).—President, Wilfred H. Munro; secretary, Howard W. Preston. Membership, 400. Housed in partially fireproof building. Income derived from dues and invested funds. Publications: *Annual Proceedings for 1913-14* and other pamphlets.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Department of History (Pierre).—President, Burton A. Cummins; secretary, Doane Robinson. Membership, 98. Income derived from State. Housed in new capitol. Publications: Volume VII and several pamphlets. Collections: 51,782 books; increase, 3,261; museum objects, 2,753; increase, 1,800.

TENNESSEE.

Tennessee Historical Society (Nashville).—President, John H. De Witt; secretary, Robert Ewing. Membership, 195. Housed in Watkins Building. Income derived from dues and a bequest of \$10,000. The society is planning to issue a quarterly soon.

UTAH.

Utah State Historical Society (Salt Lake City).—President, Spencer Clawson; secretary, J. R. Letcher. Membership, 300. Income derived from State according to needs. Office in new Capitol Building; exhibits at State University. Collections: 100 books, increase, 10; MSS., 100; museum objects, 400.

VIRGINIA.

Confederate Memorial Literary Society (Richmond).—President, Miss Sally A. Anderson; secretary, Mrs. J. E. Robinson. Membership, 532. Income derived from dues and door fees. Publications: Annual report. Collections: 771 books; increase, 300; MSS., 20,000. The society is marking historical places.

Virginia Historical Society (Richmond).—President, W. Gordon McCabe; secretary, W. G. Stanard. Membership, 755; decrease, 85. Income derived from endowment fund. Publications: *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

WASHINGTON.

Washington State Historical Society (Tacoma).—President, Henry Hewitt, jr.; secretary, W. P. Bonney. Membership, 250. Income derived from State.

WISCONSIN.

Sauk County Historical Society (Baraboo).—President, H. E. Cole; secretary, H. K. Page. Membership, 80. Collections: 100 books; increase, 10.

Wisconsin Archaeological Society (Madison).—President, Ellis B. Usher; secretary, Charles E. Brown. Publications: *The Mounds of the Lake Waubesa Region*; *The Fond du Lac Cache*, etc.

Wisconsin Historical Society (Madison).—President, Emil Baensch; superintendent, M. M. Quaife. Membership, 757. Income derived from State and invested funds. New wing of building occupied. Publications: Vol. XX, *Wisconsin Historical Collections*; *Proceedings, 1913*; *Diary of Jenkin Lloyd Jones in Civil War*. Collections: 375,321 books and pamphlets.

Faukesha County Historical Society (Oconomowoc).—President, James A. McKenzie; secretary, Miss Julia A. Lapham. Membership, 145; increase, 17. Income derived from dues. Housed in courthouse. Has caused a monument to be placed in honor of the Cushing brothers, to be dedicated Memorial Day, 1915.

WYOMING.

Wyoming Historical Society (Cheyenne).—Custodian, Miss Frances A. Davis. Membership, 6 appointed by governor and 3 ex officio. Income derived from State. Report on Wyoming Archives to be published by the American Historical Association. Has placed many markers on old trails and historic places.

CANADA.

Huron Institute (Collingwood).—President, C. E. Gaviller; secretary, David Williams. Membership, 65. Grant of \$100 from provincial government. Housed in public library. Publications: Vol. II, Papers and Records. Museum objects, about 4,000.

Société Historique de Montréal (Montreal).—President, Rev. Naz. Dubois; secretary, Nap. Brisebois. Membership, 42. Income derived from subscriptions and publications. Collections: About 3,000 books; MSS., 25.

Niagara Historical Society (Niagara-on-the-Lake).—President, Miss Janet Carnochan; secretary, John Gikersley. Membership, 150; increase, 15. Funds are derived from dues, sale of pamphlets, donations, \$200 per annum from Ontario Government and \$25 from the county of Lincoln. Publications: No. 26, "Notes on the History of the District of Niagara, 1791-3;" No. 5 reprinted, and 19th annual report. Collections: 298 books, increase, 31; notable acquisitions: York Gazette, 1812; London Times, 1805. MSS., 295; notable acquisitions, letter of Joseph Brant, 1799. Museum objects, 5,809.

Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa (Ottawa).—Acting president, Lady Foster; secretary, Mrs. Braddish Billings. Membership, 196. Income derived from Government grant of \$200, sale of Transactions, and dues. Publications: Transactions, Vol. I, reprint; annual report.

Champlain Society (Toronto).—President, Sir Edmund Walker; secretaries, Prof. G. M. Wrong and Eric N. Armour. Membership, 500. Income derived from subscriptions from members when called for. Publications: Volumes relating to the history of Canada; the ninth is in course of preparation.

XVIII. FIFTEENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES
COMMISSION.

WITH APPENDIXES.

DECEMBER 31, 1914.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,

Chairman,

476 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS,

Yale University.

EUGENE C. BARKER,

University of Texas.

GAILLARD HUNT,

Library of Congress.

ALEXANDER S. SALLEY, Jr.,

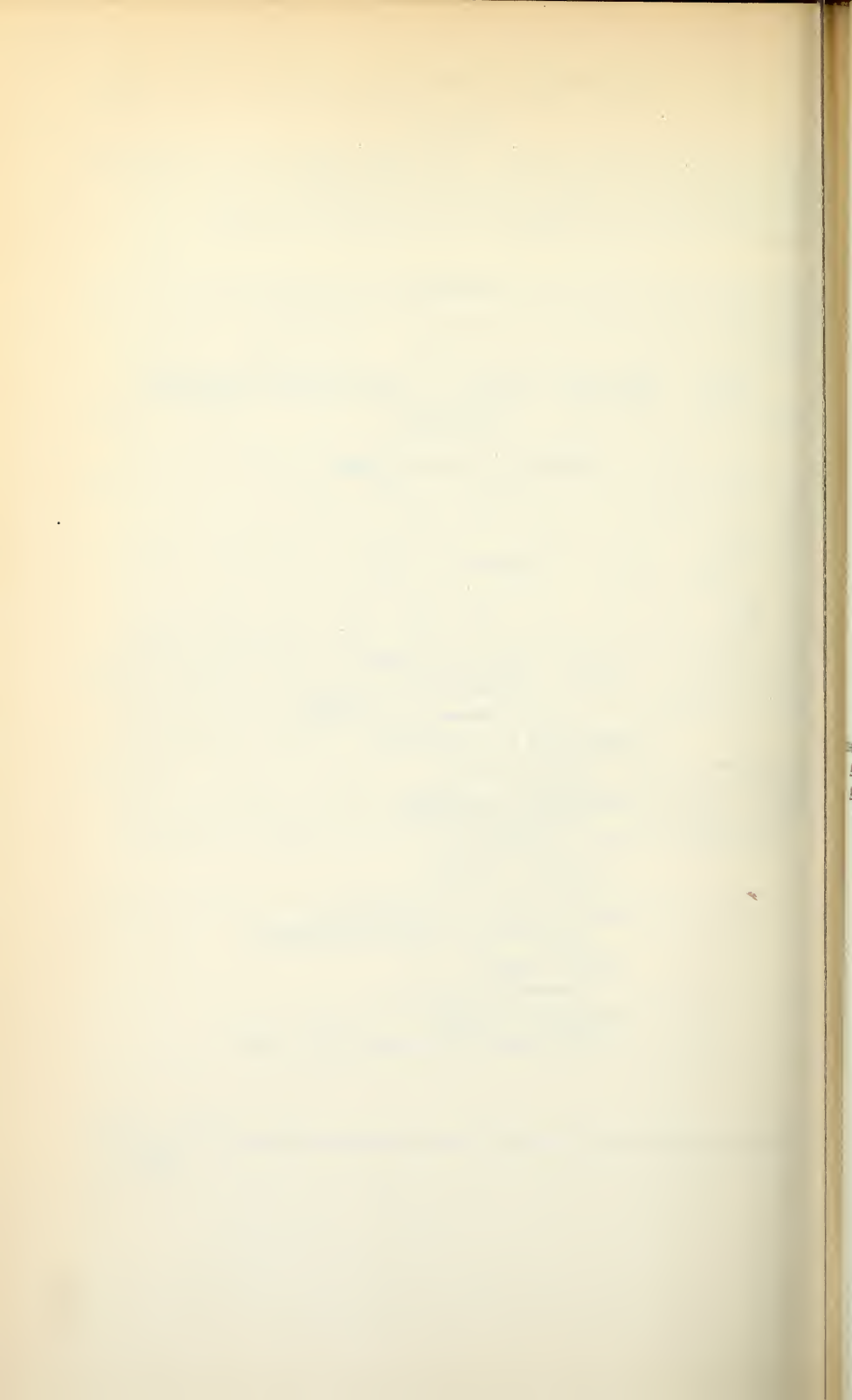
South Carolina Historical Commission.

JONAS VILES,

University of Missouri.

HENRY E. WOODS,

State Record Commissioner, Boston, Mass.



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REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

DECEMBER 31, 1914.

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:

The public archives commission of the American Historical Association has the honor to submit its report for the year 1914.

The preparation of the commission's report for 1913, the largest that has been compiled, was undertaken by the chairman during the winter and spring months and the manuscript was sent to the acting secretary of the association on June 8, 1914.

In former reports of the commission statements have been made with respect to the status of a report on the archives of California, the completion of which was interrupted by the death of Prof. Edwards. Efforts made during many months of 1914, with the object of securing a competent person to continue and finish that report, were unavailing; none the less, the matter was kept in mind.¹ Prof. Paul C. Phillips, of the University of Montana, has offered to prepare a supplement to his report on the archives of Montana.² Mention was made in last year's report that Dr. Augustus H. Shearer, of Chicago, had agreed to prepare a report on the public archives of Vermont, whereupon the commission named him an adjunct member for this purpose. He was unavoidably prevented from prosecuting the necessary investigations in Vermont during the summer vacation of 1914.³ Dr. Solon J. Buck, formerly of the University of Illinois, soon after his removal from Illinois to Minnesota, was named an adjunct member of the commission in order to prepare a report on the public archives of Minnesota; meanwhile, increasing duties as superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society obliged him to relinquish the survey, but he secured Mr. Herbert A. Kellar, instructor in history in the University of Minnesota, to undertake the work. Dr. Buck has acted toward it in an advisory capacity;⁴ he

¹ The commission has since been able to arrange with Mr. Edwin L. Head, Keeper of the State Archives in the Department of State at Sacramento, to prepare the California report in time to be included in the commission's report for 1915.

² The report which forms Appendix C to the commission's report for 1912.

³ Dr. Shearer collected the data during the summer of 1915 for a report to appear in the commission's report for that year.

⁴ Dr. Buck was chosen as a member of the commission for 1915, and Mr. Kellar was named an adjunct member for the preparation of the very full report which appears as Appendix B to the present report of the commission.

has also been instrumental in securing as a subsidy the larger part of the cost of its preparation, by generous vote of the trustees of the Minnesota Historical Society. The commission appreciates this united service, because a report on Minnesota has long been a desideratum. This cooperation has resulted in a speedy realization of hopes long deferred.

During the year an extensive correspondence has been carried on in part with persons engaged with archival problems and in part with others for the purpose of promoting the ideals of archival economy. Perhaps the most interesting contribution lay in a suggestion made by the chairman to the president of the American Library Association early in the year, that the American Library Association consider at a session of its annual conference, to be held in Washington, D. C., in May, 1914, the subject of a national archive building. A ready response was given to this suggestion and Dr. J. Franklin Jameson was invited to present the subject to the librarians of the Nation. At a general session held in Continental Memorial Hall on the night of May 26, before an audience of some 600 librarians and library assistants, Dr. Jameson read a notable paper on "The Need of a National Archive Building," which evoked considerable interest. Dr. Gaillard Hunt, a member of the commission, and the chairman of the commission, followed Dr. Jameson's paper with brief discussions, and at the conclusion the chairman of the public archives commission presented a resolution in which the American Library Association took its stand in favor of the proposition. This resolution was by an unanimous vote recommended for adoption to the executive board of the American Library Association, and was later adopted by that board, all of which appears in the printed proceedings of the conference.¹

The year 1914 has been a dull year in legislation, because most of the legislatures did not sit. An examination of the session laws of sitting legislatures has revealed virtually no legislation pertaining to archives and history, apart from appropriations.

CONNECTICUT.

From the biennial report² of George S. Godard, State librarian of Connecticut, we quote the following references to recent work undertaken by the State.

The examiner of public records, who is an appointee of the State librarian and for an indefinite term, has visited every public official throughout the State who has charge and custody of town and probate records. At his suggestion new vaults have been constructed and new safes purchased where

¹ Bulletin of the American Library Association, vol. 8, no. 4 (July, 1914), pp. 130-140, 185-186.

² State of Connecticut. Public Document No. 13. Report of the State librarian to the governor for the two years ended Sept. 30, 1914. Hartford, 1914. This report contains a conspectus of the probate records in the library and shows the plan of arrangement.

needed. Many volumes of land, probate, court records, and vital statistics in tatters or with broken bindings have under his direction been repaired—with the silk process where necessary, substantially bound, and properly lettered on the backs. Through his efforts the original files from 42 of the 148 probate districts in the State have been permanently deposited in the State library. These files extend from the earliest days of the several districts practically down to the present time.

As directed by the general assembly of 1913, which placed under his direction inks and typewriter ribbons for record purposes, the 40 different inks which have been used in Connecticut for record purposes have been analyzed by a State chemist and the four standing highest approved for record use. The use of any other ink upon the public records of Connecticut than those specified by the examiner of public records is by law prohibited. * * *

Eleven hundred and thirty-five packages of early court papers, extending from the early days to about 1800, have recently been transferred from the secretary's office. Apparently this is but the beginning of these transfers, not only from the departments in the capitol, but from several clerks of the superior courts throughout the State.

Assistants who are competent and interested in their work are devoting their time to the arranging, repairing, indexing, and making accessible these early records and papers. Of the files of the 42 probate districts thus far deposited en masse, those from 35 are now accessible. About 300,000 original documents relating to practically 50,000 different estates are now conveniently accessible for the first time.

ILLINOIS.

The Illinois State Historical Library undertook an examination of the local archives of the State of Illinois. This survey was completed by Dr. Theodore C. Pease and the results are to be published by that library in an elaborate report.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Legislation of 1913 enlarged the powers and duties of the commissioner of public records, giving to him supervision over the public records of the Commonwealth, especially for their protection against loss by fire. Commissioner Henry E. Woods, in his report for 1914, says:

The commissioner in the course of his duties was instrumental in getting bills introduced into the last session of the legislature for the construction of fireproof vaults in some of the State institutions, and the bills were favorably acted upon by the legislative committee on public institutions, but in every instance the committee on ways and means, the financial committee of the legislature, reported adversely, and the measures were rejected, so that the work of the commissioner to get the law obeyed was nullified.

There were several fires in the local offices of Massachusetts during 1914, yet in not a single instance were any records lost, owing to the fireproof construction that had been installed according to law.

NORTH CAROLINA.

The most valuable contribution during the year 1914 in respect of the archives of North Carolina, is without doubt the "Historical Review of the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina," by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, prepared for the fourth volume of the index to the printed "North Carolina Records," and also issued separately in an edition of about 100 copies. In this monograph of 169 pages, Dr. Weeks designs to show the wealth of unprinted materials that await exploitation, description, or publication. In a letter to the chairman of the public archives commission of March 22, 1915, Dr. Weeks writes:

I have undertaken to show * * * that the work already accomplished should be regarded only as an introduction to the still larger field of materials as yet practically undiscovered within the State itself. Nothing has been done in the State toward making the great mass of county records available. No inventory has been made in detail and no one knows accurately what we really have nor what has been lost. It is hoped and believed that in the near future the State may be induced to undertake other series of volumes which will put into usable shape the vast mass of material that is unorganized, undiscovered, and unknown.

Early in 1914 a National Association of State Supervisors of Public Records was organized, with the Hon. Henry E. Woods, of Massachusetts, as president.

At a session of the National Association of State Libraries, held in Washington, D. C., on May 27, 1914, Dr. H. R. McIlwaine presented a report of the public archives committee of that association, which is printed in the Bulletin of the American Library Association, vol. 8, no. 4 (July, 1914), pp. 284-300. It is arranged alphabetically by names of States and Territories and shows the current work in respect of archives, derived from correspondence and questionnaires.

It was deemed best to organize the Chicago conference of archivists in the nature of a round table and to evoke discussion, following the presentation of technical papers, prepared as materials for chapters of the proposed "Primer of Archival Economy." Accordingly, such a program was arranged and carried out successfully on the afternoon of December 31, with a total attendance of 42 persons, representing regionally a wide area. The proceedings of this conference, including the papers read and a selection from the stenographic report of the discussions, form Appendix A of this report of the commission.

The tentative plans of the commission for the year 1915 are concentration of attention upon the writing of chapters for the proposed "primer," arranging for a large meeting and campaign for a national archive building at Washington, in connection with the annual meet-

ings of the American Historical Association and affiliated societies, to be held at the National Capital in December, 1915, and securing of reports on the State archives of several States.¹

The successful completion of the "primer" depends largely upon the amount of cooperation that can be invoked. It has been found that the annual conferences are fruitful in this respect, and in time the aggregation of papers and discussions can be made the sure foundations of a practical treatise on the science of archives in America. For such a work there is not only great need but insistent demand.

Respectfully submitted,

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, *Chairman.*

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

GAILLARD HUNT.

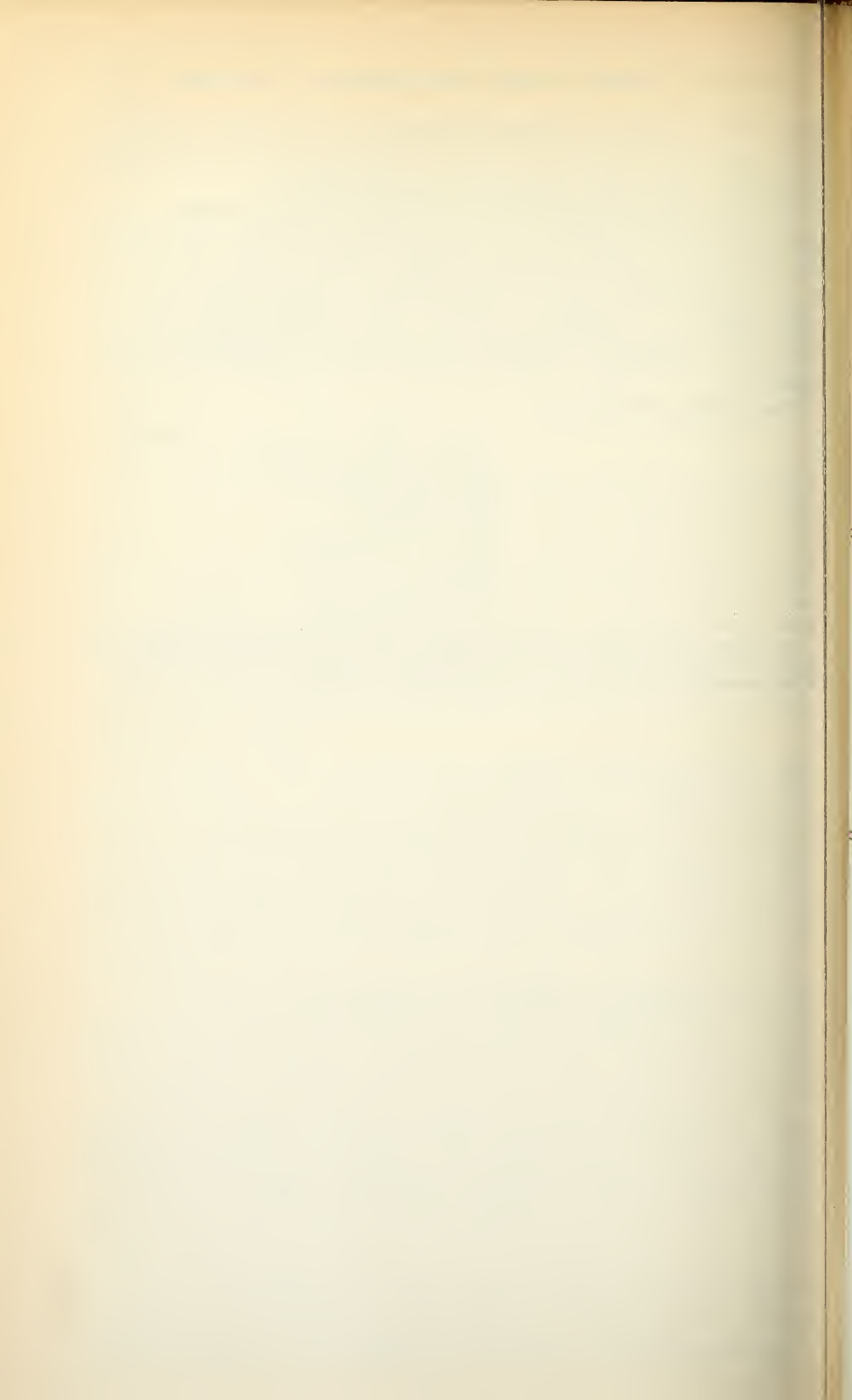
JONAS VILES.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

HENRY E. WOODS.

A. S. SALLEY, Jr.

¹As already shown, three of these reports have since been arranged for, namely, California, Vermont, and Minnesota, the last named being completed and added to this report of the commission.



APPENDIX A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

The Sixth Annual Conference of Archivists was held in the Auditorium Hotel at Chicago on Thursday afternoon, December 31, 1914, with a total attendance of 42 persons, representing regionally a wide area in the United States and Canada. The program as announced was carried out and the conference sat nearly three hours without break and with unflagging interest.

PROGRAM.

Chairman, Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York City.
Annual Report of the Public Archives Commission.
Legislation for archives.

Charles H. Rammekamp, President of Illinois College.
Discussion.

Principles of classification for archives.

Ethel B. Virtue, Historical Department of Iowa.
Discussion.

Cataloguing of archives.

Waldo G. Leland, Secretary of the American Historical Association.

. The chairman read an abstract of the annual report of the commission for 1914. The papers and selections from the stenographic report of the discussions are presented herewith.

LEGISLATION FOR ARCHIVES.

By President CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP, of Illinois College.

The chairman of the public archives commission in his report at the Boston conference in 1912 suggested that since so much had already been accomplished in collecting information regarding the archives of the various States, the work of the commission in that direction might be regarded as being "chiefly accomplished at least for the present."¹ In his opinion, attention should now be directed principally "to the practical problems of archive administration." Certainly no more practical problem confronts us than that upon which I have been asked to prepare a paper—the problem of "Legislation for archives." We are dealing with a question that is more than a merely scholastic or professional problem. It is not simply a question of training professional archivists, of making a proper

¹ Ann. Rep. of Am. Hist. Assn., 1912, p. 250.

classification of archives, of planning an ideal hall of records, of making indexes, inventories, calendars, of binding, repairing, editing, publishing, etc., but it is also a question of securing the necessary fundamental legislation. Without that essential legislation, the archivist will be without an opportunity to practice his profession, and, more important still, valuable public records will continue to be exposed to the danger of loss and destruction.

Any consideration of the principles and policies which are to guide us in the effort to secure wise and adequate legislation for the archives of our country must be based, it need hardly be said, upon a knowledge and appreciation of the body of laws already enacted by the various States of the Union. I shall not attempt in this paper to deal with the problem of Federal legislation for archives since that subject is so adequately treated in the paper on "The National Archives," by Mr. Waldo G. Leland in the "American Historical Review" of October, 1912. No one can attempt to summarize the State legislation for archives without expressing his indebtedness to the late Robert T. Swan for his "Summary of the present state of legislation of the States and Territories relative to the custody and supervision of the public records," published in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1906 and to the "Public Archives Report" of the National Association of State Libraries made to that body by a committee in 1911. In both of these summaries, as will be recalled, there is an alphabetical enumeration of the States and Territories with a statement of the existing legislation and conditions in each State.

I, of course, have no intention to give such a detailed enumeration as is found in these two admirable reports, but rather, on the basis of these reports and others that have from time to time been made by the public archives commission, to give a more general review of the progress in State legislation for archives and to point out the probable lines of future development. I may also add, by way of introduction, that I do not approach the problem as a trained archivist, but rather as a layman who has been very much interested in the problem of archives as it presents itself in his own State (Illinois) and who, in order to discover what ought to be done in that State, has endeavored to inform himself regarding the legislation in other States.

With the exception of the commendable legislation for the investigation and control of local records in the New England States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, the movement for the more adequate care and administration of the archives of our States may be said to have begun with the establishment of the Department of Archives and History in Alabama in 1901. Alabama is therefore

one of the pioneers in the movement. As in most problems that depend for their solution upon the creation of a public opinion and the enactment of that opinion into law, the progress has been exceedingly slow and halting. After Mr. Swan had gathered the statistics relating to the various States and Territories in 1906, his conclusion was:

The replies might be condensed into a general statement that with very few exceptions the States have no laws relating to the public records, and that only in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut (named in the order of the date of passage of the acts authorizing it) is there any State supervision of the records.¹

Since 1906, however, further progress has been made, and although it is still slow, uphill work, I believe, considering the nature of the problem, the lack of knowledge not only on the part of the general public but more particularly on the part of public officials themselves, that the development has been not altogether discouraging.

Among the States that seem to deserve special mention for their legislation on the subject of archives are the following, named somewhat in the chronological order in which the important legislation was enacted: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Alabama, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, South Carolina, Delaware, Arkansas, Iowa, Texas, Kansas, Washington, New York, North Carolina, Indiana, and Michigan. Too much importance, however, must not be attached to the order of this enumeration, for States that may have been among the first to enact one kind of legislation, may have been very late or even entirely negligent in enacting other important laws. For example, while Rhode Island was among the first States to provide for a survey of local records, it has done little or nothing for the concentration, preservation, and administration of the State archives. Other States, like Alabama and Mississippi, that are models in their care and administration of the State archives, seem to have done little or nothing along the line of a survey or the supervision of local records. It seems unfortunate that New Jersey can not occupy a place in the enumeration of States that have done something worth while for their archives, but it will be recalled that while the New Jersey legislature of 1913 created a very excellent department of public records and archives, the legislature of the present year repealed the law. Perhaps the most interesting and advanced legislation of recent years is that enacted in the State of Michigan. The legislature of this State created in 1913 the Michigan Historical Commission with comprehensive powers and responsible duties that seem to give the commission and its chief executive officer an opportunity to place the State in the front rank of the commonwealths that are making provision for a

¹ Ann. Rep. of Am. Hist. Assn., 1906, p. 13.

better care and administration of their archives. The eyes of all who are interested in archives will be fixed upon the State of Michigan during the next few years to see how that State will carry into actual practice this excellent law. It is evident, of course, that the appropriation will have to be considerably increased to enable the commission to meet the opportunity in a large way.¹ One of the chief defects in the present law is the absence of any provision for the general supervision of current local records. On the other hand, New York may be mentioned as a State that has in recent years (1911 and 1913) made comprehensive regulations for the supervision of local records without organizing in the same thorough manner its plans for the care and administration of State records.

The legislation for archives in the various States divides itself into two general classes of regulations: (a) Those relating to the records of the State departments and (b) those relating to local records. It may be further said that in most States where an awakened sense of responsibility for public records has shown itself, much more attention has been given to the State records than to the local records. This is a tendency which is to be expected. The control of the State over its own records is more direct, and their existence at the State capital presents a simpler or, at any rate, a more definite problem. Furthermore, in establishing regulations regarding the records of the State, the legislator is not in so much danger of annoying prominent and influential constituents with new duties and responsibilities. However, in the framing of legislation in the various States of which we are citizens and in which we are particularly interested, the lawmakers should always be reminded of the existence of a large body of important local records and of the necessity of making some provision for their safety and administration.

A. STATE RECORDS.

In the natural course of events, and in the absence of any general law, each State department has been the custodian, or, perhaps in many cases it would be more correct to say, the dumping ground of its own records. States that have enacted general laws relating to their archives have shown a tendency to provide for their care and administration by three different methods, which have already been described by those who have given attention to the subject:

(1) The records have been left, in the main, in the departments in which they have originated, with the exception that the office of the secretary of state has been made a sort of general repository, and the secretary of state has been made a sort of general custodian. A very

¹ The present appropriation is only \$5,000.

few States, like Massachusetts, have accomplished much by this method. Under a broad minded secretary, who has been provided with safe and adequate accommodations, and who has available appropriations for employing the necessary clerical and expert assistance, a State may, perhaps, accomplish something by this method. However, unless there is created in the department of the secretary of state a distinct archives division, the arrangement can be regarded as little more than a makeshift. Not much real progress is to be expected under such an arrangement, for it leaves things too much in statu quo.

(2) Definite provision has been made for the concentration of all State records in some department or institution already in existence, the department usually selected being either the State library or the State historical society. For example, in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Indiana, Connecticut, and Texas the State libraries are made the general repositories and are given more or less direct control of the public records.¹ In New York also, although there is no law making the State library a general repository, many records have, as a matter of fact, been deposited in the library in fulfillment of special acts of 1881 and later. The reason for such a tendency probably is found in the existence of a State library building as an available storehouse for the records, and the existence of a library staff which has, or is supposed to have, expert knowledge of the care of books, manuscripts, and records. Among the States that have utilized their State historical societies for the care and administration of their public records may be mentioned Maryland, Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma. In Wisconsin, State officers are given the privilege of transferring their records to the State historical society, but apparently this has not been done to any great extent.² It is, perhaps, somewhat difficult to classify in this enumeration the legislation in Iowa, for there it was at first the State library and historical department that was given charge of the public records, while somewhat later the control of the records was placed in the hands of the executive council.³ In West Virginia a bureau of archives and history is placed under the general control of the board of public works. However, it seems to be practically a distinct department. Indeed, the law declares that the bureau shall be "a department of the State government."⁴ In New York, by the legislation of 1911 and the amendments of 1913, the local archives are placed under the general supervision of the State educational department. This means that

¹ B. F. Shambaugh, A Report on the Public Archives (of Iowa), 24; W. G. Leland, in Report of the State Education Building Commission (of Illinois), 34.

² Report of Pub. Arch. Comm. of Nat. Assn. of State Libraries (1911), 36.

³ B. F. Shambaugh, A Report on the Public Archives (of Iowa), 33; W. G. Leland in Report of the State Education Building Commission (of Illinois), 36.

⁴ Acts of West Virginia, 1905, 466-468.

the board of regents and the commissioner of education in particular have general supervision of promoting the safeguarding and care of local records throughout the State, except in the city of New York. The law created a division of public records, under a supervisor of public records and a division of history under a State historian. Although the only definite provision in the law relating to the transfer of State records is one providing for the transfer of the papers of extinct offices, the law seems to contemplate broader powers and a wider supervision with respect to State records.

Much may be said in favor of this type of legislation conferring upon existing departments the duty of preserving and administering the State archives. In some States this method seems to be producing good results. It marks, no doubt, a great step in advance of the age of neglect and loss. However, the ideal system would seem to be the third method, especially when it is properly harmonized with existing State institutions and activities.

(3) This is an entirely separate and distinct department of archives, or of archives and history. The States that have created such separate departments are Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, Arkansas, Delaware, Washington, Michigan, and as already implied, West Virginia really also belongs to this class. Of course, the results achieved by this method have not been so noteworthy in all of the States as they have been in the well-known examples of Alabama and Mississippi. It will be noted that Michigan, already mentioned as one of the most recent States to adopt a comprehensive plan for the administration of its State archives, has adopted this plan. The Michigan Historical Commission is given power by the law of 1913 "to collect from the public offices in the State," both State and local, "such records, files, documents, books, and papers as are not less than 30 years old, and are not in current use, and are, in the opinion of the commission, valuable only for historical purposes."¹ The commission is made the legal custodian of all such records and documents, and is charged with the duty of preserving, classifying, arranging and indexing them "so that they may be made available for the use of the public." It may be of interest to the conference to know that Mr. Leland in his report and advice to the Education Building Commission of Illinois urges the creation of a department of archives which shall be "a distinct department of the State Government."² Unless there are local circumstances which make a different course advisable, this is the ideal for which we must strive in legislation for archives.

Intimately connected with the question of the proper method of control and administration of the archives of our States is the problem

¹ Pub. Acts of Mich., No. 271, p. 525. Quoted at length in the Report of the Pub. Arch. Comm. for 1913.

² W. G. Leland in Report of the State Education Building Comm. (of Illinois), 37.

of housing these records. It need not be emphasized in this conference that only a separate fireproof archives building, or at least a commodious, well planned wing of some absolutely fireproof State building can answer the purpose. However, it is evident that if adequate legislation is to be secured along this line, there is need of strong emphasis of this point in the outside world of practical politics. It is not easy to secure large appropriations for new State buildings, and the experience of several States that have accomplished much in legislation for archives shows that in this particular much still remains to be accomplished. Since our conference is being held in the State of Illinois, it may be of interest to explain our hopes in this direction. I use the word *hopes* advisedly. The Illinois legislature appointed in 1911 a State education building commission with instructions to secure plans "for a suitable State building—where all the property pertaining to the history, science, literature, education, and patriotism—may be placed."¹ Five thousand dollars was appropriated to enable the commission to carry out its instructions. Under the authority of this act, the commission employed Mr. Waldo G. Leland to prepare plans and make recommendations regarding the inclusion of the State archives in this building. I commend Mr. Leland's "Report on the public archives and historical interests of the State of Illinois"² to all who are at work on the problem of State archives. The commission recommended to the subsequent legislature the construction of a building to cost \$1,000,000, but that legislature for various reasons, among which was the desire of a new administration to economize, did not make the appropriation. Nevertheless, it provided for the continuance of the commission. In the meantime the State is preparing for an elaborate celebration in 1918 of the centenary of its admission to the Union, and the State Centennial Commission in general charge of that event has united with the State Education Building Commission in urging upon the next legislature, which will convene in a few days, the construction of a \$1,000,000 building, as a fitting memorial of the centenary of the State. We expect, therefore, during the next few months vigorously to urge our plans upon the attention of the public and of the legislature. The plans of both Illinois and Indiana may suggest to other States the opportunity which an important historical celebration may afford for inaugurating a movement to construct a building devoted to the archives and historical interests of the State.

The legislation of the States regarding the conditions under which public records shall be transferred from the departments to the

¹ Act of May 26, 1911.

² Published in the Report of the State Education Building Commission to the Forty-eighth General Assembly, 1913.

custody of some other body deserves a word. Most of the States which have legislated on the subject leave the transfer of the records discretionary with the departments concerned. Although several States have established the regulation that all records "not in current use" shall be so transferred, in practically all cases it is left to the departments to determine what records are not "in current use." In one State, Texas, the attorney general is given power to decide the question in case there is a disagreement between a department and the library and historical commission regarding records "not in current use." A few States have attempted to establish chronological dead lines; for example, in Michigan it is 30 years, in Iowa 10 years, in Kansas 3 years *after current use*. It would seem that there is little advantage in establishing such a chronological dead line. To leave the transfer of records discretionary with the respective departments is, on the whole, the best policy. The example of New York in providing that the records of all extinct offices and departments shall, as a matter of course, be transferred to the general repository is unquestionably a wise regulation.

A full discussion of legislation for State archives should naturally include some consideration of provisions for publishing the most important and historically interesting records, of regulations for making and filing the current records, and for recovering public records that have "wandered" from the possession of the State. However, the limits of this paper will not permit a consideration of these problems.

B. LOCAL RECORDS.

Nor will it be possible to do justice to the subject of legislation for local archives. However, the legislation and practice of the New England States already mentioned—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—are so well known that they hardly need reiteration in this conference. Of the more recent legislation relating to local records, especially noteworthy is that enacted in New York in 1911 and 1913.

It goes without saying that no comprehensive legislation relating to public records is complete without adequate provision for the safety, care, and administration of the local records. General State regulations compelling counties, towns, and villages to provide fireproof receptacles for their records and requiring the use of a permanent ink and durable paper, not to mention methods of filing, etc., are imperatively necessary. It seems to me that it is in this direction that certain States, already well known for their excellent legislation for State archives, must next proceed. Perhaps the best preliminary step for awakening public opinion on the subject is to secure a modest appropriation for a survey of local records. This survey can easily

be made under the direction of an existing department of archives or history. Such a survey of county records has just been completed in the State of Illinois, and the report of the investigators (Clarence D. Johns, J. P. Senning, and T. C. Pease) is now in the hands of the printer.

The problem of the concentration of local archives in a general archive repository was the subject of a special paper at the conference of last year, and therefore needs only to be mentioned at this time.

In conclusion I wish to say that we who are especially interested in the practical problem of securing legislation in our respective States for the preservation and administration of the public records feel grateful to the public archives commission for the efficient service which it is rendering to the cause of archives. Through its numerous published reports and surveys, through its conferences, and especially through the personal work and influence of its members, and also, I may add, of its adjunct members, the commission is performing a great public service. The publication of the proposed "Primer of Archival Economy" will extend still further the good influence of the commission.

DISCUSSION OF DR. RAMMELKAMP'S PAPER.

Mr. GEORGE S. GODARD, State librarian of Connecticut. Just to start the ball rolling, I will state that the 1913 general assembly provided for placing the supervision of inks and typewriter ribbons under the examiner of public records, and it also provided that the comptroller should buy at the rate of one cent a page any common records which might be printed, which should be recommended by the State librarian.

Our first report on court records was made in 1889. It was made by the secretary of state and the State librarian together, and with that as a beginning, together with a public interest later, about 1899, a commission on public records was appointed to make this preliminary survey, and as a result of that report by that commission, which was extant about four or five years, we secured the appointment of a temporary examiner of public records, simply for two years; and the next session provided for a continuation of two years and then two years more, and he brought out in 1904 a complete survey of the probate records of the State, and then two years later the chapter records, because you know in Connecticut it was the parish that was the beginning of the town, and then because of some political intrigue he was not continued to that office, they making no appropriation, so, of course, he dropped down and out. But at that time the State librarian was approached and asked if he would take the position of examiner of public records. He said: "No; we are planning our

new building, we have got to move in. Just let that stand for the present." But we had a beautiful, simple little act, which is permissive (by the way, I believe in those permissive acts very much), which permitted any State, county, town, or other public official to deposit in the State Library, with the consent of the State librarian, any books, files, or other papers in his official custody, not in current use, which has been most successful. And then in the following session, in 1911, the examiner of public records was made permanent. He was made an appointee of the State librarian and for an indefinite term. Now, one word about this here; as a person, a fitting person for this examiner of public records, we were most fortunate in getting a young man—a graduate of Yale—whose father before him, as well as himself, had been very much interested in the vital records of Connecticut, and up to the present time he has, at his expense, had copied the records of probably nearly two-thirds of the towns in Connecticut, from the beginning down to 1850.

[Mr. Godard then explained the plan that is being carried out for the publication of these vital records by cooperation with various patriotic societies. This, he said, was one of the advantages derived from permissive legislation, which he commended.]

Mr. HARLOW LINDLEY, director of the Indiana Department of History and Archives. I would like to ask how the permissive principle has worked. Of course, our department in Indiana is only a year old and we have that feature in the law, but we have not been able to make any headway with it for the reason that we have no place to put the archives when we get them. I quite indorse Mr. Rammelkamp's idea as a step in the right direction. I think it is better to have that, and gradually develop a sentiment in favor of it, than a stronger measure that would create a resentful attitude. But I would like to know how it has worked out with those who have had experience.

Mr. ERNEST W. WINKLER, of Texas. Our law is very largely permissive. It does not command the heads of the departments to turn the records over to us, and we are not bound to accept them after they turn them over; but the law is on the books, and whenever we have time and we see a group of material we go out and ask them for it. We have not had any trouble. Some heads of departments sometimes do not feel like turning them over to us and we wait until there is a successor. This law, I think, is a very good thing.

Mr. LINDLEY. Do you get a great deal that way?

Mr. WINKLER. Yes, we have had no trouble. We have never had to ask the attorney general for his opinion. The very fact that the law permits them to do it satisfies them.

Mr. WYER, director of the New York State Library. This legislation operates largely in connection with one or two other matters;

first, whether you have got a good and safe place in which to put them. The New York State Library never had such a place until a year or two ago and, of course, there was a loss [in the capitol fire in March, 1911] in the archives that had been deposited with it for three-quarters of a century. In addition to a safe place to put them in, it requires some acceleration of the dispositions of the departments on the part of the State librarian and department of State history; that is to say, the attention of the State departments must be called to the law; sometimes when they are moving from one suite of rooms to another is a good time to call their attention to it, or when a new head of a department comes into an office where you know there are records, or as constant diligence will discover favorable opportunities to bring it to the attention of now one department and then another. The fact that there is such a law, that there is such a feature in the law, and yet that the library is not trying to compel anything, is in our favor. We would prefer to have that law permissive rather than mandatory, trusting to our own activity to get the records. Greater than all that is a safe place to put them in and a reasonably considerate and competent administration in charge of looking after them. Our own experience is very eloquent in that particular direction. In the two years since we have had our new building, which, we think, now may be called safe, we have had a great many more records deposited than in any similar period, and with no more effort on our part than before. Perhaps we got out of the habit of making an effort, because we did not have much confidence in making an effort to get old manuscripts deposited in the old library; but to illustrate, the secretary of state said, after we moved into the new building, that he would turn over to us records of a semi-official sort which the acting legislature had purchased and deposited with him and for which \$15,000 had been paid. The city of Albany, of course not a State department at all, within the past six months has turned over to us all of its records prior to 1830 and running back to the Dutch beginning of the city, and all the original minutes of its common council up to 10 years ago, and has asked us to keep an accumulation of records of all sorts, some of them not even official, but which were a revelation to us to discover. Other State departments turned over documents since the fire, so that the permissive legislation seems to be no bar at all to success in getting the records, if we have a good place in which to keep them and the officials are favorably inclined when their attention is called to the law.

Mr. HARLAN, of Iowa. In our State this work has been going on now for some 10 years; there is a permissive feature and the success of it depends largely upon the diplomacy of those in charge of the archives as they are transferred from the State departments. At the

beginning, there was opposition to letting go of anything, but at the present time we have some difficulty in keeping them from sending over to us things we are not ready to take care of. In other words, they may allow things to come over after they are 10 years old. The executive council, which is composed of the governor, secretary of state, treasurer, and the auditor of the state may decide whether they may or may not come. Now, they have decided in a great many instances, that not only may they come up to 10 years, but more recent than 10 years and we take those also, so you will find the thing has practically very little difficulty if the system is once understood by the heads of the departments. It so happens that the heads of these various departments frequently come from organizations of different points of view, from different political parties, and there is not that element of personal intimacy and confidence that makes it an easy matter to get a mutual conference with them; but your head of your archives department can very easily establish a relation of confidence and an exchange of interests with them, so that he draws gradually out of their hands the things that should be taken care of. I think I can say without any doubt at all that the permissive feature will offer you, as far as it goes, every chance of success in your administration.

Mr. WALDO G. LELAND, of the Carnegie Institution. There is one point I think it might be well to draw attention to; that is, the character of the commission or the body which should be vested with the control of the archives. Shall it be largely an *ex officio* commission or shall it be a commission of historical experts? When I was in Illinois I was led by what I thought were local conditions. I desired to make it largely an *ex officio* commission. Since then some have said to me they thought I was mistaken about that. That is quite possible. But I think that that is a point that ought to be considered in legislation for archives—whether the commission which is to be vested with the ultimate control of the archives is to be an *ex officio* commission composed of some one representing the secretary of state and some one representing the supreme court, and some one representing the local officials, the legislature, and the governor, and then, perhaps, some representatives from the State historical society, or should it be a small commission made up of historical or archival experts with one or two officials on it, such as the secretary of state, or some other representative of the government? I think that is a point which should be borne in mind in the sort of legislation to be recommended.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that the point that Mr. Leland brings out, that local conditions should be considered, is one that should not be lost sight of. I think those local conditions might require that there

be a commission consisting of the governor and certain State officials and perhaps representatives of State universities and State historical departments, where such institutions exist. The application of such a principle would not operate in the State of New York. In the State of New York, for instance, if I were to make a recommendation, it would be, that there be a department of archives and history; that the legislative body of that department of archives and history be the regents of the University of the State of New York; that the administrator of the functions of the department of archives and history, the director, be a trained specialist, and that he be the secretary of the department of archives and history. In that way the regents of the University of the State of New York would actually have the control of the thing; at the same time, the department would have that amount of separation from the purely educational work of the regents, which I feel is quite a distinct branch of business. The regents would coordinate with the State department of archives and history, as they coordinate their purely educational functions with the State commissioner of education, or their relations to science and museums, for instance, with the scientist who is the director of the State museum. That would be my idea of carrying out the department of archives and history in the State of New York; but that principle would not obtain in the State of Illinois, because of different local conditions. I am fully convinced that the best plan of operation that has been suggested in the archival situation in the United States, is that of a department of archives and history for each State. The correlation of that department in each State must be solved *in situ*.

Mr. RAMMELKAMP. I would like to say a word before we leave this subject. I was wondering in view of the discussion that has taken place on the subject of the permissive features in the law, whether I gave the impression in my paper that I was not personally in favor of that feature. Quite the contrary. I am very strongly in favor of it and was presenting simply facts regarding the actual conditions in the State of Illinois.

PRINCIPLES OF CLASSIFICATION FOR ARCHIVES.¹

By ETHEL B. VIRTUE.

The science of archives is indeed a mere infant in the family of modern sciences and her underlying principles are far from being fully developed. In many respects she resembles her sister science of library theory and practice, but in others she is very different. No where is this difference more plainly seen than in principles of classification.

¹ With the consent of the Public Archives Commission this paper, together with a number of illustrations, was published in "Annals of Iowa" for April, 1915, pp. 1-10.

The modern library has developed a system of subject classification which has made the contents of its shelves easily accessible to the average reader. But the close application of a similar system to collections of archives has not met with success. A strictly logical arrangement was tried in the Swedish Royal Archives some 25 years ago but was later given up and the papers, which had been removed from their original collections, were restored to the same.¹ A similar attempt was once made in the National Archives of France and this also ended in confusion and failure.² In our own country we find in the early arrangement of archives that papers have been grouped in special collections such as Revolutionary papers, military papers, and papers concerning lands. Such an arrangement destroys the original files of the offices, which carried on the processes of government in the early days, hides the gaps in the files, and makes it almost impossible to know what kinds of papers are missing. In short, the records with which the political anatomy of those days could be reconstructed have been taken out of their original places and scattered so widely that it is almost a hopeless task to replace them.³

It is generally agreed by archivists in both Europe and America that the "summum bonum" to be desired in the classification of archives is that they shall reflect the political organism of their time. Whatever information they may contain upon special subjects or whatever light they may throw upon certain individuals or events, is a side issue and should not be the determining factor in their arrangement. They are the recorded image of the State and should be preserved as such. Special information concerning men and events can be brought out by special indices without interfering with the arrangement.

This opinion regarding the classification of archives has given rise to the principle known as the "respect des fonds," which has been briefly and clearly defined by Dr. Muller, of Utrecht, as "the method of classifying archives according to which each document is placed in the collection and in the series of that collection to which it belonged when that collection was a living organism."⁴

A. J. F. van Laer, archivist of New York, has defined it in more detailed terms as "a system of arrangement of public archives whereby every document is traced to the governmental body, administrative office, or institution by which it was issued or received and to the files of which it last belonged when these files were still in the process of natural accretion."⁵

¹ Amandus Johnson, *The Lessons of the Swedish Archives*, in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1909, p. 360.

² Waldo G. Leland, *The National Archives*, *American Historical Review*, XVIII, 24.

³ A. J. F. van Laer, *The Work of the International Congress of Archivists and Librarians at Brussels*, Aug. 28-31, 1910, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1910, 285.

⁴ *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1912, p. 260.

⁵ *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1910, p. 285.

European archivists are almost unanimous in their support of this principle. The uniform rules and regulations for classification in Belgium read as follows:

The archivists take as a rule in the work of classification—

(1) To assemble the documents with respect to their sources; that is to say, to form a particular collection of all the titles which belong to the same body, the same institution, the same administration, or the same locality, without mixing the acts of one body with those of another.

(2) To classify the documents in each source according to their nature or contents, arranging the material, as the case may be, chronologically, topographically, or alphabetically.

It is necessary to respect the source or, as the Germans say, the principle of the origin, and give in the inventory an exact image of the organization or the institution, the archives of which one wishes to make known.¹

In France the departmental archives are kept in the various departments and carefully arranged and classified in each.² The records in the National Archives "are grouped according to the nature of the public institutions with which they are concerned."³

The creed of the archivists of the Netherlands is so heartily in accord with this principle that it maintains that no archivist who has not studied carefully the organization to which the archives he is working with originally belonged is fitted to classify them.⁴

From Italy also comes the word of Signore Pagliai, of Florence, saying that the "respect des fonds" is "the only scientific and natural principle which should be followed to render intelligent the researches of the historian."⁴

Sir Henry Lyte, deputy keeper of the public record office of England, describes the records of that office as being "kept pretty much according to the courts or offices from which they came, more than according to the subject. They are classified according to the place of origin."⁵

In our own country, Mr. Leland writes: "The principle of the 'respect des fonds' should be adhered to. In accordance with this principle, records should be so grouped that they at once make clear the processes by which they have come into existence. Archives are the product and record of the performance of its functions by an organic body, and they should faithfully reflect the workings of that organism. No decimal system of classification, no refined methods of library science, no purely chronological or purely alpha-

¹ First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records, London, 1912, I, Pt. II, 129b-130a.

² First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records, London, 1912, I, Pt. II, 134.

³ First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records, London, 1912, I, Pt. II, 132a.

The Royal Prussian State Archives in Berlin are arranged by departments and, for the most part, chronologically within each department. M. D. Learned, *The German State Archives* (Carnegie Institution Pub. 150), p. 17.

⁴ Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1912, p. 260.

⁵ First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records, London, 1912, I, Pt. III, 17, Q. 440.

betical arrangement can be successfully applied to the classification of archives."¹

Dr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, maintains that "the object to be attained in the arrangement of all governmental archives is to classify them in such a manner that the documents will tell the story, in an historical way, of the progress and development of the State and its people from the beginning."²

Dr. Thomas M. Owen, of Alabama, has adopted the source principle in the arrangement of the archives of that State, and says that thus far he has never had any question as to the wisdom of this course.³

Prof. Eugene C. Barker, of the University of Texas, cites the following incident, which shows a decided legal disadvantage which would result from a departure from this method of classification:

We found that in a lawsuit that came up recently, a man wanted to prove a claim by a certain document that had been transferred from the State department to the library, and before that document could be produced in evidence the defendant had to prove the history of the document. The judge, in other words, wanted to know how that document came to be in the library; wanted to be perfectly sure that it was the identical document.⁴

At the International Congress of Archivists and Librarians held in Brussels in 1910, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the "principe de la provenance" (respect des fonds) be adopted for the arrangement and inventorying of archives, with a view to the logical classification of separate documents, as well as in the interest of comprehensive historical study.⁵

The principle "respect des fonds," we may say, then, is the established principle of archival classification to-day. In "A Report on the Public Archives," submitted to the trustees of the State Library and Historical Department of Iowa in 1906,⁶ Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh presented the following outlines as leading up to a proper classification of the archives of that State.⁷ These outlines are a very simple and concrete illustration of the principle "respect des fonds" adapted to the archives of Iowa.

Outline of Classification for the archives of Iowa.

I. Primary classification for Iowa.

Public archives { State.
Local.

II. Formal classification for Iowa.

Public archives { Printed.
Manuscript.

¹ American Historical Review, XVIII, 24.

² Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1912, p. 270.

³ T. M. Owen to E. R. Harlan, Oct. 23, 1913.

⁴ Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1910, p. 307.

⁵ Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1910, p. 285.

⁶ Reprinted from the Annals of Iowa, January, 1907.

⁷ Benjamin F. Shambaugh, A Report on the Public Archives, pp. 35, 36.

III. Historical classification for Iowa.

Public archives { Period of the Territory.
Period of the first constitution.
Period of the second constitution.

IV. Administrative classification for Iowa.

			(1838.
			1839.
		(Commissions	1840.
			1841.
			1842.
			Etc.
		Journals.	
	(Governor	Letters.	
		Pardons.	
		Proclamations.	
		Requisitions.	
		Etc.	
		Etc.	
	(State	Secretary of State.	
		Auditor.	
		Treasurer.	
		Superintendent of public instruction.	
		Etc.	
		Etc.	
		Etc.	
	(Local	{County.	
		Township.	
		City.	

Public archives {

They present four classifications of the records. The first or primary classification provides for the separation of State and local archives. Thus far Iowa has no local records in the files of her archives department. A few private papers have been overlooked by State officers and left with the official files, but no account of these has been taken in the classification.

The second or formal classification makes the distinction between printed and manuscript records. Practically no printed archives are retained in this department. There are a few exceptions in the case of military orders in the governor's office and some printed insurance schedules in the auditor's office. These are filed side by side with the manuscript records.

The printed reports and documents of Iowa are in the law library which purposes to have a complete collection of the same. Many of these are to be found also on the shelves of the library of the State historical department but none are kept in the archives.

The historical classification defines the three distinct periods of the history of Iowa. This classification has been made in some of the series of the various offices but not in all.

The fourth or administrative outline practically combines the three classifications just described. You will note here again the separa-

tion of State and local archives. The distinction between printed and manuscript records is not made, but these may be filed together in the proper series. The chronological arrangement of the series defines the limits of the different historical periods.

Turning now to the heading, State, we find the division into the offices of governor, secretary of state, and so on down through all the offices and departments of the commonwealth, the concrete illustration of the classification of records according to their origin.

The records of the governor's office are further divided into the series of commissions, journals, letters, proclamations, etc., divisions which the functions of that office have created. In general the outlines of Dr. Shambaugh have been followed. In some of the subdivisions the chronological arrangement has been departed from and a subject or alphabetical arrangement substituted as the series seemed to demand.¹

The working out of the classification has been largely in the hands of Mr. C. C. Stiles, superintendent of the classification department. A study of his outlines for the office of governor will illustrate the principles which he has found useful in the classification of the records of that office.

TABLE I.—*Governor's office.*

MAIN SERIES.²

I. Commissions.....	Subject.
II. Correspondence.....	Do.
III. Elections.....	Do.
IV. Extraditions.....	Do.
V. Legislative.....	Do.
VI. Petitions.....	Do.
VII. Proclamations.....	Do.
VIII. Reports.....	Do.
IX. Vouchers.....	Do.
X. Bonds.....	Do.
XI. Executive journals.....	Years.
XII. Criminal records.....	Do.
XIII. Miscellaneous.....	Subject.

In Table I we have 13 main series of the office, the majority of which represent particular functions of the administrative officer. You will notice that out of the 13 series, 11 are subdivided according to class or subject and 2 are arranged strictly by years.

A more detailed outline, such as we have in Table II, will better illustrate this subdivision.

¹ As an aid to visualizing this classification the reader is referred to the cuts of the floor plan and of the filing room which are given in *Annals of Iowa*, April, 1915, between pp. 8 and 9.

² C. C. Stiles, *Public Archives of Iowa*, *Annals of Iowa*, October, 1911, p. 171. Some changes will be noted in the table above. These have been made since the publication cited.

TABLE II.—Governor's office.

SUBDIVISIONS.¹

I. Commissions..	{Notarial.....	{1866.....	{Adams, James.
	{Officers of State Institutions	{College for the Blind	{Adams, James.

This table represents two typical arrangements of the series of commissions. One of the most important divisions of this series is that of notarial commissions. These are arranged first by years and then alphabetized by the names of the commissioners. Here we see, then, first a subject or class arrangement (notarial), then a chronological (1866), and, lastly, an alphabetical (Adams).

In the second subdivision of commissions we have those of the officers of State institutions. These commissions are arranged first by the name of the institution (College for the Blind) and then by the name of the commissioner (Adams). No account is taken of the year of appointment.

The largest series in the governor's office is that of correspondence. This series in Iowa has been arranged first by subject and the further subdivisions run by subject, year, or name, as the material seems to require. Table III illustrates four typical classifications of this series.

TABLE III.—Governor's office.

SUBDIVISIONS.²

II. Correspondence..	{Appointments	{Commissioner	{1846	{Alabama	{Adams, James.
		{of Deeds...			
	Criminal Cases	{Adams, James.			
	{Transportation	{Railroads....	{1856.		
		{Waterways....	{1851.		
	Temperance.....	{1858.			

Under the subdivision of appointments, we find the most detailed type. This correspondence is arranged first by the office, in this case that of commissioner of deeds, second by the year of appointment, then by the State for which the commissioner is appointed, and lastly, by the name of the commissioner.

In the subdivision of the correspondence concerning criminal cases, we have a purely alphabetical arrangement by the name of the criminal, all papers pertaining to each case being kept together.

Correspondence concerning transportation is divided into two subject headings of railroads and waterways, each of which is then arranged by years.

¹C. C. Stiles, Public Archives of Iowa, Annals of Iowa, October, 1911, p. 172.

²C. C. Stiles, Public Archives of Iowa, Annals of Iowa, October, 1911, pp. 173, 179, 187.

All letters concerning temperance are arranged by years and alphabeted under each year by the name of the writer.

Turning to Table VII and Series XI, that of executive journals, we find the simplest classification possible, that of a straight chronological arrangement.

TABLE VII.

XI. Executive journals----- {1857,
etc.

This series consists of bound records only, and any other arrangement is practically impossible. A separate series has been made of criminal records as soon as they have become bulky enough to be bound in separate volumes, and the earlier criminal records in the executive journals are listed on the index cards of the journals.

These tables have presented to you all of the types of the classification of subdivisions used in the archives of Iowa. The reasons for the adoption of these different forms of classification will be best brought out, I think, in the discussion of the same.

DISCUSSION OF MISS VIRTUE'S PAPER.

MR. HARLOW LINDLEY. Our chairman in introducing Miss Virtue said she would speak as one who had had experience and for a State that has had experience in this ideal. I certainly represent the opposite, in that our State has had no experience and I have had no experience in this line; in fact, I have been trying to get some light on this subject in the last few minutes, in the hope that the time may come when we could turn our attention to this work in Indiana, although, as I said a moment ago, our situation there is such that we have no place in which to handle the archives of the State; but I know that the records could be obtained in some cases without any difficulty if we did have a place. I realize one difficulty in the way in a situation of this kind. We have had the general library scheme pretty well standardized and I have had some experience along that line, but this certainly brings up a situation which might be considered as a special library, I should say, and evidently the system has not been worked out in such a way as to be tangible and uniform for all concerned. As I was thinking over this subject, there were two or three phases which particularly appealed to me. Of course, at first I questioned just what was meant by the preservation of an archive. I think there is a good deal of confusion and misunderstanding in regard to that. Some are inclined to give a very liberal interpretation to the meaning of an archive, and others give a very narrow interpretation. I have taken the point of view of the narrow interpretation, that here we are dealing with public records that belong to the public and ought to be made available to the public.

The first feature that appeals to me in this connection is that all of these public records have a certain sequence that preserves for us the official history of certain acts, and one principle that certainly ought to be taken into consideration is the system of classification which will preserve this feature. I do not know just how that could be worked out in classification. As a matter of fact, in thinking of an ideal classification, I had worked out in my mind something very similar to the classification that has been presented to us. In fact, that is about the only classification I can conceive of at the present time. However, by a system of cataloguing and cross references I think that the system of classification could be very materially strengthened, particularly for the purposes of the student of history. Of course, I realize that there are two classes of people with which we are dealing. These archives are primarily for the benefit, should be at least for the benefit, of the State government; but as historical documents, of course, our research students are going to take advantage of them and should take advantage of them; so in our work we really have two constituencies to take into consideration—those that are using the records from the point of view of State officials, and the research students.

It seems to me there should be some method of preserving the connection between respective papers; and the second point that has particularly appealed to me is, the desirability of some sort of uniformity in practice. Evidently, there is no uniformity of practice at the present time. There are two features of control that are possible; one where the element of control is centralized and the records are centralized, as evidently, they are in Iowa, and the other proposition would be some system of centralized control of records, yet leaving the records in the various governmental departments concerned in them. It seems to me that the first principle is preferable—a system not only of concentration of control, but concentration of the records themselves. However, I realize that there are many difficulties in the way even there; that, in the first place, it is a pretty big task and, in the second place, if there could be some efficient control exerted over the records that they might be cared for to better advantage in their respective departments. It seems to me, that possibly there might be found a compromise between the concentration or the consolidation of the State records, and that the possibility of the assembling of local archives in their various centers might be a practical solution of the case. Of course, the important thing in a system of classification is to have some sort of system; but we found as a practical problem in the library world and in the business world in general that a uniform system has many advantages, because, if we are acquainted with one place we are acquainted with other places, and for that reason there may be a system, there should be a general system worked out. I am confident that there could not be a system

of uniformity in detail; in fact, we could not have uniformity in detail, because we have different departments in various States. But the fundamentals are the same, and if we could establish some sort of common system so far as fundamentals are concerned, it would be of advantage to all concerned. I made some inquiry during last summer of various departments in regard to some of these matters and it seemed to me that everything was more or less at sea.

Then there is the problem of the use of the archives; that is, the question as to how much the archives are going to be open to the public. We had the questions discussed this morning pretty fully in the section devoted to State and local historical societies, as to what uses should be made, and to what extent the archives and historical documents should be made available. Of course, the greater the extent that they are made available, the more desirable it is that there be some sort of a uniform system, so that the student might be able to make himself at home and accomplish the greatest results in a given time wherever he may be.

In conclusion, all that I have to say is, that we ought to in some way take some definite steps by which a concerted movement might be put forth in working out some sort of a general scheme that would at least cover the fundamentals of the subject; that might fit the conditions of any State and, at the same time, might articulate along with the system adopted by the Government in the preservation and care of the Federal archives.

Mr. GODARD. Members of the association and friends: In the first place I want to thank Miss Virtue for the very clear manner in which she has shown us the classification that is in use in Iowa, and as we look at it we find the whole framework just as you would expect to find the bones of a skeleton in a natural arrangement, and that is just what we have tried to have in Connecticut; but instead of beginning with the offices of the State, as Iowa has done, we have begun to emphasize this transfer from the towns. Now, mention has already been made of the different conditions in the States. It is very hard, I think, for one who has been brought up in the West not to think of everything as under western conditions, as, for example, their county organization, etc. He can not begin to appreciate what the people of New England have. They are wrapped up in their town system, and by town I mean what in the West is called the township, because you know the towns in New England grew up around the church parish or the church society. [Explains.]

We find in Connecticut that when a town clerk went out of office he simply turned over the town books and as many papers as his successor was willing to take. The same condition applies with respect to the probate documents. Usually the probate in Connecticut was coextensive with the town, but there are 148 probate districts out of 168 towns, so the Hartford probate district takes in quite a

number of neighboring towns. My point is, try to save those papers which are now being forgotten or have not been cared for. That is why we have an examiner of public records, so that he can go up and say: "Where are these early files?" The answer he receives is, "Why, there are some boxes that have been left at the other place." Many of these files we have found in attics and barns, and the result to-day is we have been paying special attention to those districts which need attention most, which either have no vault, or else an inadequate vault, and whose safes are too small. We do not say to them: "Here, why you have got to have a new vault;" but say instead, "Why do you not send them up to the new library?" The resulting conversation is usually: "Oh, can you?" "Surely, you can." Then we call attention to the law. But the papers they have now are treated like junk, and some of you will appreciate how some of them go into the paper mills and are lost; so the first thing we do, when we have a chance, is to take this mass of papers and put all the "A's" together and separate the "A's" into families and the families into estates. [Explains, showing samples.] We list wills, codicils, applications, bonds, orders of court, etc. Then these go into the vault alphabetically, where they can be located very easily. But there is one thing more which makes this a complete system. Where is the judge who gives up these papers? What does he have? You know when these things are turned over and marked there is no knowing how many papers there are or what papers or anything about them; but the law which provided for their depositing, the permissive law, says that the State librarian shall publish in his report what records are received, and shall issue a certificate or receipt to the official who deposits the papers. I have formulated a receipt; [explains] this is the front page, saying, "Probate papers from," we will say, "The Farmington District, deposited," at such a time. Now, this is just the size of the probate certificate which shall be recorded, the law says. This is a receipt showing such a judge deposited such a paper on a certain day, deposited according to the act of 1899, chapter 75, and then follows the act. Here [indicating]. In other words, my receipt not only tells what I actually received from him, not what he thought he had delivered, but it also indexes all his own records in his probate office which heretofore never had been indexed at all. So that is one reason, probably, why our good friends are very willing that these early papers, the original wills (the earliest we have is from 1675, and the latest 1911), should be turned over to us. We have arranged up to the present time something over 50,000 estates and approximately 300,000 documents.

One thing more about protection. It has been asked what provision shall be made for caring for these papers when in use. We have a card with a place for the estate, the date, the district, the

town, the number of documents in the envelope of this estate, when it is delivered and checked, when it comes back, with the name of the applicant and his address and with his reference if we do not know him, and any other remarks that we may see fit to make. Of course, all this is done under the direct supervision of one of the assistants; that is, working at a table in the presence of the assistant. When the envelope is returned, we see that the same number of documents are there, and when this comes back, this card is filed under the section to which it belongs. In other words we have a check, so that we know absolutely who uses each file. This is the contribution I would make so far as the classification and arrangement of the local records are concerned, because our State records are exactly like Iowa, so far as they are now deposited. I will say, however, that in 1845 an attempt was made to classify the legislative papers in the secretary's office. They are in about 122 volumes and it is remarkably well done. We have indexed them. I have a photostat copy of one page of the index in which it speaks of the Church of England. And the plan is, Church of England first, relating to the funds; here comes the earliest bill October, 1744, telling the vault where the document is found. This is made alphabetically by towns and chronologically under the towns. As far as possible, we tried to reconstruct the skeleton, put some meat on it and then, as far as it can be done in an index, inject some red blood into it; because, when the people come from the various sections of the State, they expect to get some definite help, and unless your index or arrangement can show them how to locate something that is of real importance to that section, they will not stand with you; but when they come to you and you are able to refer to the original document and help them save dollars and avoid unnecessary losses, they are with you every time, and that has been our experience; that is what we try to do.

CATALOGUING OF ARCHIVES.

Mr. Leland spoke informally of the different kinds of catalogues of archives. He distinguished sharply between historical manuscripts and archives, and pointed out that rules for cataloguing the former do not apply to the latter. He also distinguished between catalogues for official purposes and those for historical purposes. For official purposes the catalogues must vary greatly according to the material. For historical purposes he advocated a succession of catalogues beginning with the check-list or *état sommaire*, continuing in the more detailed descriptive catalogue or *inventaire analytique*, and culminating in the calendar. As Mr. Leland is to treat this subject in detail in a chapter of the proposed "Primer of Archival Economy," this summary is all that is necessary to be presented here.

APPENDIX B.

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ARCHIVES
OF THE TERRITORY AND STATE OF MINNESOTA.

By HERBERT A. KELLAR.

I. C.
 II. C.
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 IV. C.
 V. C.
 VI. C.
 VII. C.
 VIII. C.
 IX. C.
 X. C.
 XI. C.
 XII. C.
 XIII. C.
 XIV. C.
 XV. C.

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A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE MORE IMPORTANT ARCHIVES OF THE TERRITORY AND STATE OF MINNESOTA.

By HERBERT A. KELLAR.

INTRODUCTION.

The archives of Minnesota were moved frequently in the early days of the Territory. The executive office for a time, beginning with June 26, 1849, was located in the home of Governor Ramsey, on Third Street, between Robert and Jackson Streets, St. Paul. The first legislature had its quarters in a hotel on Bench Street, called the "Central House," where it assembled in September, 1849. The succeeding legislatures, until 1854, met in different places. In 1851 the legislature occupied a brick building on St. Anthony Street, between Washington and Jackson Streets; in 1852 it was in the Goodrich Building, on Third Street, just below Robert Street, and in 1853 it met in the Chatteau Building, a two-story brick affair located at the corner of Third and Minnesota Streets.¹ A permanent capitol building was begun in the summer of 1851 on the land known later as the Capitol Square, but it was not ready for occupancy until July, 1853.² On January 1, 1854, the fifth legislature met in this capitol, where the change of Minnesota from a Territory to a State took place in 1858.³ The building was altered and enlarged several times during the first quarter-century of its existence. It was barely large enough for the departments when it was built, and it never afforded really adequate quarters.

On March 1, 1881, during a session of the legislature, the capitol took fire at about 9 o'clock in the evening. The conflagration virtually destroyed the building, but the majority of the archives were carried out to safety. Some civil war records of the adjutant general, a few legislative bills lying on the table in the governor's office, some papers in cases of the office of the clerk of the supreme court,

¹ The St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 27, 1898, p. 3. Williams, History of St. Paul, pp. 227-228, 235, 284, 321, 333.

² The St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 27, 1898, p. 3. Williams, History of St. Paul, pp. 44, 291, 308.

³ The St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 27, 1898, p. 3.

and some special laws, executive documents, and journals were lost. Since the location of the capitol at St. Paul, attempts had been made from time to time to change the seat of government to some other locality. The citizens of St. Paul were alarmed lest the burning of the capitol should again give rise to this issue and spent the night of March 1 in equipping the barely completed Market Hall Building where, on the following morning, the legislature convened, every member finding a desk supplied with paper and ink ready for his use.²

The capitol was rebuilt between the years 1881 and 1883. In July of the latter year the last office was moved back into it.³ However, it was soon found to be too small for the increasing needs of the State, and agitation for a new and larger capitol resulted, in 1893, in the appointment of a capitol commission. On July 27, 1898, the corner stone of a new building was laid. The structure was ready for occupancy by 1905, and the archives were removed to it at that time.⁴ This new capitol, although a large building, has not been able to meet the needs of the expansion of the State. For this reason several new departments, as well as branches of old departments, have been moved with their archives back into the old capitol, while the State highway commission is located across the street in the Shubert Building.

The need of more room for housing the records is recognized. It is to be hoped that with the erection of the Minnesota Historical Society Building within the next two years a considerable portion of the older archives will be turned over to the society, so that the society will be able to classify them and provide for their permanent preservation.

The bulk of the archives of the Territory and of the State still in existence is considerable. Such losses as have occurred are mainly due to the fire of 1881, to carelessness on the part of officials, and to the use of poor materials in the construction of the records. In a few instances officials seem to have carried off documents which, perhaps, should more properly have remained in the possession of the State. On the whole, the current archives are well arranged and classified. The situation among the older records, however, is not so satisfactory. This criticism extends also to the protection of the records. In most cases the officials have made the best use of what opportunities there were for safe-guarding archives; but, with the exception of those in the regular office vaults in the new capitol, there is no guarantee of safety from fire and water.

¹ The Daily Pioneer Press, Mar. 2 and 3, 1881. The document clerk of the office of the secretary of State contradicts the statement of the Daily Pioneer Press. He says hardly anything was lost from his office.

² The St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 27, 1898, p. 3. Folwell, Minnesota, p. 25.

³ The St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 27, 1898, p. 5.

⁴ The St. Paul Pioneer Press, July 27, 1898, p. 5. Folwell, Minnesota, p. 343.

The numbers and letters which have been used throughout this survey to designate offices and vaults were adopted for the sake of convenience, since no practical official way of locating the records existed.¹ As far as possible, the side of the room or vault where a document is located has been indicated. Abbreviations have been avoided for the most part, but in the case of the phrase, "steel filing box," sfb. has been substituted, and for "center, west, north, east, and south," C., W., N., E., and S. have been used respectively.

The present article comprises a preliminary survey of the manuscript records of the more important offices. Acknowledgment is due the courtesy of State officials who have made the survey possible.²

I. THE GOVERNOR.

The office of governor was created by the organic act of Minnesota, on March 3, 1849. According to this document, it is evident that papers relating to military matters, Indian affairs, the granting of pardons, appointment of officials, the execution of the laws, and the vetoing of bills might be looked for among the records of the governor's office.³ As a matter of fact, all of these are to be found in more or less complete files. The constitution of 1857 added the reports of State institutions and officers to the archives of the governor.⁴ The general statutes also provide that the governor's private secretary should have the duty of keeping a record of all important official letters to and from the governor, and of such other letters as the governor should desire, archives which were to be preserved in the executive office, and to be produced before the legislature upon request. All proclamations of the governor required or authorized by law are filed with the secretary of state. Copies of these, however, are retained in the governor's office. The governor is the custodian of all property of the State not especially entrusted by law to other officers, and may take possession of it without legal process and adopt such measures for its preservation as he deems proper, a statute which has increased the documents of the office.⁵

¹ Only the main rooms of the new capitol are numbered, and inasmuch as the bulk of the archives is in office vaults and sub-basement vaults, it was thought best to disregard the partial numbering altogether.

² The Public Archives Commission also acknowledges its debt to Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, whose initiative in the first place led to the preparation of this survey, which he has served in an advisory capacity. Particular thanks are due to the Minnesota Historical Society for its generosity in voting three-fourths of the expenses (\$150) toward the preparation of the survey and for its magnanimity in permitting the American Historical Association to print the results.

In the Minnesota History Bulletin, Vol. I (May, 1915), pp. 37-53, will be found an article by Mr. Kellar on The Minnesota State Archives: Their character, condition, and historical value.

³ Legislative Manual, 1915, sec. 2, p. 7. Legislative Manual, 1915, sec. 20, p. 13.

⁴ Legislative Manual, 1915, art. 5, sec. 4, p. 34.

⁵ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, ch. 4, sec., 54-58, p. 19-20.

The amount of the records in the office of the chief executive is considerable, many records being deposited there which in other States are found with the secretary of state.

The archives of the governor are located in a sub-basement vault, a reception room and two vaults adjoining, designated from west to east as office vault 1 and office vault 2.

The documents in the sub-basement vault are older records contained in pasteboard boxes. They need further classification, for, although the boxes are for the most part numbered, dated, and labeled, the character of the material is only roughly indicated. Moreover, some of the boxes have decayed from age and spilled out their contents on the shelves. The numbers of the pasteboard boxes have been given where they existed. The vault has a wooden door covered with tin, which does not afford as much protection for the records as is desirable.

There are a few current records in the reception room in ledgers and pasteboard boxes. The material in office vaults 1 and 2 is both old and current. It is in pasteboard boxes, ledgers, and steel filing boxes. The classification here is much better than that found in the sub-basement vault. The vaults furnish adequate security.

It will be noted in the report that there are considerable gaps in some of the files, an explanation of which is not always apparent. In the case of correspondence, the practice of arbitrarily throwing material from special to general files and back again accounts for breaks in various files. However, the serious loss of numerous letter copies of the governors can not be attributed to this cause. Search for these has been made, but it is feared that they are destroyed.

Among the most interesting documents of this office are the executive registers and the relief papers. The latter papers contain a great deal of valuable material for the social and economic history of the State.

Constitutional records.

Original constitution of the State of Minnesota, with signatures. 1 sfb.
(Office vault 1, W.)

Election records, range from 1849 to 1914. (Sub-basement vault N., unless otherwise indicated.)

Election returns, 1849-1857. 1 pasteboard box, No. 356.

Petitions for establishing election precincts, 1851. 1 pasteboard box, No. 264.

Certificates of election, 1857. 1 pasteboard box, No. 591.

Delegates of the constitutional convention.

Poll books of election on the five-million-dollar loan amendment to the constitution, 1858. 1 pasteboard box, No. 340.

Papers concerning election precincts, 1882. 1 pasteboard box, No. 653.

Cass and Itasca counties.

Schedule of votes on constitutional amendment, 1872. 1 pasteboard box, No. 569.

Election records, etc.—Continued.

Affidavits of election expenses, 1896–1900, 1904. 1 sfb., No. 731. (Office vault 1, W.)

Papers concerning election districts in counties, range from 1859–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Miscellaneous papers, 1902–1908. 1 sfb., No. 69. (Office vault 1, W.)

Presidential electors, United States Senators, certificates to Congressmen, constitutional amendment.

Executive records.

Executive registers, 1849–1915, 13 ledgers.

1849–1898. 12 ledgers, lettered A–J. (Office vault 1, E.) Ledgers from 1849 to 1862 are not lettered.

1899–1915. 1 ledger, lettered K. (Office vault 2, E.)

Indexes to ledgers A, H, I. 3 ledgers. (Office vault 1, E.)

Index to ledger K. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, E.)

Index. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, E.)

Probably belongs to executive registers.

These contain copies of important official documents such as requisitions, appointments, proclamations, census returns, letters, pardons, etc. Miscellaneous appointments, 1898–1915. 2 ledgers, lettered A–B. (Office vault 2, E. C.)

Index to miscellaneous appointments. 2 ledgers. (Office vault 2, C.)

These are form certificates of appointment to office filled in and signed by the governor.

Special appointments, 1899–1914. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Office vault 2, C.)

Appointment of delegates to conventions, 1913–1914. 1 ledger. (Reception room, E.)

Messages to the legislature, 1849–1857. 1 ledger, No. 1. (Office vault 1, E.)

Proclamations of Governor Davis, 1874–1875. 1 pasteboard box, No. 232. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Proclamations concerning rewards, range from 1889 to 1913. 1sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Proclamations concerning legislative matters, 1881. 1 pasteboard box, No. 189. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Communications to the legislature, 1901–1907. 1sfb. (Office vault 1, W.) Printed from 1903.

Proclamations by the governor, 1901–1914. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Office vault 2, E.)

Typewritten copies.

Legislative records.

Titles of bills passed, 1849–1905. 4 ledgers. (Office vault 1, E.)

The bills in the first half of one of the ledgers are not dated. Since the last half of this ledger begins with the date 1899 and the one before it ends with the date 1887, it is probable that the undated bills are for the period 1887–1889.

Bills vetoed by the governor, range from 1876 to 1905.

1876–1888. 7 pasteboard boxes, No. 136, 237, 334, 441, 447, 477, 572. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1889–1905. 2 sfb., No. 58, 63. (Office vault 1, W.)

Correspondence, Territorial. 1 pasteboard box, No. 170. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Concerning laws received from and sent to other States. Correspondence, received, ranges from 1862–1889. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Legislative records—Continued.

Correspondence, Territorial, etc.—Continued.

1860-1869. 2 pasteboard boxes, No. 327, 552.

1874-1889. 9 pasteboard boxes, No. 21, 91, 199, 229, 325, 451, 462, 504, 596.

Legislative matters.

Extradition papers, range from 1849-1908.

Requisition papers.

1884. 1 sfb., No. 3. (Office vault 1, W.)

1849-1889, 1894. 59 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The boxes are numbered 2, 3, 8, 12, 16, 17, 20, 28, 64, 67, 84, 121-124, 139, 156, 159, 177, 188, 193, 208, 235, 249, 260, 333, 313, 328, 343, 367-369, 379, 391, 417, 432, 468, 470, 476, 478, 404, 480, 496, 499, 506, 559, 584, 585, 589, 590, 607, 612, 622, 625, 627, 654, 493.

1889-1900. 9 pasteboard boxes. (Office vault 1, N.)

1901-1904, 1906, 1908. 10 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

The boxes are numbered 61, 80-88.

1901-1905. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

Record of requisitions, 1849-1857. 1 ledger, No. 1. (Office vault 1, E.)

1901-1914. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Office vault 2, C.)

Requests of governors of other States for the arrest and return of fugitive criminals in Minnesota and similar requests of the governors of Minnesota to the governors of other States.

Pardon records.

Applications for pardons, range from 1853 to 1915.

1853-1857, 1862, 1865-1868, 1870-1891. 67 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The boxes are numbered 14, 27, 30, 39, 46, 79, 97, 108, 110, 127, 132, 134, 141, 142, 148, 151, 161, 173, 181, 183, 193, 205, 221, 230, 251, 265, 267, 274, 275, 286, 290, 295, 311, 321, 329, 346, 353, 376, 382, 398, 405, 436, 444, 446, 466, 474, 483, 505, 513, 515, 529, 546, 550, 554, 555, 561, 563, 571, 576, 581, 583, 617, 621, 632, 639, 641, 652.

1889-1902. 32 pasteboard boxes. (Office vault 1, N.)

1902-1915. 40 sfb. (Office vault 1, W. E.)

Pardons since 1897 to date are numbered 1-2400.

Commutation records, range from 1868 to 1895.

1868-1886. 2 pasteboard boxes, No. 175, 637. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1889-1891, 1895. 4 pasteboard boxes. (Office vault 1, N.)

No date. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Papers pertaining to commutations of sentence.

Record of pardon and commutation commission, 1910-1914. 1 ledger, No. 1. (Office vault 2, E.)

Proceedings of board.

Testimony in cases, range from 1859 to 1911.

1859-1860, 1868, 1874, 1875, 1886, 1898. 9 pasteboard boxes, No. 90,

94, 95, 104, 153, 164, 196, 412. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1910-1911. 2 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Record of the board of pardons, 1897-1914. 4 ledgers, No. 1-4. (Office vault 2, E. and reception room, E.)

Proceedings of board.

Correspondence, board of pardons, ranges from 1897 to 1915.

1897-1898, 1905-1915, sent. 5 letter copies. (Office vault 1, N. E.)

1903-1911, received. 2 letter boxes. (Office vault 2, N.)

Certificates of release, 1901-1904. 1 letter box. (Office vault 1, N.)

Statements of release of prisoners by warden.

Pardon records—Continued.**Restoration to citizenship records.**

Papers relating to cases, range from 1875–1914.

1875, 1882–1885, 1887. 3 pasteboard boxes, No. 171, 315, 396.
(Sub-basement vault, N.)

1889–1914. 2 sfb. No. 43, 45. (Office vault 1, W.)

Citizenship record, 1901–1914. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Office 2, E.)
Statement of men restored to citizenship.

Correspondence, received, 1901–1904. 2 letter boxes. (Office vault 2, N.)

Executions, 1885, 1888. 2 pasteboard boxes, No. 341, 495. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1889–1905. 5 sfb., No. 44, 46. (Office vault 1, W.)

Papers relating to the execution of criminals.

State prison correspondence, received. 1865 and earlier, 1866–1868, 1870, 1872–1874, 1876. 10 pasteboard boxes, No. 29, 70, 163, 194, 212, 372, 388, 565. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Records of notaries public.

Applications for office, 1870–1877. 25 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The boxes are numbered, 52, 77, 81, 82, 138, 146, 149, 172, 214, 223, 231, 257, 263, 293, 351, 375, 389, 443, 457, 485, 522, 523, 548, 630, 634.

Correspondence, received, 1901–1913. 45 letter boxes. (Office vault 2, N.)
Letter boxes from 1901–1910 are No. 1–32.

1915. 1 letter box. (Reception room, E.)

Concerning fees, appointments, etc.

Revocations of notarial commissions, 1901–1913. 1 sfb., No. 75. (Office vault 1, W.)

Record of notaries public, 1872–1876. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, E.)

Official reports and communications to the governor, 1858–date. (Office vault 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

State board of accounting, 1909–1913. 2 sfb. (West.)

Agricultural society, range from 1872 to 1914.

1872, 1874–1882. 9 pasteboard boxes, No. 37, 195, 203, 326, 349, 373, 418, 619, 626. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1881–1914. 2 sfb. (West.)

Return of certificates of appointment of aide to the grand marshal at the inauguration at Washington, 1905. 1 sfb. (West.)

Board of optometry, 1901–1913. 1 sfb., No. 77. (West.)

Board of arbitration and conciliation, 1901–1913. 1 sfb., No. 77. (West.)

State art board, 1903–1914. 1 sfb., No. 25. (West.)

Attorney general, 1889–1904. 1 sfb., No. 1. (West.)

1892 is missing.

Bank examiners, 1889–1914. 10 sfb., No. 27–29, 30–34. (West.)

Banking department reports, 1910. 1 sfb. (West.)

Bank commission, 1911. 1 sfb. (West.)

Barber's board, 1909–1910, 1913. 1 sfb. (West.)

Inspection of bees, 1908–1910. 1 sfb. (West.)

Boiler inspection, 1905. 1 sfb., No. 90. (West.)

Commissions to adjust claims of State on bonds, 1900–1904. 1 sfb., No. 70. (West.)

Bridges over the St. Croix, September, 1909. 1 sfb., No. 3. (West.)

Canvassing board, 1908. 1 sfb. (West.)

Capitol commission, 1894–1899, 1903, 1905, 1907. 1 sfb. (West.)

Official reports and Communications, etc.—Continued.

Capitol maintenance, 1909–1911. 1 sfb. (West.)

Charges against public officials, range from 1867 to 1897. 18 pasteboard boxes and 2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The pasteboard boxes are numbered 11, 34, 43, 65, 109, 168, 218, 252, 269, 301, 306, 352, 416, 458, 482, 527, 602, 649.

Range from 1889 to 1914. 18 sfb. and 1 bundle. (West and north.)
Mainly county officials.

Prevention of cruelty, 1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

Dairy and food department, 1890, 1893, 1900, 1911. 1 sfb., No. 6. (West.)

Board of dental examiners, 1893, 1903–1908, 1910–1914. 1 sfb., No. 8. (West.)

Drainage commission, 1894–1914. 2 sfb., No. 67. (West.)

Board of electricity, 1899–1902, 1904–1908, 1910–1913. 1 sfb., No. 9. (West.)

Entomologist, 1901–1913. 1 sfb., No. 77. (West.)

Reports of public examiner, 1878–1914.

1878–1888, 1891. 19 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The boxes are numbered 26, 45, 47, 85, 88, 111, 167, 216, 224, 241, 254, 273, 322, 332, 403, 420, 500, 511, 609.

1889–1914. 13 sfb., No. 35, 42, 60. (West.)

Expositions.

Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exposition, 1908. 1 sfb. (West.)

Panama Exposition, 1912. 1 sfb. (West.)

State fair, 1912–1913. 1 sfb. (West.)

Fire marshal, 1906, 1909, 1911, 1914. 2 sfb. (West.)

Forestry board, etc., 1881–date. 2 sfb., No. 76. (West.)

Game and fish commission, 1891–1913. 2 sfb. (West.)

Some years missing.

Grain board of appeals, 1902, 1908, 1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

Board of health, 1872–1881. 2 pasteboard boxes, No. 119, 179. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1892–1914. 1 sfb., No. 11. (West.)

Some years missing.

Highway commission, 1907–1910. 1 sfb. (West.)

Historical society, 1910. 1 sfb. (West.)

Horseshoers' board, 1899–1903, 1913. 1 sfb., No. 12. (West.)

Hospital for insane, 1888–1900. 2 sfb., No. 13. (West.)

Hotel inspection department, 1912. 1 sfb. (West.)

Insurance commissioner, 1904–1905. 1 sfb., No. 62. (West.)

Meetings of investment board, 1903. 1 sfb., No. 57. (West.)

Labor commissioner, 1898–1904, 1907, 1911. 1 sfb., No. 5. (West.)

Iron range labor trouble, 1907. 1 sfb. (West.)

Librarian, 1900, 1904, 1906, 1908, 1911–1914. 1 sfb., No. 16. (West.)

Parks, 1891–1905. 1 sfb., No. 18. (West.)

1895. 1 pasteboard box, No. 112. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Some years missing.

Pharmacy, 1895–1911. 1 sfb., No. 22. (West.)

Some reports missing.

Plumbers' board, 1899. 1 sfb., No. 20. (West.)

State prison, 1861–1865. 1 pasteboard box, No. 11. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1887–1900, 1908. 2 sfb., No. 21, and 1 bundle. (West.)

Proclamations from other States, 1902–1914. 5 sfb., No. 64. (West.)

Many of these are printed. Some are missing.

Public instruction, 1910–1914. 2 sfb. (West.)

Official reports and communications, etc.—Continued.

Medical board, 1891, 1905. 1 sfb., No. 19. (West.)

Military districts, 1893–1900. 1 sfb., No. 72. (West.)

Miscellaneous reports, 1887. 1 pasteboard box, No. 300. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Resolution establishing municipal court, 1908. 1 sfb. (West.)

Normal schools, 1899–1914. 1 sfb., No. 23. (West.)

Some reports are missing.

Oil inspection, 1890, 1907–1910, 1914. 2 sfb., No. 17. (West.)

Special report, railroad rates, 1906. 1 sfb. (West.)

Reform school, 1872. 1 pasteboard box, No. 347. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
1890–1899. 1 sfb., No. 74. (West.)

Some reports are missing.

Resignations of public officials, 1889–1914. 2 sfb., No. 54. (West.)

Soldiers' home, etc., 1889. 1 pasteboard box, No. 233. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1898–1910. 1 sfb., No. 24. (West.)

Some reports are missing.

Stallion board, 1909–1910, 1913–1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

State institutions, 1880–1882. 3 pasteboard boxes, No. 238, 484, 510. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

State officers, 1871, 1876–1878. 3 pasteboard boxes, No. 460, 498, 631. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Supreme court, 1858. 1 pasteboard box, No. 345. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Tax matters, 1893. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1907, 1910, 1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

Timber.

Surveyor general of logs, 1867. 1 pasteboard box, No. 11. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1892, 1896, 1901–1902, 1909, 1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

Camp's report of logs, 1872. 1 pasteboard box, No. 323. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Timber board, 1910. 1 sfb. (West.)

Timber matters, 1904. 1 sfb., No. 57. (West.)

Training school at Redwing, etc., 1895–1898, 1906–1908. 2 sfb., No. 55. (West.)

Treaty of Traverse Sioux, 1907. 1 sfb. (West.)

Relative to the buying of the site.

Treasurer's receipts, range from 1893 to 1915. 1 sfb., No. 66. (West.)

University, 1898–1914. 1 sfb., No. 91. (West.)

Vicksburg monument commission, 1901. 1 sfb., No. 56. (West.)

Board of visitors, 1908–1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

Correspondence.**General.****Received.**

1850–1888. 85 pasteboard boxes and 3 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The pasteboard boxes are numbered 6, 7, 23, 30, 35, 59, 92, 93, 117, 130, 140, 143, 150, 154, 160, 162, 169, 174, 192, 194, 207, 213, 215, 225, 227, 245, 258, 259, 264, 266, 268, 270, 282, 285, 292, 298, 305, 310, 314, 318, 342, 354, 355, 358, 362, 365, 374, 383, 385, 387, 392, 394, 401, 409, 410, 429, 430, 433, 448, 452, 453, 461, 465, 487, 516, 525, 536, 538, 541, 543, 556, 564, 575, 578, 579, 582, 587, 589, 593, 595, 615, 635, 640, 646, 650.

Correspondence—Continued.

General—Continued.

Received--Continued.

1900-1914. 76 letter boxes. (Office vault 2, N. E.)

Correspondence from 1900 to 1911 is in letter boxes numbered from 21 to 63.

1915. 22 drawers in 1 wooden filing case. (Office vault 2, S.)

Sent.

1894-1895, 1897-1902, 1905-1914. 38 letter copies. (Office vault 1, N.E.)

The letter copies 1905-1914 are numbered 19-50.

Special.

Applications for office.

1850, 1853-1894. 92 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

83 of the pasteboard boxes are numbered 24, 31, 41, 42, 50, 51, 56, 57, 69, 72, 78, 80, 96, 100, 103, 106, 113, 116, 131, 133, 144, 147, 152, 173, 186, 200, 220, 236, 240, 242, 250, 271, 272, 276, 278, 281, 284, 287, 291, 299, 330, 338, 339, 361, 366, 384, 386, 400, 402, 406, 419, 424, 434, 445, 459, 463, 467, 472, 488, 490, 492, 494, 497, 518, 531, 533, 537, 544, 551, 553, 570, 573, 574, 577, 586, 599, 601, 606, 638, 645.

1897-1904. 2 sfb., No. 59, 80. (Office vault 1, W.)

Resignations from office, 1872, 1875, 1878-1879, 1881, 1887-1888. 7 pasteboard boxes, No. 19, 83, 411, 422, 426, 508. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Military papers. (Sub-basement vault, N., unless otherwise indicated.)

1859, county war matters. 1 pasteboard box, No. 317.

Civil war, 1860-1865. 19 pasteboard boxes.

The boxes are numbered 25, 89, 105, 118, 158, 184, 185, 190, 198, 206, 222, 256, 280, 304, 312, 421, 475, 519, 620, 629.

Indian matters, 1861-1863, 1872-1874, 1880-1881, 1884. 10 pasteboard boxes, No. 13, 126, 191, 255, 425, 471, 489, 501, 614, 633.

The earlier of these Indian war records are concerned with the Sioux war.

Spanish war, 1898. 1 pasteboard box, No. 73.

Payment for military expenses, 1906. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Correspondence with the War Department, 1858-1863. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, E.)

Copies of important letters.

Lands and railroads. (Sub-basement vault, N., unless otherwise indicated.)

Territorial. 1 pasteboard box, No. 503.

1857-1858. 1 pasteboard box, No. 253.

1858-1875, 1877-1889, 1892-1893. 47 pasteboard boxes.

The boxes are numbered 4, 5, 36, 49, 60, 71, 74, 75, 114, 120, 166, 176, 182, 197, 209, 226, 294, 302, 331, 350, 371, 380, 390, 413, 435, 442, 454, 464, 469, 491, 502, 520, 549, 589, 594, 603, 605, 624, 641-643.

These records are not sufficiently classified to enable land records not pertaining to railroads to be treated separately.

1876-1877, 1886-1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Appraisals of State land, 1911. 1 letter box. (Office vault 1, E.)

Correspondence—Continued.**Special—Continued.****Relief papers.**

1871-1878, 1880-1881, 1886-1888. 54 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The boxes are numbered 1, 3, 9, 22, 33, 40, 53-55, 62, 63, 65, 86, 87, 98, 99, 107, 115, 135, 171, 217, 243, 246, 248, 261, 262, 277, 283, 308, 316, 357, 360, 363, 364, 370, 378, 381, 395, 397, 414, 415, 479, 509, 514, 517, 524, 560, 568, 613, 623, 628.

1875, 1881, 1887, 1889-date. 2 pasteboard boxes and 5 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.N.)

San Francisco relief, 1906. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

The correspondence is particularly full on the grasshopper devastations of the seventies. The remainder is concerned with various storms, fires, and other disasters on account of which it was necessary for the State to render aid to the sufferers.

Counties, 1858-1859, 1870-1872, 1876-1879, 1881, 1886-1888. 14 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

The boxes are numbered 15, 101, 128, 180, 297, 337, 348, 440, 521, 539, 545, 604, 611.

Division of counties, 1906. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

The papers are concerned with organization and divisions of counties, county officers, judicial matters, county-seat contests, etc.

Capitol building.

1873, 1881-1882, 1893. 8 pasteboard boxes, No. 44, 187, 204, 228, 296, 307, 507, 547. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1906-1909. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

The majority of the papers relate to the construction of the new capitol.

Internal improvements.

1872-1873, 1881, 1885, 1893. 6 pasteboard boxes, No. 65, 288, 399, 423, 616. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1905-1906. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

These are largely concerned with Mississippi River improvement and drainage matters.

United States Government, 1851-1857, 1859-1867, 1870, 1873-1878, 1881, 1888. 8 pasteboard boxes, No. 32, 58, 165, 431, 535, 590, 610, 618.

Letters from various departments at Washington.

Proposals for loans, 1858. 1 pasteboard box, No. 45. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Letters, received, concerning bonds to be issued for a loan to the State of Minnesota, proposals to buy bonds from various people, etc. Exchange of documents, laws, etc., with other States, 1854-1855, 1858-1859, 1865. 3 pasteboard boxes, No. 10, 202, 600. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Papers show the receipt of the documents by the State of Minnesota.

Claims against the State, 1859-1860. 1 pasteboard box, No. 324. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Commissioner of Immigration, letters received, territorial. 1 pasteboard box, No. 562. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Correspondence—Continued.

Special—Continued.

- State board of immigration, 1867, 1869. 2 pasteboard boxes, No. 11, 76. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Immigration matters, 1872. 1 pasteboard box, No. 608. (Sub-basement vault N.)
- Concerning Civil War, etc., 1860-1864. 1 pasteboard box, No. 61. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Petitions, 1863. 1 pasteboard box, No. 211. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
1911. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)
- Sanitary commission, 1865. 1 pasteboard box, No. 321. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Commissioner of deeds, 1874. 1 pasteboard box, No. 408. (Sub-basement vault N.)
- Dan Roherr, report and vouchers, 1874. 1 pasteboard box, No. 648. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Propositions for the location of a new State prison, 1875. 1 pasteboard box, No. 129. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Suit vs. Duluth, 1875-1878. 1 pasteboard box, No. 644. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Letters from the governors of other States, taxation, 1879. 1 pasteboard box, No. 558. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Absolute property tax sales, 1907, 1910, 1912. 2 letter boxes. (Office vault 2, N.)
- Census bulletin, census, 1880. 1 pasteboard box, No. 155. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Invitations, declinations, etc., 1880, 1881. 2 pasteboard boxes, No. 320, 566. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Thanksgiving proclamations, etc., 1882. 1 pasteboard box, No. 66. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Resignations and acceptances, etc., 1883. 1 pasteboard box, No. 210. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Proclamations by other governors, 1887. 1 pasteboard box, No. 655. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Congratulatory messages, 1887. 1 pasteboard box, No. 651. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Congratulations for Governor Johnson, 1905. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, E.)
- Congratulations for Governor Eberhart, 1909-1910. 2 letter boxes. (Office vault 2, N.)
- Boiler inspection, 1889. 1 pasteboard box, No. 125. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Insurance commission, etc., 1889. 1 pasteboard box, No. 102. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Surveyor general of logs and lumber, 1889. 1 pasteboard box, No. 526. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Dairy commission, 1889, 1893. 2 letter boxes, No. 303, 456. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Redemption of bonds, 1891. 1 pasteboard box, No. 289. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- State board of equalization, etc., 1897. 1 pasteboard box, No. 359. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Reformatory board, 1892. 1 pasteboard box. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Receipts of final letters from S. G. Iverson, State auditor, 1905-1913. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Correspondence—Continued.

Special—Continued.

Letters from various governors on the national conference of charities and corrections, 1907. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Correspondence, sent and received, 1908. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

National conservation, G. Pinchot and others, etc.

In reference to the silver service for the battleship "Minnesota," 1909. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

Relating to delegations and conventions, 1902-1904. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

Official letters, telegraphers' strike, 1905. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, W.)

States, Territories, foreign countries, 1901-1905. 2 letter boxes, No. 32. (Office vault 2, N.)

Efficiency file, 1913-1914. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

Public utilities, 1913. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

Miscellaneous records. (In office vault 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

Taxes.

Certificates of forfeited tax sales, 1906-1914. 60 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Forfeited deed record, 1906-1914. 7 ledgers, lettered A-G. (Office vault 2, E.)

1914-1915. 2 ledgers. (Reception room, W.)

These are deeds by the state to purchasers of forfeited tax property.

Correspondence, 1914-1915. 1 letter box. (East.)

Receipts.

1859-1862, 1872, 1875-1881. 12 pasteboard boxes, No. 18, 201, 239, 427, 450, 481, 486, 512, 540, 580, 599, 636. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1901-1907. 3 sfb. and 1 book. (West and north.)

1901-1902. 1 letter box. (Office vault 2, N.)

Proposals for deposits, 1873. 1 pasteboard box, No. 130. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Opinions of attorney general.

1859, 1861-1866, 1873, 1875, 1880-1882, 1887. 10 pasteboard boxes, No. 219, 309, 319, 335, 407, 455, 528, 532, 567, 595. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1905-1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

Record of opinions of attorney general, 1858-1880. 3 ledgers. (East.)

The last ledger is lettered C.

Index to opinions of attorney general, 1865-1874. 1 ledger. (East.)

No date. 1 ledger. (East.)

Expositions.

A Minneapolis centennial register, 1876. 1 ledger. (East.)

Names of persons attending the centennial exposition in Philadelphia.

Diplomas and medals from the World's Fair Columbian exposition, 1893. 3 pasteboard boxes. (North.)

Medals from Panama exposition. 1 pasteboard box. (North.)

Correspondence, received.

New Orleans exposition, 1884-1886. 3 pasteboard boxes, No. 377, 437, 534. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

American exposition at London, 1886. 1 pasteboard box, No. 336. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Texas world's fair exhibit, 1890. 1 pasteboard box, No. 65. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Miscellaneous records—Continued.

- Commissioner of labor statistics, 1887. 1 pasteboard box, No. 530. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Press clippings, 1891. 1 pasteboard box. (Sub-basement vault, N.)
- Signatures of the governors of other states, 1905. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Life-insurance proxies, 1906. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Applications for detective licenses, 1907. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Miscellaneous cuts. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Power of attorney papers, 1913. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Leases of rooms in state capitol to United States department of agriculture, 1914. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Policy register of the St. Paul fire and rain insurance company, 1893-1895. 1 ledger. (East.)
- Insurance on university property.
- Henry M. Rice memorial statue commission, 1914. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Tabulation of railway rates. 1 book. (East.)
- Compiled for Governor Johnson.
- Swampland contests, 1863-1879. 1 ledger. (East.)
- Indexes. 4 ledgers. (East.)
- Poster, 1908. (North.)
- St. Louis Republic, 100th anniversary.
- 1 flag. (North.)

II. THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

The office of secretary was recognized by the organic act of Minnesota, 1849. The duties of the office as laid down by the act were to record and preserve all the laws and proceedings of the legislative assembly and all acts of the governor in his executive capacity, likewise to record the oaths of officials.¹ The constitution of 1857 provided that election returns should be made to the secretary.² Bonds and corporation records have been in the care of the secretary from an early date.³ The census records, since 1865, have been deposited with him.⁴ Under the act of 1907 the position of clerk of government surveys was created and placed in the control of the secretary of state. The clerk was instructed to receive and preserve the records and archives of the United States surveyor general for the State of Minnesota when the United States land commissioner should give them into the custody of the State.⁵ Many documents have come to the clerk because of this law. Since 1911 records connected with motor vehicles have greatly increased the duties of the secretary.⁶ The general statutes order that all documents of the State not ex-

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915. Sec. 3, p. 8; sec. 11, p. 11.

² Legislative Manual, 1915. Article 5, p. 34.

³ Legislative Manual, 1915. Sec. 11, p. 11. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 85, sec. 8240, p. 1838; Ch. 58, sec. 6148, pp. 1331-1332.

⁴ Legislative Manual, 1915. Article 5, p. 29.

⁵ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 4, sec. 61, p. 20.

⁶ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 13, sec. 2622, p. 592.

pressly required by law to be kept by other State officials shall be turned over to this office.¹

The documents of the office of secretary of state are somewhat scattered. Many of them are located in three rooms or so-called vaults in the sub-basement; A in the southwest corner, B about the center of the west side, and C in the northwest corner. The last-named vault is often spoken of as the shipping room. Other places of storage are the document clerk's office and his two adjoining vaults, designated, from south to north, as 1 and 2. The remainder of the archives are in the office of the secretary and his office vault. The documents would be more accessible if centralized. This could be accomplished by concentrating the supplies, which under the present system take up much space, in several vaults and placing the older records in the others.

The documents in sub-basement vault A are in pasteboard boxes and bundles. Owing to persons examining the documents and failing to put the boxes back where they belong the records in some cases are in confusion. The records in sub-basement vault C are in ledgers, pasteboard boxes, and bundles. They are well arranged, but as the room is large are hard to find among the mass of supplies. The material in the document clerk's office is in books and pasteboard boxes. There are quite a number of records also in an iron cupboard. In the document clerk's office vault the records are in ledgers, books, and bundles, the latter needing further classification; in vault 2 they are in ledgers. In the office of the secretary of state the current documents and the card indexes are in wooden filing cases. The secretary of state's office vault is long and narrow. The documents there are in steel filing boxes, ledgers, and bundles. Partial indexes exist, the best of which are those for the corporation and motor-vehicle records, but there is no index to the entire content of this vault or to others. Only in the case of the secretary's office vault and vault 1 of the document clerk's office is there adequate fire and water protection. This situation endangers many valuable records.

For historical purposes the archives of the secretary of state present some of the most interesting materials found in the survey.

Legislative records.

Legislative bills and papers, range from 1849 to 1913.

1849-1887, 1895. 62 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

1851-1852, 1889-1913. 53 pasteboard boxes. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N. E.)

1913-1915. 5 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

No date. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

This bundle is simply entitled "old bills and papers" and needs classification.

¹ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 4, sec. 58, p. 20.

Legislative records—Continued.

Legislative bills and papers—Continued.

No date. 2 sfb. (Office vault, S.)

Bills introduced into the house, No. 1-298. Bills introduced into the senate, No. 1-256.

These are the original and engrossed bills for the general and special laws.

Legislative bills and papers, range from 1891 to 1913. (Sub-basement.)

1891, 1895-1903. 17 pasteboard boxes. (Vault A, N.)

1903-1905. 2 pasteboard boxes. (Vault C, E.)

1911-1913. 23 pasteboard boxes. (Vault C, W.)

These are the original bills which did not pass. The file is incomplete.

House and senate bills, 1857-1913.

1857-1907. 103 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

1857. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, S.)

1907-1913. 17 ledgers. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N. E.)

No date. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

No date. 1 ledger. (Auditor's office, sub-basement vault A, W.)

A record of bills introduced into the house and senate and a brief comment as to subsequent disposal.

House and senate journals, 1849-1893.

1849-1893. 82 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

1849. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

The ledgers are variously titled house journal, records of the council, journals of the council, senate journals and council register. The journals are now printed.

Record of bills referred to legislative committees, range from 1878 to 1913. (Sub-basement vault unless otherwise indicated.)

Senate committees.

Judiciary, 1878. (Auditor's office, sub-basement vault A, W.)

Judiciary, 1878-1884, 1886-1909. 21 ledgers. (Vault B, S.)

Judiciary, 1909-1913. 3 ledgers. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

Finance, 1887. 1 ledger. (Vault B, S.)

Agriculture, 1891. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Miscellaneous committees, 1911. 1 ledger. (Vault B, S.)

House committees.

Finance, 1883. 1 ledger. (Vault B, W.)

Towns and counties, 1887. 1 ledger. (Vault B, S.)

Railroads, 1889. 1 ledger. (Vault B, W.)

Railroads, 1897. 1 ledger. (Vault B, S.)

Banks and banking, 1897. 1 ledger. (Vault A, E.)

Taxes, insurance, agriculture, 1905. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

House committee, 1911. 1 ledger. (Vault B, S.)

Probably house judiciary committee.

Miscellaneous committees.

1891. 1 ledger. (Vault B, S.)

1897. 1 ledger. (Vault A, N.)

1899. 5 loose sheets. (Vault A, N.) The sheets have been cut from a ledger.

These ledgers do not specify the house to which the committee belongs.

Legislative records—Continued.

Records of titles of bills passed, range from 1859 to 1905.

1859-1864. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1891. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

1897. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

1905. 1 ledger. (Office vault, S.)

No date. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)

The date has been cut off.

Enrolled laws, 1858-1913.

1858-1903. 87 ledgers. (Document clerk's office vault 2, C.)

1905-1913. 8 ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

These are the original general and special laws as enrolled. They are lacking for the territorial period.

Revised laws, 1905. 2 ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

The laws of the State, revised, to 1905.

Supplements to Minnesota law, 1903-1911. 4 boxes. (Sub-basement vault C, W.)

Contained in newspapers.

Constitutional amendments. 1 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

Petition to vote on the division of St. Louis county. 1 sfb. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Petitions, reports to committees and other miscellaneous papers, 1849-1854. 2 sacks. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

The papers are badly in need of classification.

Senate reapportionment map, 1909. 1 roll. (Document clerk's office vault 2, E.)

Charts of seating arrangements of the senate, 1907, 1911, 1915. 3 diagrams. (Office vault, S.)

Chart of seating arrangements of the house, 1911. 1 blue print. (Document clerk's office vault 1, E.)

Election records.

Statements filed by candidates for the primaries, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

Nominating petitions presented to the secretary of state, 1912. 16 bundles. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

These belong to the progressive party.

Appointment of personal committees, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

Papers concerning primary elections.

Credentials of republican delegates, 1910. 1 package. (Office vault, S.)

Election returns, 1887-1912. 31 ledgers and 9 bundles. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W., N. E.)

Abstracts of votes cast for county, State, and national offices, and for constitutional amendments. Primary election returns after 1902. The abstracts are fairly complete.

Abstracts of votes, Marshall County election, 1884. 1 bundle. (Office vault, S.)

Special election in regard to fifty thousand dollar bonds.

Election contests.

1893, 1897. 1 bundle and 1 roll. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Between 1891 and 1897. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Certificates of election.

Members of the legislature, 1891, 1895, 1899. 2 bundles. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Papers concerning primary elections—Continued.

Certificates of election—Continued.

County elections and members of the legislature, 1914. 1 roll. (Office vault, S.)

Affidavits of newspapers concerning election announcements, 1912-1914. 1 letter box. (Office vault, N.)

Sworn statements that newspapers have published certain notices.

Record of county officers, 1860-1872. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)

Executive records.

Civil appointments, 1849-1913. 7 ledgers. (Office vault, S. and N.)

Contain the name and residence of person appointed, date of appointment, etc. The ledgers for the State period are lettered A-F. The Territorial ledger has some sheets torn out and placed in the front of it. Ledger A has a broken back.

Records of executive session, 1858-1864, 1881. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Proceedings of the sessions.

Official letters and communications, 1858-1914. 9 ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

Copies of important documents, both sent and received, by the secretary of state. The phrase "railroad liens" is added to the title after 1879, and the series from then on is largely a corporation record.

Indexes to official letters and communications, 1862-1914. 2 ledgers. (Office vault, S.)

Bond records. (In office vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Bonds of notaries public, 1849-1914. 112 sfb. (South.)

Bonds of county officials, 1891-1915. 84 sfb. and 10 bundles. (East.)

Bonds filed with the secretary of state for county treasurers, sheriffs, attorneys, coroners, court commissioners, registrars of deeds, etc.

Register of bonds for county officers, range from 1883 to 1887. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

Miscellaneous bonds, range from 1897 to 1915. 26 sfb. and 1 bundle. (West and south.)

These include collection agencies, treasurers of State institutions, detectives, terminal warehouses, tree pedlars, commission merchants, weigh masters, etc.

Bonds and oaths, 1849-1915. 14 sfb. (West.)

Official bonds and oaths, 1858-1915. 6 ledgers, lettered A-F. (North.)

These relate to State officials.

Index to official bonds and oaths, 1858-1915. 2 ledgers. (South.)

Minnesota State railroad bonds, 1858-1866. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

Records of the proceedings of the board of commissioners.

Corporation records. (In office vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Record of incorporations, 1857-1914. 77 ledgers. (North.)

Date of filing incorporation articles in the office of the secretary of state and the copy of the articles of incorporation. The corporations are alphabetized.

Copies of articles of incorporation, 1884-1914. 12 large letter boxes. (South.)

The papers are contained in boxes marked "invoices," but have to do with incorporation matters.

Incorporation certificate record, 1889-1913. 5 ledgers, lettered B-E. (North.)

Corporation records—Continued.

Record of certificates of incorporation, 1907-1915. 3 ledgers. (North.)

The current ledger is loose leaf.

Amendments to certificates of incorporation, 1907. 1 pasteboard box. (North.)

Index to articles of incorporation and affidavits of publication, 1861-1886. 1 ledger. (South and north.)

Index to articles of incorporation, 1883-1886. 1 ledger. (South.)

Affidavits of newspapers publishing notices, 1874-1915. 83 scrapbooks, No. 1-185000. (South.)

Material relating to articles of incorporation.

Records of affidavits of publication, 1879-1885, 1912-1914. 2 ledgers. (South.)

Foreign corporations, 1899-1915. 87 sfb. No. 1-1270. (West.)

Every corporation is assigned a number and papers pertaining to the corporation are filed away under that number. The title is omitted after number 1596. The files consist of copies of charters, articles of incorporation, affidavits, reports, etc.

Index to foreign corporations, 1899-date. 4 wooden drawers. (Office, E.)

Domestic corporations, 1867-1915. 7 sfb. No. 1-1054. (West.)

Papers similar to those of foreign corporations.

Index to domestic corporations, 1867-date. 31 wooden drawers. (Office, E.)

Index to corporations, 1887-1895. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

Index to corporations, 1891. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

Index to social corporations, 1887-date. 4 wooden drawers. (Office, E.)

Index to corporations, 1861-1907. 4 ledgers. (North.)

Records of railroads, 1867-1915. 14 ledgers. No. 1-14. (North.)

Contain copies of contracts, mortgages, bonds, deeds of trust, and other papers.

Official letters and communications and railroad liens, 1858-1879. 9 ledgers. (North.)

See executive records.

Railroad mortgage, 1896. 1 roll. (South.)

Mortgage land record, 1871-1875. 1 ledger (South.)

Relating to railroads.

Record of railroad mortgages, 1898-1901. 1 letter box. (South.)

Old railroad reports, 1887-1897. 1 sfb. (West.)

Railroads, 1858-1912. 3 sfb. No. 1-101. (West.)

Acceptances of railroads to gross earning tax law, 1857-1881. 1 sfb. (West.)

Services, railway company. 1 sfb. (West.)

Papers in regard to condemnation of property for railroad purposes.

General index to books of railroad records, 1858-1903. 1 ledger. (South.)

Steam vessels' insurance certificates, 1885-1887. 1 sfb. (West.)

Index to railroad record of steamboats, 1859-1913. 1 ledger. No. 1. (South.)

Charters and acceptances, 1893-date. 4 sfb. (West.)

Catholic churches, 1912-1915. 1 sfb. No. 1-62. (West.)

Index to religious corporations, 1882-1915. 4 wooden drawers. (Office, E.)

Record of Catholic church, 1877-1901. 2 ledgers. (North.)

Incorporation of Catholic churches.

Corporation records—Continued.

Certificates of banks, 1895. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
 Certificates of incorporation of State banks, 1907-1915. 3 ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

Trade-marks, 1889-1915. 4 sfb. No. 1-679. (West.)

Index to trade-marks, 1893-1914. 1 ledger. (West.)

Record of trade-marks, 1899-1914. 3 ledgers. No. 5, 7, 9, in official letters and communications and railroad liens. (North.)

See executive records.

Liens, 1891-1915. 3 sfb. No. 1-401. (West.)

Claims against corporations.

Transient merchants' and pedlars' licenses, 1909. 1 sfb. (West.)

Commissioner of deeds. 2 sfb. (West.)

Agricultural associations, 1911-1912. 1 sfb. (West.)

Miscellaneous, 1858-1913. 9 sfb. No. 1-1326. (West.)

Incorporation papers.

Service of process papers, 1858-1915. 1 sfb. (West.)

Record of service of process, 1877-1912. 4 ledgers. (North.)

The last three ledgers are lettered B, C, and D.

Correspondence, 1902-1914.

1902-1910, sent. 18 letter copies. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1904-1913, received. 127 letter boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, N. E. W.)

1912-1913, received. 2 letter boxes. (South.)

1913-1914, sent and received. 18 letter boxes. (North.)

Census records.

Returns of the United States Government census, 1850-1870. 24 books. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

1850. 1 book.

1860. 8 books.

1870. 15 books.

Returns of State census, 1865-1885. 125 books. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N. S.)

1865. 11 books.

1875. 31 books.

1885. 83 books.

Returns of State census, 1895-1905. 227 books. (Sub-basement vault C, W.)

1895. 109 books.

1905. 118 books.

The United States census is taken on the even years and the State census is taken on the odd years. The State census returns are the originals.

A record of census takers, 1905. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, N.)

Accounts, 1905 census. 1 book. (Sub-basement vault A, N.)

Stub receipts for supplies, salaries, etc.

Accounts, 1905 census. 1 book. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Receipts for supplies.

Forms used by census bureau. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, N.)

This is a scrapbook of census blanks.

Census divisions of the fifth Minnesota district, together with an estimated extent of the population, n. d. 1 folder. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Land records.

United States survey. (Document clerk's office vault 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

Original field notes. 669 books. (South and west.)

The surveys show township and range for the fourth and fifth meridian, Indian reservations and islands. These records have been turned over to the State by the Government.

Copies of original field notes. 237 books. (Document clerk's office, E.)

The copies were made for the State soon after she came into possession of her public lands. They contain many mistakes. 27 of the books are unbound.

Correspondence, received, 1907. 2 bundles. (South.)

Official letters of the department of the interior to the surveyor general.

Indexes to surveys of islands. (East.)

State surveys. (In document clerk's office vault 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

Swamp land lists and plats, 1860-1893. (In steel cupboards, document clerk's office, E.)

Correspondence.

1905-1908. 3 letter copies. (East.)

Letters sent out by clerk of government surveys.

1908. 1 letter copy. (South.)

Letters sent out by the secretary of state in regard to surveying matters.

1910-1912, received. 1 letter box. (East.)

Notes descriptive of timber existing in certain towns and ranges.

1 bundle of loose papers. (East.)

Surveys of land, n. d. 2 bundles of blue prints. (East.)

Map of Minnesota. 1 roll. (South.)

Miscellaneous maps. 1 bundle. (West.)

Right of way maps, 1893-1894. 2 rolls. (Office vault, E.)

The Tamarac and Sand Hill River ditches.

Miscellaneous records.**State printing.**

Record of printing done for various departments, 1880-1881. 1 ledger. (Document clerk's office vault 1, N.)

Record of printing done for various departments, 1884-1894. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault B, W. E.)

Papers pertaining to State printing, 1903-1904. 1 bundle. (Office vault, S.)

Printing contracts, 1874-1908. 1 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

Stationery. (Sub-basement vaults.)

Accounts, 1877-1878, 1884-1891. 2 ledgers. (Vault B, E.)

Accounts, 1889-1894, 1896-1900. 9 ledgers. (Vault A, E.)

Account of paper stock, 1886-1891. 1 ledger. (Vault B, E.)

Record of stationery stock, 1895-1896. 2 ledgers. (Vault B, W.)

Shipping department.

Receipts for house and senate files, 1905-1907. 5 books. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Receipts for Minnesota reports, 1888-1904. 4 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

Receipts for Minnesota reports, no date. 5 books. (Document clerk's office, E., and document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Miscellaneous records—Continued.

Shipping department—Continued.

Receipts, 1909–1911. 1 pasteboard box. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)
These consist of bills of lading of the American Express Company and post office registration receipts.

Receipts of Great Northern Express Companies, 1910–1911. 8 books.
(Sub-basement vault, A, N.)

Receipts of Great Northern Express Company, 1913–1914. 30 books.
(Office vault, S.)

Correspondence, received, 1909. 1 letter box. (Document clerk's office vault 1, E.)

Miscellaneous, concerning document clerk.

Correspondence, received, 1912–1913. 2 letter boxes. (Document clerk's office, E.)

Applications for documents.

Invoice of legislative supplies, 1911. 1 letter box. (Document clerk's office, E.)

Monument papers.

Vicksburg and Shiloh monuments correspondence. 2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

Deposited by General C. C. Andrews, 1911.

Vicksburg monument plans. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Motor vehicles. (Office vault unless otherwise indicated.)

Motor cycle license applications, 1913–1914. 3 pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Motor cycle record, current. 2 ledgers. (Center.)

Contains registration of motor cycles. The models range from 1908–1915.

Record of dealers and manufacturers, 1911–1913. 2 ledgers. (South.)

The title on these ledgers is "Record of Bills. House Committee."

Motor vehicle license applications, 1914. 1 package. (South.)

Manufacturers' and dealers' applications.

Form applications, motor vehicle business, 1914. 1 package. (South.)

Relating to the requirements of the State upon manufacturers and dealers.

Examination papers for chauffeurs, 1912–1913. 2 rolls. (South.)

Chauffeurs' applications for licenses, 1911–1915. 5 sfh. (North.)

Chauffeurs' applications for licenses, 1913–1914. 4 bundles. (South.)

Renewal applications for licenses, 1913. 1 bundle. (South.)

These are mainly for chauffeurs' licenses.

Chauffeur record, 1909–1912. 1 ledger. (South.)

Automobile license applications, 1911–1914. 72 pasteboard boxes.
(Sub-basement vault A, W, and N.)

There are enough license applications tied up in bundles to make about five boxes more.

Automobile license applications, 1914. 2 bundles. (South.)

Automobile numbers, 1911. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Report of auto department to secretary of state, 1913. 1 package.
(South.)

Motor vehicle record, 1910–1911. 4 ledgers. (Document clerk's office vault 2, N.)

Registration of vehicles with description.

Index to motor vehicle records, 1911–1915. 107 wooden drawers. (Of-
fice N.)

Miscellaneous records—Continued.**Reports. (Office vault unless otherwise indicated.)**

- Humane society, 1912. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Board of audit, 1886-1893. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Boiler inspection, 1907-1910, 1912-1914. 1 sfb. (West.)
- Oil inspection, 1895. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- Oil inspection chart, 1898. (South.)
- Reformatory reports, no date. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- Treasurer's reports, 1890-1906. 6 boxes and 10 bundles.
- Miscellaneous reports, 1897-1904. 1 sfb. (West.)

Accounts.

- Minnesota Territory, 1849-1852. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)
- Record of expenses.
- Account, per diem, of the members and officers of the State senate, 1859-1861. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)
- Account book, 1895. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)
- Accounts, 1894-1895. 1 roll. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- Expense accounts of various departments. The sheets have been cut from a ledger.
- Account book, 1893-1912. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)
- Accounts, no date. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)
- Journal, 1894-1895. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)
- Record of expenses.
- State board of corrections and charities, 1888-1894. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)
- Record of expenses.
- Journal of State board of corrections and charities, 1889-1891. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)
- Journal of the department of education, 1892-1895. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)
- Treasury receipts, 1899-1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault, W.)
- Capitol bids, 1898-1901. 2 sfb. (Office vault, S.)
- Receipts, 1889-1908. 4 sfb. (Office vault, W.)
- Receipts of Minnesota reports. 4 sfb. (Office vault, W.)
- Cancelled checks.

Correspondence, investigations, etc.**Correspondence.**

- Commissioner of the World's Fair, Chicago, 1891-1895, received. 9 letter boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)
- The subjects include flour exhibits, superintendent, proposals, bills, reports, miscellaneous papers.
- Drainage commission, 1895-1901, received. 1 letter box. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)
- Contains also the minutes held at the meetings of the board of audit of the Red River Valley drainage commission, 1903-1909.
- Railroad and warehouse commission, 1902. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)
- The bundle is entitled, "Hon., the Senate of Minnesota, the Capitol, St. Paul. Railroads." Contains correspondence and reports of commission with the legislature concerning passenger rates.

Unclaimed letters returned to the secretary of state. 1 bundle.

(Document clerk's office vault, E.)

Miscellaneous records—Continued.

Correspondence, investigations, etc.—Continued.

Papers in investigation of cases. 3 bundles. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Agricultural papers, 1892-1893. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Opinions of attorney general and supreme court, 1888-1912. 1 sfb. (Office vault, W.)

Papers concerning notarial resignations, 1910-1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault, S.)

Minutes, 1901-1902. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Executive council of the federation of labor. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Locating insane hospital. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Photographs of several State institutions. 1 bundle. (Document clerk's office vault 1, W.)

Photographs, 1 pasteboard box. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

III. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

The office of attorney general was created by organic act of Minnesota, on March 3, 1849.¹ His duties, as defined by law, are to appear for the State in cases before the United States and State courts, keep a register of all legal proceedings in which he appears and of the several steps therein and retain a copy of all opinions given by himself or his assistants. He also is required to make annual reports to the governor of the legal business transacted in his office. Reports of criminal actions from county attorneys are received by the attorney general.²

The office of the attorney general is in the new capitol building. He has six rooms opening on a central corridor. The majority of the records are kept in two vaults adjoining the south side of this corridor, which are designated A and B from west to east. A few records are kept in an anteroom. The remainder of the records are in a sub-basement vault.

The writer was only allowed to make a cursory examination of the documents in vaults A and B and the anteroom. The records appear to be well classified and well kept. The court cases, containing a complete history of each case handled by the attorney general, are in steel filing boxes on the south side of vault A. On the east side of this vault are the annual reports of the county attorneys concerning criminal actions, also in steel filing boxes, and covering the period 1880 to date. On the west side are a number of steel filing boxes pertaining to inheritance taxes. On this side, also, is a large series of correspondence, in steel filing boxes, containing letters sent and received. Each letter is numbered and notes are often attached to

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 10.

² General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, ch. 4, sec. 100-107, pp. 26-28.

a letter, which indicate its subject. Around the bottom of the vault are numerous ledgers. Vault B contains mainly printed reports and supplies, but also a few ledgers and indexes and one letter file. In the anteroom are complete ledger and card indexes to the archives in vault A. The impression gained from the office and office vaults was very favorable as concerns the condition of the records and their classification. The vaults are fireproof and the documents in the anteroom are of such a nature that they could be quickly transferred there in case of necessity.

The records in the sub-basement vault, which were examined more closely, are in bad condition. The vault, in common with many others of the sub-basement, is not fire or water proof. Within it, wooden boxes and printed reports are piled up in confusion. On the west side are the manuscript archives, consisting of a large series of correspondence, mainly in letter boxes. Many of these boxes are in a poor state of preservation and the letters themselves show the effect of the dust and dirt in the vault.

Four letter copies of Attorney General Moses E. Clapp have strayed in some way into sub-basement vault A of the auditor's office. They are on the east side of the vault. These should, properly, be returned to the office of the attorney general.

Correspondence. (In sub-basement vault west, unless otherwise indicated.)

General.

1882-1893, received. 36 letter boxes.

The boxes are broken.

1887, sent. 2 letter copies.

The letters are faded.

1887-1890, sent. 4 letter copies, No. 3-6. (Auditor's office, sub-basement vault A, W.)

1890-1895, sent. 6 letter copies.

1894-1905, sent and received. 93 letter boxes.

Boxes in bad shape.

Special.

1886-1887, sent. Opinions. 1 letter copy.

Letters are faded.

1903-1905, sent and received. Swamp land. 1 letter box.

IV. THE AUDITOR.

The first territorial auditor of Minnesota, J. E. McKusick, was appointed November 3, 1849. The constitution of 1857 made provision for the continuance of the office.¹ The duties of the auditor have fallen naturally into two main divisions, the auditing department and the land department.² In regard to the first, from very early times, he has superintended and managed the fiscal affairs of the State.³ In this capacity, he keeps records of the claims against

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915, article 5, pp. 34-35.

² Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 233.

³ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, sec. 65, p. 20.

the State presented to him, of the warrants for the payment of such claims which he, in turn, presents to the treasurer,¹ of the drafts for money due the State, also given over to the treasurer for collection, of the receipts and disbursements of the treasury by funds and otherwise, of tax abstracts and accounts and of the boards of equalization and investment.²

In connection with land matters, the auditor keeps a record of lands leased and sold, the timber, minerals, and grass upon the lands, the principle and interest paid for them, and deeds, leases, and other contracts in connection with lands. The conveyances of land from the United States to the State and from the State to purchasers are also recorded.³ The public lands of Minnesota have been a source of considerable income for some time. This has been particularly true of mineral lands since 1890.

The archives of the auditor's office are the largest in bulk of any of the State departments. They are found in two sub-basement vaults, the smaller of which has been called A and the larger B; in an office; and two adjoining vaults, which are designated, respectively, from west to east, office vault 1, and office vault 2.

In sub-basement vault A, the documents are in bundles, ledgers, letter boxes, and large pasteboard boxes. They are fairly well arranged considering the character of the material, which deals with many different subjects. The vault is protected only by a wooden door covered with tin.

The archives in sub-basement vault B, which are mainly accounts, vouchers, and warrants, are in large galvanized tin boxes, about 2½ feet long, and 2 feet high, numbered consecutively from 1 to over 360. The practice of using metal boxes of this sort to protect the documents is a very good one, but has its disadvantages from the point of view of classification. Also, the records are difficult to get at when the boxes are piled three or four deep with the labels turned the wrong way. The condition of this vault could be improved by arranging the boxes according to number and stenciling the contents on the outside instead of using labels. The amount of the records in these boxes is so large that, for the contents of them, little more was done than the taking of the titles. The boxes from which the labels had disappeared were examined. There is an index to the vault in a small ledger in the office. The vault itself is simply a portion of the eastern end of the sub-basement fenced off by a lattice. Properly speaking, it is a room rather than a vault, but goes by the latter title. The records of both sub-basement vaults are noncurrent.

¹ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, sec. 67, 68, p. 21.

² General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, sec. 72, p. 22. Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 234.

³ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, sec. 73, p. 22. Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 234.

The archives in office vault 1 are in ledgers and steel filing boxes. They are devoted almost exclusively to land matters and are both old and current documents. They are well classified and protected.

The archives in office vault 2 pertain largely to the auditing department and are contained in ledgers and steel filing boxes. There is a partial index to the contents of this vault in the vault itself. The documents are well arranged; most of them are current records. The vault is fireproof.

The documents in the office are mainly at the west end of the room and are found in letter boxes, ledgers, and steel filing drawers. A portion of these records might be removed to the vaults in case of fire, but the number of them would make it somewhat difficult to achieve this hastily.

Tax records.

Tax lists.

Lands reported for taxation by the United States land office, 1903-1908. 3 sfb. (Office vault 1, E.)

Lands reported for taxation up to 1899. 1 galvanized tin box. No. 65. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

Reports of gross earnings for purposes of taxation. (In office vault 2 N, unless otherwise indicated.)

Express companies, 1907-1912. 1 sfb.

Freight companies, 1909-1912. 1 sfb.

Railroad companies, 1894-1912. 3 sfb.

Telephone companies, 1905-1913. 10 sfb.

Reports of equipment of freight lines, 1897-1909. 1 sfb.

Reports of tonnage of vessels, 1905-1908, 1910-1912. 2 sfb.

Reports of property assessments of North Dakota, 1912. 1 roll. (Office, W.)

Miscellaneous, 1901-1912. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Report of assessment on iron properties, 1907. 1 book. (Office vault 1, E.)

Board of equalization papers, abatements, etc.

Proceedings of county boards of equalization, 1898-1900, 1903, 1905, 1907-1908. 7 scrapbooks. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Newspaper clippings.

Proceedings of State board of equalization, 1871-1908. 8 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

The material in these bundles is roughly classified after 1896. It pertains to proceedings of the board, appointments to office, statements of corporations, reports of proceedings of county boards of equalization, assessment sheets, newspaper clippings, unclaimed letters returned by the post office, registered letter and express company receipts and charts relating to taxation.

Record of proceedings of state board of equalization, 1891-1908. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, S.)

Abatements.

Range from 1892-1909. 14 galvanized tin boxes, No. 28, 82, 86, 92, 101, 118, 126, 137, 146, 149, 156, 173, 175, 307. (Sub-basement vault B, W. N. E. S. C.)

Records of correction of abatements, 1895-1907. 3 ledgers. (Office vault 2, W.)

Tax records—Continued.

Tax levies, abstracts, etc.

Abstracts of tax levies, 1899–1914.

1899–1904. 6 folders containing loose sheets. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1904–1914. 11 folders containing loose sheets. (Office vault 1, C.)

Abstracts of tax lists, 1878–1899.

1878–1897. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 51, 117, 140, 154. (Sub-basement vault B, W. N. E.)

1891–1898. Folders with loose sheets. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Abstracts of personal property assessments.

1867–1878. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 143. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

1874, 1889–1896, 1898–1908. 15 folders containing loose sheets. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Abstracts of real estate assessments, 1890–1908. 10 folders containing loose sheets. (Sub-basement vault A, W. E.)

The entries occur every two years.

Assessment roll, 1860. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Entries in about one-third of the book.

Inebriate hospital license tax, 1911–1914. 6 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Since 1907, a two per cent tax has been levied on liquor licenses for the support of the above institution.

Record of inebriate hospital tax, 1908–1914. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, W.)

Inheritance tax records, 1911–1913. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, W.)

Record of taxes levied on various counties, 1850–1862. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Delinquent taxes.

Unredeemed absolute property and forfeited tax list, 1902–1911. Bound sheets. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Forfeited tax lists, published in newspapers, 1900. 2 letter boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Applications for satisfaction of tax judgments, 1908–1912. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Sales lists, 1862–1879. 18 ledgers. (Office vault 1, W.)

Description of lands sold, by counties. Probably lands forfeited for taxes.

Sales of absolute property.

1902. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, E.)

1896–1905. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 153, 229, 230, 235. (Sub-basement vault, W.)

Tax settlement papers.

1860–1878. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 122, 142. (Sub-basement vault B, W. N.)

1910–1915. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Bond records.

School bonds.

Common school district bonds, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

School district bond record, 1887–1914. 5 ledgers, No. 1, B2, C, D, E. (Office vault 2, W.)

Register of school fund bonds, 1862–1883. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Bond records—Continued.

School bonds—Continued.

Register of permanent school fund bonds, 1876-1913. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, W.)

Register of permanent school fund bonds. 1903-1909. (Office vault 2, W.)

Also contains minutes of meetings of the State investment board.

Register of county and municipal bonds, 1897-1914. 1 ledger, lettered D. (Office vault 2, W.)

County treasurers' bonds, 1864-1889, 1907-1909. 4 sfb. (Office vault 1, S. E.)

Railway.

Old bonds and papers. 1 galvanized tin box. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

Redeemed Minnesota State railway bonds, 1881. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, S.)

Railroad adjustment bonds, 1881. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Paid coupons of Minnesota railway adjustment bonds, No. 1-20. n. d. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, W.)

Record of bond tribunal, 1881. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Relating to proceedings of tribunal for settlement of Minnesota railway bonds.

Claims against Transit Valley Railway, 1881. 5 sfb. (Office vault, 1, S.)

In regard to adjustment of State railway bonds.

Claims against Minneapolis and Cedar Valley railway, 1881. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, S.)

Miscellaneous.

Drainage commission, 1908-1910, 1913-1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Register of bonds, 1881-1891. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, W.)

Register, 1891-1913. 2 ledgers. (Office vault 2, W.)

Register, 1902-1910. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, W.)

American bank note company bond. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 97. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

Bank records. (In sub-basement vault A, unless otherwise indicated.)

Register of stock, 1858-(?). 1 ledger.

Register, 1859-(?). 1 ledger.

1860-1863. 1 ledger, no title.

Record of old State banks.

1859-(?). 1 ledger.

1858-1862. 1 ledger.

Registers, no date. 6 ledgers, numbered 1-6.

Record of certificates of incorporation, 1858-1871. 1 ledger.

Record of assets of insolvent banks, range from 1883-1912. 1 ledger.

Correspondence, received, 1858-1861, 1863-1868. 2 books.

Loan and trust company records.

Miscellaneous papers, 1884. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 104. (Sub-basement vault B, N.)

Correspondence.

1884-1898, sent. 2 letter copies. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

1883-1885, 1888-1893, received. 2 letter boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Loan and trust company records—Continued.

Title and trust companies.

Correspondence, received, 1883-1894. 2 letter boxes. Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Land records. (In office vault 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

Land selections.

These are lists of lands selected from the public domain according to congressional grants. The dates are those of the approval of the selections by the land commissioner in Washington. As these lands have been taken over from time to time, the dates merely represent the time of the first and last selections.

Indemnity school lands, 1857-1908. 5 ledgers. (West.)

Indemnity school lands, 1882-1891. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

Indemnity school lands, 1883-1904, 1911. 2 sfb. (East.)

University lands, 1865-1885. 1 ledger. (West.)

Swamp lands, 1881-1906. 8 sfb. (South.)

Swamp lands, 1860-1912. 40 ledgers. (North and east.)

Agricultural college, 1868-1896. 1 sfb. (South.)

Agricultural college, 1867-1879. 1 ledger. (West.)

Internal improvement, 1867-1907. 1 ledger. (West.)

Salt spring lands, 1868-1896. 1 sfb. (South.)

Salt spring lands, 1885-1898. 1 ledger. (West.)

Experimental station, 1905. 1 ledger. (North.)

For forestry purposes.

State capitol, 1892-1902. 1 ledger. (North.)

White Earth Indian reservation, 1901. Bound sheets in flexible covers. (West.)

Railroad lands.

H. and D. railroad, 1873-1900. 1 ledger. (West.)

St. Paul and Sioux City railroad, 1867-1895. 1 ledger. (West.)

Southern Minnesota railroad, 1860-1909. 1 ledger. (West.)

Winona and St. Peter, 1860-1897. 1 ledger. (West.)

Minnesota Central, 1860-1874. 1 ledger. (West.)

Transit Valley and conflicting limits, 1867-1882. 1 ledger. (West.)

Northern Pacific, 1873-1874. 1 ledger. (West.)

St. Paul and Pacific, 1860-1874. 1 ledger. (West.)

Duluth and Iron Range railroad, no date. 1 bundle. (West.)

Record of railroad grants, no date. 1 ledger. (West.)

Only a few entries.

Letters and papers relating to land grants, 1863-1899. 1 sfb. (East.)

Indexes to railroad selections according to congressional grants.
2 small ledgers with soft leather backs. (South.)

Final entries, United States land offices, 1903-1914. 4 ledgers. (East and south.)

Land examinations.

1891-1899. 4 note books. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Plats of land showing location and description of same.

Appraisals of school lands, no date. 25 note books. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Description and estimate of value of land.

Land records—Continued.

Old appraisals of school lands, no date. 1 ledger. (West.)

Appraisals of school land, 1866-1896, 1898-1905. 2 ledgers. (West.)

One ledger contains loose sheets.

Appraisals of indemnity school lands, 1897, 1900, 1909, 1912-1913.

Bound sheets. (West.)

Appraisals of land, 1906-1912. 2 ledgers. (North and south.)

Swamp land record, no date. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Few entries containing descriptions of lands.

Swamp land record, no date. 1 ledger. (West.)

Contain description of land.

Swamp land contests. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

1908-1909. 24 note books.

1909-1912. 4 bundles of loose sheets.

Descriptions of disputed lands, mainly pertaining to the White Earth and Leech Lake reservations.

Deed records.

1858-date. 56 sfb. (South.)

These deeds pertain to the Alexander Ramsey, St. Anthony, Minneapolis, Horace Austin, Itasca, Fort Ridgely, and St. Croix State parks, sanitarium for consumptives, St. Paul and Detroit fish hatcheries, the hospital for indigent and crippled children, girls' industrial school, naval militia boat house, the St. Peter, Rochester and Fergus Falls hospitals, the school for the deaf and feeble minded, the inebriate farm, the Acton monument site, the Albert Lea creamery plant, the new Historical Society, armory sites, the soldiers' home, the experiment station, the agricultural school, the Cruxton sub-station, the Grand Rapids sub-station, the University, Duluth demonstration and the university forest experiment station, the new capitol site, the old capitol site, the State prison, the Mankato, Moorhead, Bemidji, St. Cloud, Winona and Duluth normal schools, the Pillsbury forest reserve, the State warehouse site, the State training school, the State reformatory, the Hastings and Anoka asylums, etc.

State institutions and parks, 1858-1908. 1 ledger. (East.)

Right of way deeds, 1884-1906. 1 ledger. (South.)

Miscellaneous records of right of way deeds, 1887-1914. 2 ledgers, lettered A-B. (West.)

Railroad lands, 1870-1914. 7 ledgers, lettered A-G. (West.)

Index to deed records, 1858-1915. 3 ledgers, No. 1-3. (East.)

Land sales.**Abstracts.**

School lands, 1882-1915. 6 ledgers, lettered A-F. (South.)

Internal improvement, 1882-1915. 3 ledgers, lettered A-C. (South.)

University lands, 1882-1909, 1911-1912. 2 ledgers. West and south.)

Agricultural college, 1882-1903, 1909. 2 ledgers. (West and south.)

State institutions, 1892-1912. 3 ledgers. (West and south.)

Swamp lands, 1912-1915. 2 ledgers, lettered B-C. (South.)

Public lands, 1909. 1 ledger. (West.)

Railroad lands, 1870-1872. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Reports, 1867-1890. 3 sfb. (South.)

Land records—Continued.

Land sales—Continued.

Memorandum of lands sold.

1903-1911. 7 ledgers. (West.)

1912-1914. 3 ledgers. (Office, S.)

Lists of lands sold.

1872, 1874. 1 ledger. (Office, S.)

1880-1902. 2 sfb. (South.)

Sales books, various counties, range from 1897-1915. 65 ledgers. (Office, W. S.)

Largest number of sales are in St. Louis, Itasca, and Aitkin counties.

Newspaper copies of sales of State lands, 1909. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 80, 134, 188. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

Record of sale of railroad lands by railroads, 1866-1874. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Land certificates.

Receipts for certificates, 1903-1915. 1 sfb. (South.)

Sent to county treasurers and to purchasers of land.

University lands, 1889-1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

Special certificates. 1 sfb. (South.)

Special certificates, 1914-1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

Record of special certificates, 1870-1915. 3 ledgers. (South.)

Cancelled, void, uncalled, and divided land certificates, 1882-1913. 2 sfb. (East.)

Affidavits of loss of certificates, 1876-1891, 1894-1912. 2 sfb. (East.)

Record of certificates issued, no date. 3 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Notices of certificates, 1910-1915. 2 sfb. (South.)

Return slips for registered letters.

Payments on land contracts.

Contract slips, 1862-1915. 202 sfb. (Office vault 1, N.)

Description of land, appraised value, record of sale and payments on principle and interest.

Land collections, 1874-1915. 14 sfb. (South.)

Transferred school land, 1891-1915. 7 ledgers. (West and center.)

Six of the ledgers are lettered A-F. Transferred from internal improvement lands.

School lands.

1866-1892. 6 ledgers. (Office, W.)

1873-1875. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

1866-1915. 36 ledgers. (West, north, east, and center.)

Indemnity school lands.

1868-1871. 1 ledger, lettered B. (Office, W.)

1872-1881, 1908-1915. 3 ledgers. (West and center.)

School lands, subdivision, 1892-1915. 2 ledgers. (West and center.)

School land contracts transferred from internal improvement land contracts, 1892. 1 ledger. (South.)

General and permanent school fund accounts, 1861-1883. 1 ledger. (West.)

University lands, 1897-1906. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

University lands transferred from internal improvement lands, 1892-1915. 2 ledgers. (West and center.)

Agricultural college, 1867-1876, 1897-1906. 2 ledgers. (Office, W.)

Land records—Continued.

Payments on land contracts—Continued.

Agricultural college, 1887-1896. 2 ledgers, lettered A2, A3. (West.)

Swamp lands, 1902-1915. 5 ledgers. (West and center.)

Internal improvement lands.

1882-1891. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

1872-1915. 6 ledgers, lettered A, B, A2, B2, A3, B3. (North, west, and center.)

State institution lands, 1890-1915. 2 ledgers. (South and west.)

Reform school land, 1889-1890, 1892-1902. 3 ledgers. (South.)

Land sale receipts, 1875-1892, 1902-1910. 15 sfb. (North.)

Leases on land for building sites and garden plots, 1915. 1 sfb. (South.)

Record of reduction of interest on school lands, 1885. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Act of 1885, reducing from 7 per cent to 5 per cent.

Record of reduction of interest on university and general improvement lands, 1885. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

List of capitol land renters, 1891. 1 small ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Journal, State lands office, 1864-1882. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Plats of public lands.

1882-1894. 6 books. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

No date. 38 ledgers. (Office, W.)

No date. 3 ledgers. (Center.)

Plats of lands copied from office of surveyor general.

Invoices, 1899-1915. 2 ledgers, No. 4-5. (Office, W.)

Leech Lake Reservoir, 1905. 1 ledger. (North.)

Sub-division plat book, 1862-1909. 1 ledger. (South.)

Miscellaneous charts and plats. (West and north.)

Maps and plats of railroad lines. 16 steel drawers in a steel filing case. (Office, W.)

Railroad lands, 1892. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Index to railroad plats on file in auditor's office, 1892. 1 ledger. (South.)

Old flowage, right of way plats and papers. 1 sfb. (East.)

One paper is dated 1889.

Land patents.

School lands.

1862-1915. 91 sfb., No. 1-16414. (East.)

1863-1914. 26 ledgers, lettered A-Z. (West.)

1881-1914. 1 ledger, lettered A1. (West.)

Indemnity school lands.

1897-1915. 6 sfb. (East.)

1904-1915. 1 ledger. (West.)

University lands.

1892-1904. 1 sfb., No. 1-161.

1880-1915. 2 ledgers. (West.)

University lands transferred from internal improvement lands, 1899-1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

Agricultural college lands.

1881-1915. 5 sfb. (East.)

1872-1915. 2 ledgers. (East.)

Land records—Continued.

Land patents—Continued.

Swamp lands.

1902-1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

1865-1915. 5 ledgers. (West and north.)

Internal improvement lands.

1886-1915. 24 sfb. (East.)

1878-1915. 3 ledgers. (West and east.)

State institution lands.

1900-1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

1897-1915. 3 ledgers. (West and east.)

State capitol lands, 1858-1901. 1 sfb. (East.)

Public building lands.

1902-1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

1902-1915. 1 ledger, lettered A. (West.)

Reform school lands, 1889. 1 sfb. (East.)

Railroad lands.

L., S. and M. railroad company, 1875. 1 ledger. (North.)

St. Paul and Duluth railroad, 1891-1903. 1 ledger. (North.)

Western railroad, 1879-1915. 1 ledger. (North.)

St. Paul and Pacific railroad, 1875. 1 ledger. (North.)

St. P., M. and M., 1880-1915. 3 ledgers. (North.)

Register of applications for patents, 1900. 1 ledger. (West.)

Timber records.

Appraisals.

Land examiners' reports.

1877, 1897-1898, 1903-1913. 130 note books. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Plats, with description of timber by section, township, and range, estimated amount and value. These are originals.

1875-1894. 2 sfb. (South.)

1878-1880, 1895-1915. 11 ledgers. (West, north, and south.)

Surveyor general's reports, 1896-1915. 3 ledgers. (West, north, and south.)

Timber sales.

1895-1913. 3 sfb. (East.)

1886-1914. 13 ledgers. (West, north, and south.)

Stumpage record, 1880-1890, 1900-1914. 10 ledgers. (South.)

Trespass records.

Old reports, 1865-1875. 2 sfb. (South.)

1890-1893, 1898-1915. 3 ledgers. (West, north, and south.)

Timber permit records.

Permits, 1866-1915. 13 sfb. (South and east.)

Scale sale permits, 1912-1915. 2 sfb. (East.)

County sale permits, 1912-1913. 1 sfb. (East.)

Reports of cutting under permit.

1908-1909. 9 note books. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

1914-1915. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, S.)

Record of timber board proceedings, 1904-1914. 1 ledger. (South.)

Receipts of pine timber sales, 1882-1889. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Payments on stumpage sales.

1872-1875, 1888-1891. 3 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

No date. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Land records—Continued.

Timber records—Continued.

Forestry record.

1888-1897. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1893-1914. 2 ledgers, lettered C-D. (Office vault 2, N.)

Appointments, oaths, and bonds.

1895-1914. 2 sfb. (South and east.)

Cruisers', deputy surveyor generals', etc.

1871-1914. 1 sfb. (South.)

Appraisers' oaths.

Correspondence.

Sent, 1895-1914. 13 letter copies. (Office, W.)

Received, 1892-1895. 2 letter boxes. (West.)

Mineral lands.

Applications for prospecting permits, 1890-1907. 6 sfb. (South.)

Assignments of prospecting permits, 1890-1893. 1 sfb. (South.)

Mineral land leases.

1891-1907. 4 sfb. No. 1-872. (East.)

1903. 1 sfb. (East.)

Coal mining contracts.

Record of leases, 1890-1908. 3 ledgers. (West.)

Mineral contract and lease record, 1904-1915. 1 ledger. (Center.)

Abstract of mineral leases, 1890-1903, 1905-1907. 2 ledgers. (Center.)

Cancelled mineral leases, 1889-1907. 8 sfb. No. 1-872. (South.)

Relinquishments, cancelled leases, 1897-1913. 1 sfb. (South.)

Cancelled contract and lease record, 1889-1906. 1 ledger. (Center.)

Inspectors' weekly reports, 1915. 1 sfb. (East.)

Annual reports of mine inspectors, 1903-1914. 1 sfb. (South.)

Mesabe mountain mine survey, 1904. 1 ledger. (East.)

Miscellaneous reports on contracts, 1905. 1 sfb. (South.)

Reports of shipments of ore.

Old reports of early shipments, 1886-1895. 1 sfb. (South.)

Mainly current reports. 33 sfb. (East.)

Monthly and quarterly reports of lessees of State iron mines. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

The Leonidas, Hanna, Grant, and Fay mines.

Lease holders' monthly reports, 1906-1909, 1914-1915. 2 sfb. (South.)

Nonshipment of ore.

Drill records, 1913. 1 sfb. (East.)

Reports of work on State mineral leases.

Royalty payments on mineral contracts, 1890-1913. 2 ledgers. (Center.)

Plats of mineral leases, 1890-(?). 2 ledgers. (East.)

Correspondence.

1911-1913. 1 sfb. (South.)

Concerning lean ore waste.

1910-1915, sent. 6 letter copies. (South.)

1908-1912, received. 4 letter boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

State land office correspondence.

Sent.

1875-1878, 1880-1901. 24 letter copies. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

1896-1914. 20 letter copies. (Office, W.)

Received, 1861-1870, 1879-1881, 1883-1885, 1891-1896, 1910. 4 books, 11 letter boxes, and 1 pasteboard box. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Land records—Continued.

State land office correspondence—Continued.

Sent and received.

1861-1868, 1906-1911. 1 book and 1 letter box. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

1915. 4 letter boxes. (Office, W.)

United States land-office correspondence, received, 1874-1914. Pasteboard folders in 3 large sfb. (South and east.)

Miscellaneous land records.

Reports of grass sales.

1895-1907. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

1910-1913. 1 sfb. (East.)

No date. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 9, 16, 20. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)

Grass sales receipts, 1892-1894. 1 stub-book. (Sub-basement vault A, N.)

Swamp land, 1881-1902. 1 sfb. (East.)

Swamp land contests, 1906. 1 bundle. (South.)

Land contest cases, pending, 1892-1897. 1 sfb. (East.)

Indemnity school lands, 1886-1906. 1 sfb. (East.)

Land papers, 1885-1915. 2 sfb. (East.)

Right of condemnation proceedings, 1877-1907. 1 sfb.

Railroad lands, 1875-1877. 1 pasteboard box, No. 15. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)

United States flowage, etc., 1881-1905. 1 sfb. (South.)

Reclamation board reports, 1911-1912. 1 sfb. (East.)

State lands on which ditch assessments have been paid, 1907-1913. 1 ledger. (West.)

Lists of land in Washington County, 1860. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Investment board.

Reports of county auditors on State loans, 1909. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Applications for loans for ditches.

1905-1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 310. (Sub-basement vault B, C.)

1909-1910, 1912-1914. 1 sfb. and 4 bundles. (Office vault 2, N. S.)

County applications for loans.

1897, 1907-1908. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 287, 289. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

1909-1912. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Town and city applications for loans, 1905-1914. 3 sfb. and 2 bundles. (Office vault 2, N. S.)

Applications for loans, 1913. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Applications for loans rejected by investment board, 1895-1902, 1906-1912. 3 sfb. and 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, N. S.)

Record of State board of investments, 1887-1914. 2 ledgers, No. 1-2. (Office vault 2, W.)

Record of loans and minutes of board.

Record of applications to permanent trust fund, 1914. 1 ledger, lettered B. (Office vault 2, W.)

School loans.

Applications for school and county loans, 1887-1897, 1905-1908. 7 galvanized tin boxes, No. 39, 47, 48, 157, 304, 309, 310. (Sub-basement vault B. W. E. C.)

Investment board—Continued.

School loans—Continued.

County auditor's reports concerning loans, 1912-1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

The balances in the county treasury to the credit of school districts and other municipalities receiving loans from the State.

Disallowed school loans, 1887-1893. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Correspondence, sent, 1905-1909. 1 letter copy. (Office, W.)

Correspondence.

1902-1909, sent. 2 letter copies. (Office vault 2, W.)

1909-1911, sent. 1 letter copy. (Office, W.)

1905-1908, received. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 286. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

Account books, vouchers, warrants, etc.

Account books.

Treasury drafts. 5 ledgers, lettered A-E. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

No dates except months.

Register of auditor's drafts.

1874-1881, 1883-1887, 1890-1898. 5 ledgers, No. 1-5. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1898-1914. 9 ledgers, No. 6-14. (Office vault 2, W.)

Warrant register.

1860-1901. 22 ledgers, No. 1-22. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1901-1914. 20 ledgers, No. 23-42. (Office vault 2, N.)

Record of treasurer's daily cash.

1892-1904. 6 ledgers, lettered A-F. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1905-1914. 5 ledgers. (Office vault 2, E.)

Register of daily warrants and drafts.

1896-1898, 1901-1902. 3 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, W. E.)

1899-1900, 1903-1914. 7 ledgers. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

Auditor's journal.

1850-1876. 6 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Ledgers from 1858 to 1871 are lettered A-D.

1891-1915. 11 ledgers, No. 4-14. (Office vault 2, W. E.)

Auditor's ledger.

1858-1871. 3 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1891-1915. 12 ledgers, No. 4-15. (Office vault 2, W. E.)

Record of appropriations.

1881-1906. 15 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

The ledgers from 1881-1903 are lettered F-T.

1903-1904, 1909-1913. 6 ledgers. (Office vault 2, W. E.)

Monthly balance of appropriations.

1898-1899, 1901-1902, 1904. 3 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1906-1913. About 7 ledgers. (Office vault 2, E.)

Miscellaneous accounts.

Accounts, etc., of John Fouse, 1841-1879. 1 book. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

This book is an interesting record. While primarily concerned with accounts, interspersed among these are the minutes of the meetings of citizens for the purpose of organizing a school. The minutes give a detailed account of the creation of a local educational system. This is probably one of the earliest educational records of the State.

1857-1889. 8 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, W. E.)

Account books, vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

Account books—Continued.

Miscellaneous accounts—Continued.

Expense accounts of the State treasurer, 1864–1882. 2 ledgers.
(Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Provost marshal's account, 1862. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Journal of board of auditors, 1862–1867. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Proceedings.

Groceries and merchandise account book, 1863–1872. 2 ledgers.
(Sub-basement vault A, E.)

These are entitled, "Rosendale, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin."

Revere House, 1864–1869. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Record of expenses.

Auditor's journal, general revenue, 1867–1882. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Journals, 1865–1887. 7 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Various accounts and expenses.

State treasury report, 1906–1907. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Record of unclaimed money in the treasury, 1909. 1 ledger.
(Office vault 2, E.)

Mainly unclaimed court deposits.

Daily statements of receipts and disbursements, 1911–1912. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Cashbook of invested funds, 1910–1914. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, W.)

Index to general ledger, auditor. 1882–1885. 1 ledger. (Office vault 2, E.)

General university expense account, 1869–1882. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Record of legislative expenses, 1860–1862. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Record of legislative warrants, 1864–1866. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Vouchers, warrants, etc. (In sub-basement vault B, unless otherwise indicated.)

Miscellaneous vouchers.

1854–1911. 95 galvanized tin boxes and 1 bundle. (West, north, south, and east.)

The boxes are numbered 27, 30, 36, 38, 39, 50, 59, 61, 62, 64, 81, 85, 87, 93, 94, 98, 100, 102, 114, 115, 124, 130, 131, 132, 136, 138, 161, 164, 180–185, 194–204, 209, 210, 226, 238–240, 245, 248, 250, 254–274, 279, 284, 285, 288, 290, 295–301, 345–351.

1911–1914. 43 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Current. 5 galvanized tin boxes. (Office, E.)

Miscellaneous warrants.

1859–1878, 1880–1883, 1885, 1896, 1888–1913. 31 galvanized tin boxes and 1 bundle. (West, north, east, south, and center.)

The boxes are numbered 13, 34, 107, 120, 133, 136, 145, 159, 163, 170, 211–218, 232, 234, 278, 280–283, 291, 300, 301, 319, 353.

1904–1915. 67 sfb. and 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S. W.)

Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

Warrant stubs.

1858–1875, 1895–1896. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 134, and 1 book. (North.)

1867–1895, 1898–1899. 94 books. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1899–1914. 268 books. (Office vault 2, S.)

Stub receipts.

Auditor's draft stubs.

1858–1875. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 134. (North.)

1875–date (?). 111 books, No. 1–123000. (Office vault 2, S.)

State art society, 1912–1913. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Accountant's papers, 1898–1900. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Hunters' licenses, etc.

Adjutant general.

Payrolls of national guard, 1888–1909. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 97, 249. (East.)

Payrolls, 1911. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Militia encampment papers, 1910. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Vouchers and warrants.

1909–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 336, 311, 353. (Center.)

1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

State camp grounds improvements, 1895. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 249. (West.)

Indian war pensions, vouchers and warrants, 1908, 1912–1914. 5 sfb. and 2 bundles. (Office vault 2, N.)

Albert Lea experiment station vouchers, 1912–1913. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 353. (Center.)

County agricultural societies, vouchers and warrants.

1901–1903, 1910–1912. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 102, 360. (East and center.)

1912–1914. 6 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Aid to schools, warrants, 1903–1908, 1911–1912. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Anoka asylum.

Salaries and expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 152. (West.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1900–1901, 1906–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 144, 237, 320, 363. (West and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. E.)

Record of interest on bank deposits, 1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 305. (Center.)

Statement of fees due on paid-up capital of banks, 1906–1907, 1911–1914. 7 bundles. (Office vault 2, W. S.)

School for the blind.

Expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 152. (West.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. E.)

Vouchers, 1904–1909, 1906–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 69, 95, 318, 361. (East and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. E.)

Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

Capitol maintenance.

Vouchers, 1911–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 340, 358. (Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Old capitol.

Vouchers, 1911–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes.

Warrants and vouchers, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, C.)

Board of State capitol commissioners, papers, 1893–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 253. (West.)

This is a large galvanized tin box locked with a padlock and contains a large amount of material bearing on the construction of the new capitol. The index in the office has two pages devoted to the contents of this box.

Board of control.

Expense lists, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1893, 1907–1912. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 224, 307, 337. (North and center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

Newspaper vouchers, 1910. 1 galvanized tin box. (Center.)

For publishing constitutional amendments.

Letters from newspapers containing affidavits. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Sanitarium for consumptives.

Expense accounts, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers.

1903–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 320, 366. (Center.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Receipts, 1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

School for the deaf.

Expense lists.

1900–1906. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 252. (West.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1894–1899, 1904–1913. 5 galvanized tin boxes, No. 95, 166, 246, 318, 361. (West.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Dairy and food commission.

Vouchers, 1904–1914. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 305, 315, 337, 365. (Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Receipts.

1912–1913. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 365. (Center.)

1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Drainage commission.

Vouchers.

1908–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 249, 336, 355. (West and center.)

1908, 1910, 1913–1914. 1 bundle loose papers and 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

Warrants, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Department of education, vouchers and warrants, 1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

State entomologist, vouchers, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Bank examiner.

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 307, 340, 360. (Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Receipts, 1910–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

School for the feebleminded.

Expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 252. (West.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers.

1894–1899. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 95. (East.)

1906–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 95, 318, 361. (East and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1912–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Fergus Falls State hospital.

Expense lists.

1891–1895, 1900–1905. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 109, 252. (North and west.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1892–1899, 1901, 1906–1913. 8 galvanized tin boxes, No. 32, 33, 88, 106, 169, 174, 320, 363. (West, north, east, south, and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Koochiching company fire breaks, vouchers, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

State fire marshal.

Warrants and vouchers.

1908–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 314, 336, 352. (Center.)

1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

Fire relief association, vouchers, 1910–1912. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 360. (Center.)

Fire wardens and chiefs, vouchers, 1900–1904. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 102, 227. (West and east.)

State forestry board.

Vouchers, 1911–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 335, 352. (Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Fire preservation, warrants and vouchers, 1901–1904, 1911–1912. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 35, 97. (East and center.)

Game and fish commission.

Expense lists, 1910. 1 bundle. (Office vault 2, S.)

Vouchers, 1889–1914. 6 galvanized tin boxes, No. 97, 231, 313, 337, 358, 365. (West, east, and center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Receipts.

1905–1914. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 365. (Center.)

1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

Grain inspection.

Vouchers, 1906–1914. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 314, 340, 355, 365. (Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1914. 6 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Receipts.

1906–1914. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 365. (Center.)

1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Hastings asylum.

Expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 252. (West.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Vouchers, 1899, 1901, 1906–1913. 5 galvanized tin boxes, No. 88, 144, 237, 320, 366. (West, east, and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Hay inspection.

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 314, 338, 353. (Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

State highway commission.

Vouchers, 1911–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 339, 352. (Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Board of health.

Vouchers, 1906, 1909–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 233, 302, 340, 357. (West and center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Minnesota historical society.

Sundry bills, 1886–1887. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 249. (West.)

Vouchers.

1897–1902. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 102. (East.)

1913–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Home school for girls.

Salary and expense lists, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1910–1913. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 361. (Center.)

Receipts, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Hospital for C. and D. Children.

Expenses, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1908–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 312, 354. (Center.)

Hospital vouchers, 1879–1888, 1897. 3 galvanized tin boxes. (North and east.)

Two boxes are numbered 44, 123.

Department of immigration.

Warrants and vouchers.

1908–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 311, 338, 355. (Center.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Industrial school for girls, vouchers, 1908–1910. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 312. (Center.)

State hospital for inebriates.

Salaries and expense lists, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 354. (Center.)

Receipts.

1907–1911. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 367. (Center.)

1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

Minnesota institute for defectives.

Expense lists, 1889–1895. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 111. (North.)

Vouchers, 1891–1899, 1901. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 42, 43, 151, 220.
(West and east.)

Insurance commission.

Vouchers, 1911–1914. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 339, 353, 365.
(Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Farmers' institutes.

Vouchers, 1891–1892, 1896–1903, 1912–1913. 5 galvanized tin boxes,
No. 8, 19, 97, 102, 358. (East and center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Bureau of labor.

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 308, 338, 357.
(Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Live stock sanitary board.

Vouchers, 1906, 1909–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 233, 302, 339,
357. (West and center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Legislative.

Vouchers.

1903. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 224. (North.)

1907, 1911–1913. 5 bundles. (Office vault 2, S.)

Certificates, 1859–1872. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Stub receipts, 1905–1911. 5 books. (Office vault 2, S.)

Payments for supplies, salaries, etc.

Stub receipts, 1912. 1 book. (Office vault 2, S.)

Chief clerk's mileage payments.

Stub receipts, 1912. 1 book. (Office vault 2, S.)

Salaries and miscellaneous expenses.

Miscellaneous receipts, 1914. 6 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Public school libraries.

Vouchers, 1902–1905, 1910–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 251,
327, 355, 359. (West and center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Normal schools.

Estimates, 1906. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 292. (Center.)

Expense lists, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1896–1899. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 55, 116. (East
and north.)

Duluth normal school.

Expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 247. (West.)

1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Vouchers, 1906–1910, 1912–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 318,
354. (Center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

Normal schools—Continued.

St. Cloud normal school.

Expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 247. (West.)

1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1891–1895, 1910–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes. No. 171, 361. (West and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Mankato normal school.

Expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 247. (West.)

1913–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1888–1900, 1906–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 40, 102, 317, 354. (Center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Moorhead normal school.

Expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 247. (West.)

1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1887–1895, 1910–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 40, 317, 354. (East and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Winona normal school.

Expense lists.

1900–1905. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 247. (West.)

1913–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1892–1895, 1899–1900, 1906–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 102, 171, 318, 361. (West, east, and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Oil inspection.

Vouchers, 1903–1905, 1911–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 233, 328, 356. (West and center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

Receipts, 1907–1914. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 364. (Center.)

Pedlars' licenses, vouchers, 1911–1913. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Minnesota state prison.

Expense lists.

1891–1895. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 109. (North.)

1914. 4 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1891–1899, 1901–1913. 10 galvanized tin boxes, No. 37, 56, 90, 148, 160, 167, 224, 237, 319, 366. (West, north, east, south, and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

Redeemed prison certificates, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

State prison revolving fund.

Salaries and expense lists, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1906–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 319, 366. (Center.)

Printing bills.

Vouchers.

1900–1906. 10 pasteboard boxes and 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1912–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 338, 360. (Center.)

1913–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

Public examiners.

Vouchers, 1907–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 315, 357, 360, 365. (Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Receipts.

1907–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 365. (Center.)

1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Public instruction.

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 316, 335, 357. (Center.)

Warrants, 1911–1912. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 335. (Center.)

Publishing laws and newspapers.

Vouchers.

1899, 1901, 1903, 1905–1911. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 249, 251, 316, 340. (West and center.)

1912. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2 N.)

State public schools.

Expense lists.

1889–1895. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 111. (North.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1891–1899, 1906–1913. 5 galvanized tin boxes, No. 26, 53, 90, 312, 361. (South, east, and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Railroads.

Cancellations, 1893–1900. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 78, 176, 227, (West and east.)

Adjustments, no date. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 97. (East.)

Railroad and warehouse commission.

Warrants and vouchers, 1911–1912. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 335. (Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

State reformatory.

Expense lists.

1890–1895. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 109, 147. (West and north.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1892–1899, 1901, 1906–1913. 8 galvanized tin boxes, No. 60, 77, 90, 150, 172, 221, 320, 366. (West, east, and center.)

Receipts, 1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

Rochester hospital.

Expense lists.

1891–1895, 1900–1905. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 109, 247.
(West.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1890–1899, 1901, 1906–1913. 8 galvanized tin boxes, No. 41,
49, 75, 77, 88, 152, 320, 366. (West, east, and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

St. Peter's Hospital.

Expense lists.

1889–1895, 1900–1905. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 111, 247.
(West.)

1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1891–1899, 1901, 1906–1913. 10 galvanized tin boxes, No.
63, 68, 70, 71, 72, 79, 88, 110, 320, 366. (North, east, and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

St. Vincent, Hallock-Fair controversy. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 97.
(East.)

Sanitarium for consumptives, etc.

Expense lists, 1890, 1910, 1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 121, 366.
(North and center.)

School text books.

Vouchers, 1892. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 76. (East.)

Stub receipts, 1879–1883. 2 books. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Secretary of state.

Fees, 1906–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 305. (Center.)

Receipts.

1908–1914. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 365. (Center.)

1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Seed grain.

Contracts, 1891. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 227. (West.)

Receipts, 1877. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Sheriff's expenses.

Vouchers.

1909–1912. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 314, 338. (Center.)

1911–1914. 5 sfb. (Office vault 2, W. N.)

Soldiers' home.

Warrants and vouchers.

1907–1912. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 311, 303, 325. (Center.)

1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Receipts, 1907–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Soldiers' relief.

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 303, 306, 325, 356.
(Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 7 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

State institutions.

Insurance, 1894–1902. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 90. (Center.)

Receipts.

1892–1904. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 226. (West.)

1913–1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.**State officers.**

Vouchers, 1871–1872.

Receipts, 1892–1894. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 226. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

State training school.

Expense lists, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Vouchers, 1882, 1891–1899, 1901, 1906–1913. 9 galvanized tin boxes, No. 31, 76, 95, 144, 162, 165, 249, 320, 361. (West, east, south, and center.)

Receipts.

1904–1908. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 246. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Treasurer's receipts.

1872–1878, 1884–1890, 1892–1905, 1907–1914. 6 galvanized tin boxes, No. 54, 127, 133, 228, 249, 365, 1 wooden box and 1 bundle. (West, north, east, and center.)

1911–1914. 7 sfb. (Office vault 2, N. E.)

State treasurer's daily statements, 1902–1903, 1908–1911, 1913. 6 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Tax commission.

Vouchers, 1909–1913. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 316, 338, 356. (Center.)

Warrants, 1913–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Tree planting, vouchers, 1898–1910. 3 galvanized tin boxes, No. 57, 246, 327. (West, east, and center.)

University of Minnesota.**Expense lists.**

1891–1894, 1906. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 147, 246. (West.)

1913–1914. 7 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Abstracts, 1907–1913. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 312, 363. (Center.)

Quarterly estimates for supplies.

1905–1908. 5 ledgers. (West and south.)

Vouchers, 1873–1899, 1901–1904, 1906–1907, 1910–1912, 1914. 26 galvanized tin boxes. (West, north, east, and center.)

The boxes are numbered 52, 66, 74, 84, 104, 108, 113, 119, 125, 168, 186–193, 222, 298, 299, 322, 341, 361–363.

Subvouchers, 1900(?)–1914. 16 galvanized tin boxes. (Center.)

The boxes are numbered 321–324, 328–333, 341–344, 361, 362.

Receipts.

1903. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 236. (West.)

1908–1914. 2 sfb. (Office vault 2, E.)

Weights and measures.

Vouchers, 1911–1914. 2 galvanized tin boxes, No. 360, 365. (Center.)

Warrants and vouchers, 1913–1914. 4 sfb. (Office vault 2, N. E.)

Wolf bounties.

Vouchers, 1883, 1892–1897, 1899–1912. 34 galvanized tin boxes. (West, north, east, south, and center.)

The boxes are numbered 1–7, 10–12, 14, 18, 25, 46, 58, 83, 89, 91, 96, 99, 103, 112, 156, 178, 179, 223–225, 275–277, 293, 294, 326.

Warrants, 1894–1895. 4 galvanized tin boxes, No. 17, 21–23. (South.)

Correspondence.

General.

Received, 1858-1911. 36 letter books, 8 books, 5 large pasteboard boxes, and 2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, W. E.)

Sent.

1858-1870. 1 letter copy in galvanized tin box, No. 141. (Sub-basement vault B, W.)

1873-1875, 1877-1909. 18 letter copies. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Sent and received, 1909-1912. 10 letter boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Special.

Immigration, sent, 1908-1909. 1 letter copy. (Office, W.)

Drainage commission, 1912-1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, N.)

Reports of engineers.

Pedlars' licenses, sent and received, 1909. 1 letter box. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Miscellaneous.

Township organization.

Names and changes of towns, 1858-1870. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Changes of names of villages, etc., 1906-date. 4 sfb. (Office vault 1, E.)

Plats of townships, 1858-date. 2 ledgers, lettered A-L, M-L. (Office vault 1, W.)

Index to township organization papers, 1858-1914. 1 ledger. (Office vault 1, W.)

New York Times, Duluth Daily Star, etc., 1892-1908, etc. 2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Minneapolis newspapers, 1903. (Office vault 1, W.)

Legislative records.

Titles of acts passed by legislature, 1871-1877. 2 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Record of senate judiciary committee, 1877. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

House and senate calendars, 1909. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Census records.

Rice, Anoka, and Cottonwood, 1885. 3 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Auditor's reports.

1860-1880. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 128. (Sub-basement vault B, N.)

1901-1910. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Reports, 37 legislature.

Correspondence, etc., 1911-1913. 1 sfb. (Office vault 2, W.)

World's fair papers.

World's fair at Chicago, 1893. 2 bundles, No. 24, 45. (Sub-basement vault B, S. E.)

Reports and paid vouchers.

Miscellaneous papers. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 29. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)

Miscellaneous—Continued.

Louisiana purchase exposition, 1904.

Miscellaneous papers. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 97. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

Record of proceedings and accounts of the board of managers. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Minutes and memoranda. 1 scrapbook. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Letters, newspaper clippings, and miscellaneous papers.

Opinions of attorney general, etc., range from 1859 to 1914. 3 sfb. (Office vault 1, S. E.)

Many of these pertain to railroad matters.

Fire relief, etc., 1904-1914.

1904-1912. 1 bundle. (Office vault 1, S.)

1913-1914. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, N.)

Reports of relief associations.

Claims against Transit Valley Railway, 1881. 1 sfb. (Office vault 1, S.)

Papers pertaining to claims withdrawn.

Petition for the passage of the Rowell bill, 1909. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

The petition is wound around two spools, suspended on a large framework, and contains thousands of names.

Stenographers' shorthand notes, 1909. 2 bundles. (Office vault 2, S.)

Applications for tree bounties, 1880-1914. 6 bundles. (Office vault 1, S.)

Papers relating to board of control, 1911. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Minutes of drainage commission, 1909-1910, 1912. 1 bundle of loose papers. (Office vault 1, W.)

These are probably copied in a ledger.

Unaudited bills, etc. 1 galvanized tin box, No. 97. (Sub-basement vault B, E.)

Notices from comptroller to State auditor, 1913. 1 bundle. (Office vault 1, S.)

Board of auditor's claim record, 1863. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Affidavits of appointment of agents, 1914-1915. 2 sfb. (Office vault 1, S.)

V. THE STATE TREASURER.

The office of treasurer dates from November 3, 1849.¹ The duties of the treasurer, as defined by law, are to keep an accurate account of the receipts and disbursements of the treasury, specifying the names of the persons from whom received, to whom paid, on what account the same was received and paid out, and the time of such receipt and payment. For all payments into the State treasury he issues two receipts—one to the county treasurer and one to the county auditor. In addition, he prepares a daily cash balance and a record of warrants paid. He delivers a daily statement to the auditor of his business transactions for the day, reports to the legislature and to the governor, and publishes in a newspaper every two months the condition of the funds in his care. In his annual re-

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 89.

ports he has to show statistics of conditions in the treasury for the preceding fifteen years.¹ The office of the treasurer is in the new capitol.

The bulk of the records in the custody of the treasurer is considerable. They are located in a sub-basement vault, an office, and an office vault. The archives of the sub-basement vault are older records, mostly contained in ledgers and galvanized iron boxes. They are well arranged and classified. The vault itself, however, offers little protection from fire and water damage. The records in the office vault are both old and current, and are kept in ledgers and steel filing boxes. They are also well classified. A card index for the bond records is kept in the vault, in a steel case, locked with a padlock. The vault is both fire and water proof. In the office are a few current records, which could quickly be moved to the vault in case of danger. This office is one of the few using galvanized iron boxes to keep records in, a practice to be commended.

Records of payments into the treasury.

Record of auditor's drafts issued.

General.

Early drafts, no date. 5 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

These are probably drafts issued when money was lacking, payable later with interest.

Register of drafts, 1895-1909. 6 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Register of drafts, 1911-1914. 3 ledgers. (Office vault, E.)

Special.

Record of drafts drawn on counties, 1877-1880. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Registers of auditor's drafts, 1915. 6 ledgers. (Office vault, E.)

These include insurance, tax, and land collections, mineral royalties, trust funds, stumpage, and miscellaneous.

Auditor's drafts are statements issued by the auditor to the treasurer that certain sums are due the state.

Collection notices.

Carbon copies of collection notices, 1912-1915. 74 books. (Office vault, S.)

On receipt of the auditor's drafts, the treasurer sends notices to those who owe sums to the state.

Drafts paid, miscellaneous, 1878-1915. 60 sfb. (Office vault E. and W.)

Cancelled drafts.

Record of drafts paid, miscellaneous, 1889-1905, 1907-1909. 9 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Record of drafts paid, miscellaneous, 1910-1915. 8 ledgers. (Office vault, E. and C.)

Receipt records.

General.

Receipt books, old style, 1911-1912. 17 books. (Office vault, S.)

Receipt books, new style, 1911-1915. 53 books. (Office vault, S.)

Record of receipts, 1865-1869. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault, E.)

Record of receipts, 1883-1892. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

¹ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 4, sec. 78-90, p. 22-24.

Records of payments into the treasury—Continued.

Receipt records—Continued.

Special. (In sub-basement vault, north, unless otherwise indicated.)

Bank examiners' fees, 1897-1910. 5 stub-books.

County ledgers, 1887, 1890-1896. 2 stub-books. (South and east.)

Dairy and food commission fines, 1905-1910. 4 stub-books.

Hunters' licenses, 1904-1911. 3 stub-books.

Incorporation fees, 1894-1910. 8 stub-books.

Inebriate tax, 1907-1911. 10 stub-books.

A two per cent tax on saloons for the support of inebriate homes.

Inheritance tax, 1906-1911. 1 stub-book.

Insurance commission, 1881-1887. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Insurance tax, 1906-1912. 6 stub-books.

Land collections, 1904-1910. 7 stub-books.

Payments for land.

Mineral leases and contracts, 1906-1910. 5 stub-books.

Miscellaneous receipts, 1900-1912. 10 stub-books.

Oil inspection fees, 1908-1911. 4 stub-books.

Pedlars' licenses, 1909. 1 stub-book.

Railroads, 1900-1909. 1 stub-book.

School district loans, 1901-1911. 6 stub-books.

Payments on principal and interest.

School district and university loans, 1902-1904. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Stumpage, 1903-1911. 5 stub-books.

Tax collections, 1904-1910. 1 stub-book.

Telephone companies, 1904-1912. 3 stub-books.

Tonnage taxes, 1904-1909. 1 stub-book.

Transportation companies, 1906-1910. 1 stub-book.

Interest statements range from 1895 to 1915. 60 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Bank, 1895-1914. 55 sfb. The year 1907 is missing.

Miscellaneous range from 1895, 1908 to 1915. 5 sfb.

These items pertain to hay and grain inspection fund, school districts, and certificates of indebtedness.

Records concerning disbursements from the treasury.

Auditor's warrants.

Register of warrants.

1858-1908. 20 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

1909-1915. 6 ledgers. (Office vault, W.)

The payee, the appropriation, the number of the warrant, and the date redeemed.

Receipts for warrants, 1860. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Lists of warrants unpaid, 1908-date. 1 ledger. (Office vault, W.)

List of warrants paid, 1880-1881. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Cancelled checks and abstracts, 1893-1915.

1893-1911. 13 large galvanized iron boxes. (Sub-basement vault, C.)

1912-1914. 4 large galvanized iron boxes. (Office vault, S. and N.)

1914-1915. 75 steel drawers. (Office vault, E.)

Sorted according to type of check.

Fifty-four different sets of checks are used by the treasurer. The abstracts contain the name of payee, address, amount, and purpose for which money is called. For example, many of the abstracts are pay rolls. When the cancelled checks come back from the banks, they are filed away with the abstracts for reference.

Outstanding checks, 1913-1915. 5 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Records concerning disbursements from the treasury—Continued.

Voided checks, 1914-1915. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Mistakes made and new checks made out.

Check registers range from 1863 to 1915. (In sub-basement vault unless otherwise indicated.)

Stubs of checks drawn on banks, 1884, 1890-1896. 7 books. (North.)

Record of checks issued against places of deposit, 1863-1910. 22 ledgers. (South.)

Record of checks issued against places of deposit, 1910-1915. 31 ledgers. (Office vault, W. and E.)

Miscellaneous.

Journal of expenditures, 1864-1865. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault, E.)

Record of fees and exchanges paid by the treasurer, 1895-1907. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Record of fees and exchanges paid by the treasurer, 1907-1912. 1 ledger. (Office vault, W.)

Legislative pay rolls, 1876-1905. 3 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Signed pay rolls of the employees of the house and senate, 1909-1915. 4 bundles. (Office vault, S.)

Record of receipts and disbursements of the treasury. (In sub-basement vault unless otherwise indicated.)

Daily balance cashbook, 1892-1915. 4 ledgers.

1892-1905. 2 ledgers. (South and east.)

1905-1915. 2 ledgers. (Office vault, W. and C.)

Daily cashbook, 1873-1915. 36 ledgers.

1873-1909. 30 ledgers. (North.)

1910-1915. 6 ledgers. (Office vault, W.)

Receipts and expenditures treated as a whole.

Cashbook, 1895-1915. 2 ledgers. (Office vault, W.)

Incorporation fees.

Daily journal, 1871-1873, 1880-1897. 18 ledgers. (East.)

1871-1873. 1 ledger.

1880-1897. 17 ledgers.

Record of receipts and expenditures by funds.

Treasurer's journals, 1857-1915. 38 ledgers.

1857-1911. 34 ledgers. (East and north.)

1912-1915. 4 ledgers. (Office vault, C.)

Records of receipts and expenditures by funds.

Special treasurer's journal, 1897-1899. 1 ledger. (East.)

Sugar-beet sales.

Appropriation ledgers, 1889-1894, 1901-1915. 14 ledgers.

1889-1894. 1 ledger. (East.)

1901-1910. 9 ledgers. (East.)

1911-1912. 2 ledgers. (Office vault, W.)

Current ledgers. (Office.)

Records of receipts and expenditures as a whole.

Treasurer's ledgers, 1857-1887, 1891-1913. 18 ledgers.

1857-1887. 8 ledgers, lettered A-H. (East.)

1891-1913. 10 ledgers, No. 1-10. (South.)

Really appropriation ledgers. Called general fund after 1901. Receipts and expenditures considered by funds.

Index to treasurer's ledgers, 1899-1901. For volumes 5-7. 3 books. (South.)

Legislative cash book, 1887-1889. 1 ledger. (South.)

Legislative day book, 1891-1893. 1 ledger. (East.)

Record of receipts and disbursements of the treasury—Continued.

Blotters, 1897–1901. 4 ledgers. (North.)

Daily petty cash books. Temporary records.

Blotter, 1905–1915. 1 ledger. (West.)

Record of balances.

Monthly bank balances, 1905–1906. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Monthly bank balances, 1891–1900. 2 ledgers. (East.)

Record of statements of State depositories.

Remittance records, 1907–1915. 16 ledgers. (Office vault W. and C.)

Deposits and withdrawal of deposits in banks.

Pass books of banks, range from 1887–1907. 2 bundles. (North.)

Treasurer's monthly balances. 1883–1892, 1902–1903, 1912–1915. 5 ledgers.

1883–1892. 3 ledgers. (East.)

1902–1903. 1 ledger. (East.)

1912–1915. 1 ledger. (Office vault, C.)

Treasurer's monthly trial balance, 1883. 1 ledger. (Office vault, C.)

Bond records. (In office vault east, unless otherwise indicated.)

Miscellaneous bonds, range from 1893 to 1915. 20 sfb.

Many of these bonds are expired, rejected, or redeemed.

School loan bonds, 1905–1915. 86 sfb. (West.)

These are deposited for loans to towns, cities, and counties and are sorted according to counties.

Registers of bonds.

State bonds, 1858–1862. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Bonds owned by the State, 1867–1905. 3 ledgers. (Center.)

Trust-fund bonds, 1879–1914. 1 ledger. (Center.)

School-fund bonds, 1861–1881. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault, E.)

School-fund bonds, 1883–1915. 10 ledgers. (West and center.)

Records of securities.

Registers of securities, 1883–1907. 4 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

These are largely concerned with securities of building and loan associations and loan and trust companies for doing business in the State.

Papers connected with withdrawal of securities range from 1892 to 1900. 8 sfb.

Correspondence, sent, 1895–1901. 2 letter copies. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Report to treasurer on surety bonding companies, 1914. 1 sfb.

Index to bank and school bond records. 1 small sfb., locked with a padlock. (Center.)

Correspondence. (In office vault east, unless otherwise indicated.)

Miscellaneous, received, 1886–1894. 8 sfb.

Miscellaneous, sent, 1894. 1 letter copy. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

Miscellaneous records.

State institutions' inventory, 1896. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Descriptions and records of deeds of property to State prison at Stillwater and other State institutions, 1896. 1 ledger. (Office vault, W.)

Bank discharges, 1911–1915. 1 sfb. (Office vault, E.)

Indexes, 1881–1887, 1890–1896. 2 small ledgers. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

No date. 1 small ledger. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

VI. THE ADJUTANT GENERAL.

The first adjutant general, Alexander C. Jones, was appointed September 1, 1858.¹ The officer at the present time has charge of all records relating to the National Guard, the active military force of the State, and to the regiments furnished by the State during the Civil and Spanish-American Wars. He also has charge of all military property and acts as claim agent for pensions, bounties, arrears of pay, etc., against the United States, arising out of the military service for the National Government by citizens of the State.² By statute of 1901, the Adjutant General was instructed to compile from the original muster rolls in his office, and such additional sources as he could command, a complete alphabetical list of the Minnesota volunteers of the Civil War and include these in the military history of each man as shown by such rolls. The original rolls were then to be placed in suitable metal boxes for safe keeping and the compilation to be used in their stead for all practical purposes.³

The office of the Adjutant General is located in the new capitol. There are three rooms in the office which have been designated from west to east by the numbers 1 to 3. A portion of the records is found in office 3 and in vault adjoining office 2, but the majority of the documents are in another portion of the building, in a vault connected with the office of the Indian and Civil War record clerk, who is under the supervision of the Adjutant General. The vault of the Indian and Civil War record clerk has been designated simply office vault to distinguish it from office 2 vault, etc., of the Adjutant General.

The documents in the custody of the Indian and Civil War record clerk are indicated by his title. His vault also contains the more recent National Guard records. Most of these records are in ledgers and steel filing boxes. They are well classified, mainly by regiments and companies. Within such headings, further classification could be desired. A partial invoice exists for the Indian and Civil War records. In enumerating these, those records which are included in the invoice have been designated A; those which were found not to be in the invoice have been designated B. The vault is fire and water proof.

The documents in Adjutant General office 3 are card indexes to enlistment and discharge papers of the National Guard. They are not protected in case of fire. It was not possible to examine closely the records in Adjutant General office 2 vault, but they contain the enlistment and discharge papers mentioned above and some 20 boxes of correspondence. These records are protected.

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 100.

² Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 249.

³ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 12, sec. 2408, p. 543.

Civil War records, A. 1861-1870. (Office vault, W. N.)

The archives cited below are taken from an invoice of the Indian and Civil War record clerk and concern the First to the Eleventh Regiments of Infantry, the First Mounted Rangers, the Second Cavalry, Hatch's battalion, Brackett's battalion, the First, Second, and Third Light Artillery, and the First and Second Minnesota Sharpshooters. It was not possible to examine these records further.

Muster rolls of companies; a few missing.

Descriptive lists of companies; a few missing.

Sanitary commission records; 12 ledgers.

Receipts of money sent home by soldiers in different regiments; 1 ledger.

Quartermaster general's record; 1 ledger.

Receipts and disbursements of quartermaster's store; 1 ledger.

Tender and acceptance of companies and accounts of the department general and quartermaster general; 1 ledger.

Military appointments, 1861-1864; 1 ledger.

Recruits credited to each town and county; 2 ledgers.

Record of drafted men; 1 ledger.

Record showing men in different hospitals; 1 ledger.

A record showing the partial disposition made of officers and soldiers; resigned, died, etc.; 1 ledger.

Militia roll of Ramsey County; 1 ledger.

A record of stores issued to militia; 1 ledger.

First Minnesota Infantry.

Proceedings of regimental council; 1 ledger.

Hospital reports; 2 ledgers.

Consolidated report; 1 ledger.

Morning report; 1 ledger.

Special orders; 1 ledger.

Guard report; 1 ledger.

Record of commissions issued; 2 ledgers.

Record of medical department; 1 ledger.

Correspondence received; 1 ledger.

General orders, 1 ledger.

Civil War records, B. 1859-1865. (Office vault, W. N.)

The archives cited below are Civil War records not included in the invoice of the Indian and Civil War record clerk. (They are originals except where indicated otherwise.)

Ordnance records, 1859-1865. 7 ledgers. (West.)

Stores received and issued.

Muster rolls, descriptive lists, official correspondence, received, 1861-1865. 40 sfb. (West.)

The muster rolls give the company, regiment, names, rank, appearance, nativity, when enrolled, when mustered, residence, married or single, and remarks. The descriptive lists are statistics of the physical characteristics, age, height, etc., of the men.

Reports of mustering-in officers, 1861-1865. 1 sfb. (West.)

Muster rolls, 1861-1865. 18 ledgers. (North.)

Copied from the originals listed in the invoice.

Miscellaneous records, 1861-1865. 6 sfb. (West.)

These are records of the Veteran Reserve Corps, unassigned men, three-months men, Veteran Engineer Corps, record of colored troops, and hospital reports.

Civil War records, B—Continued.

Registers of information concerning different regiments. 15 ledgers.
(North.)

Copied from original records.

Records since the Civil War, 1865 to date. (In office vault, W., unless otherwise indicated.)

Ordinance records, 1865-1914. 11 ledgers.

Stores received and issued.

Returns of military property, 1905-1909. 1 bundle.

Record of transfers of military stores, 1907-1912. 47 sfb.

Property rolls.

The First Infantry, 1892-1898. 15 ledgers.

Second Infantry, 1894-1898, 1901-1902. 3 ledgers.

No date, 1 ledger.

Third Infantry, 1903. 1 ledger.

Fourth Infantry, 1898-1899. 5 ledgers.

Individual property rolls.

First Infantry, 1892-1897. 3 ledgers.

Second Infantry, 1905. 1 ledger.

Quartermaster's property rolls.

Property book, 1902. 1 ledger.

Roll and property account, no date. 1 ledger.

Attendance rolls.

First Infantry, 1883, 1887-1898. 12 ledgers.

Second Infantry, 1892-1904. 5 ledgers.

Third Infantry, 1888-1895. 1 ledger.

Fourth Infantry, 1898-1900. 4 ledgers.

Company and regiment not given, 1898-1901, 1899-1907. 3 ledgers.

Muster rolls.

First Regiment, 1891-1897. 11 ledgers.

Second Regiment, 1889-1903. 6 ledgers.

Third Regiment, 1882-1894, 1898-1903. 3 ledgers.

Fourth Regiment, 1885-1901. 5 ledgers.

St. Paul Cavalry, 1885-1890. 1 ledger.

Enlistment papers.

Men discharged from service, 1907-1911. 7 sfb.

Index to papers of men discharged from service, range from 1883-1914.
8 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Adjutant General's office 3, W.)

Index to papers of men in active service, 1890-1915. 4 drawers in a
wooden filing case. (Adjutant General's office 3, W.)

Appointments, special orders, programs of conventions, copies of official
correspondence, printed reports, etc., 1884-1892, 1898. 3 scrapbooks.

Monthly reports of commanding officers, First Regiment, to adjutant general,
1886-1898. 2 small ledgers.

Inspection reports received by adjutant general, 1911-1912. 1 bundle.

Applications entered for Indian pensions, 1906-1915. 1 ledger. (Office
vault, N.)

Record of deaths on Indian pension list for the Sioux war of 1862, 1906-
1915. 1 ledger. (Office vault, N.)

Record of rifle practice scores, 1890. 1 ledger.

One drum, Eighth Regiment Minnesota Infantry, 1862-1865. (Office
vault, N.)

Correspondence.

General, sent and received, 1895-1897. 1 letter box.

Ordinance matters received, 1893-1898. 1 letter box. (Office vault, N.)

VII. THE CLERK OF THE SUPREME COURT.

The organic act of Minnesota, passed March 3, 1849, provided for the appointment of a clerk of the supreme court by the supreme court or justices thereof.¹ The first clerk was James K. Humphrey, who was appointed January 14, 1850.

The constitution of the State of Minnesota, adopted October 13, 1857, provided for a clerk of the supreme court to be chosen by the electors of the State for a term of four years.² Vacancies were to be filled by the judges of the supreme court. The duties of this officer are to keep such dockets, journals, and other records and to perform such duties appropriate to his office as the supreme court may by its rules prescribe.³

The office of the clerk of the supreme court is in the new capitol building. His records are contained in three rooms and a vault adjoining the second room. For the sake of convenience, these offices have been designated, from west to east, office 1, 2, and 3. In office 1 and office 2 vault, the records are mainly in ledgers and steel filing boxes. Office 2 is a little more than a passage and contains no records. Office 3 contains records in steel filing boxes. Office 2 vault is fire proof.

The records are well arranged and access to them is made easy through adequate general and special indexes. The largest single class of records is that of the papers connected with cases which appear before the supreme court, of which there are over 19,000.

Roll of attorneys admitted to practice, 1858-1915. 1 ledger. (Office 1, E.)

Record of attorneys, index to roll of attorneys. 1 ledger. (Office 1, E.)

Papers in cases, 1851-1915. 969 sfb.

201 sfb., No. 1-4030. (Office 3, E.)

650 sfb., No. 4031-17040. (Office 2, W. S. E. N.)

93 sfb., No. 17041-18899. (Office 3, W.)

25 sfb., No. 18900-19405. (Office 1, W.)

Records of lower court proceedings, appeal documents, arguments of attorneys, etc. There are about 20 cases to a filing box.

General index to papers in cases, 1851-1915. 2 ledgers. (Office 1, vault, E.)

Papers in cases, current. Approximately 100 bundles. (Office 1, W.)

These are original files from district courts and are returned upon the conclusion of cases concerned.

Order books, 1851-1915.

1851-1914. 19 ledgers, lettered A-T. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1914-1915. 1 ledger, lettered U. (Office 1, E.)

1891-1912, record of cases dismissed for lack of prosecution. 1 ledger, lettered G. (Office 1, E.)

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915. Sec. 9, p. 10.

² Legislative Manual, 1915. p. 36.

³ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 5, sec. 128, p. 32.

Registers of action, 1851-1915. 45 ledgers.

1851-1858. 1 ledger, territorial, lettered A. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1858-1911. 40 ledgers, lettered A-02, No. 1-18000. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Ledger N2, 1908-1911, is in office 1, E.

1912-1915. 4 ledgers, lettered P2-R2, No. 18001-19000. (Office 1, E.)

Judgment books, 1851-1915. 36 ledgers.

1851-1858. 1 ledger, territorial, lettered A. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1858-1912. 33 ledgers, lettered A-G2. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1912-1913. 1 ledger, lettered H2. (Office 1, E.)

1914-1915. 1 loose leaf ledger, lettered 12. (Office 1, E.)

Order books, registers of actions and judgment books are triplicate permanent records of the clerk of the legal history of each case acted upon by the supreme court.

Minute records, 1850-1915. 17 ledgers.

1850-1858. 1 ledger, territorial, lettered A. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1858-1913. 15 ledgers, lettered A-O. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1913-1915. 1 ledger, lettered P. (Office 1, E.)

Proceedings of the court.

Naturalization records.

First papers, 1858-1905. 13 ledgers, lettered A-M. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Index to first papers, 1859-1905. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Office 1, E.)

Final papers, minors, 1904-1915. 1 ledger. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Final papers, adults, 1904-1906. 1 ledger. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1898-1903, nature not clear. 1 ledger. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Index to naturalization matters in minute records ledgers, A-I. 1 ledger. (Office 1, E.)

Correspondence, general, sent and received, 1907-1915. 3 letter boxes. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Miscellaneous records.

Receipts paid into office, 1898-1906. 1 stub-book. (Office 1, E.)

Fee payments, 1903-1914. 3 ledgers. (Office 1, E.)

Up to January 1, 1915, the office of the clerk of the supreme court was supported by fees. Since then it has been on a salary basis.

Accounts, 1895-1902. 2 ledgers, lettered A-B. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Accounts, 1903-1906. 1 ledger. (Office 2 vault, W.)

Exhibits in cases, current. 9 steel drawers in a steel filing case. (Office 3, E.)

Miscellaneous articles produced as evidence before the court and destroyed after a time.

VIII. SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION.

The office of superintendent of public instruction was created in 1860.¹ In 1913 the title of this officer was changed to superintendent of education. His duties are to exercise a general supervision over the public schools of the State. He is required by law to keep papers, reports, and public documents sent to him, to draw up a record of his public business, to prepare a uniform system of records for public schools and to receive reports from superintendents and officers. He is further authorized to establish a uniform system of accounting for educational funds, to supervise the accounts and

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 99.

other records of public schools, and to control the plans for the construction of school buildings. Because of these provisions and the close connection of the superintendent with the work of the normal, high and graded schools, the library commission, and the examining, licensing, and employing of teachers, records concerning all such matters are found in his department. The regular biennial report to the legislature is required from the office.¹

The documents of the superintendent are found in three offices, designated 1-3 from north to south, and in two vaults adjoining offices 1 and 3, respectively. The records in the offices are in wooden filing cases and letter boxes, and are well arranged. The archives in office 1 vault are by far the most numerous. They are contained in steel filing boxes, steel filing cases, ledgers, and bundles, and a portion of them is indexed. The documents in office 3 vault are in steel filing boxes, wooden filing boxes, pasteboard boxes, and letter boxes. The many supplies in this vault rather obscure the records. The department of the superintendent of education is fortunate in having two vaults for the protection of its documents. The majority of the records are found in these vaults.

Records of the high school board. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Minutes, 1882-1914. 4 sfb. (North.)

Record of minutes, 1878-1914. 3 ledgers. (West and north.)

Inspection records.

Reports of industrial departments, 1912-1913. 1 wooden drawer. (Office 3, N.)

Reports of associated rural schools, 1913-1914. 1 wooden drawer. (Office 3, N.)

Record of schools visited and reports concerning them, 1891-1892. 1 ledger. (West.)

Visitors' reports, 1882-1889. 1 sfb. (North.)

Correspondence. (Office 3, N.)

Concerning the agricultural curriculum, 1913-1914. 1 wooden drawer.

High school inspectors, 1914-1915. 1 wooden drawer.

Reports.

High school boards, 1882-1914. 4 sfb. (North.)

High school treasurers, 1882-1889. 1 sfb. (North.)

High school applications, 1882-1889. 1 sfb. (North.)

Graded schools.

Special reports, 1882-1889. 1 sfb. (North.)

County superintendents, 1910-1914. 5 large folders. (South.)

Clerks and principals of schools, 1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Office 3, N.)

Correspondence. (Office 3, N.)

1912-1914, sent and received. 2 drawers in a wooden filing case.

1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

¹ Ibid. pp. 261-262, 284-285. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913. Ch. 14. Sec. 2829-2899. pp. 636-646. Sec. 2927-2975. pp. 650-658.

Records of the high school board—Continued.

Reports—Continued.

State aid to schools.

Applications.

Special aid for rural schools, 1909-1914. 74 sfb. (West.)

Schools on Indian reservations, 1912-1915. 1 sfb. (North.)

Record of applications, 1900-1902, 1904-1905. 2 ledgers. (West.)

Record of regular state aid, 1905-1907. 2 sfb. (West.)

Record of deficiency state aid, 1903-1906. 2 sfb. (West.)

High schools, 1912. 1 bundle. (East.)

Graded schools, 1911. 1 bundle. (East.)

Semi-graded and rural schools, 1911, 1913. 2 bundles. (East.)

Correspondence arranged alphabetically by counties, 1907-1915. 3 wooden drawers. (Office 2, N.)

Correspondence concerning the consolidation of schools.

1906-1913. 2 pasteboard boxes. (Office 3 vault, W.)

1912-1915, sent and received. 2 wooden drawers.

Miscellaneous.

Papers, 1882-1889. 1 sfb. (North.)

Statistics as to nationality, 1888. 1 sfb. (North.)

Architect's plans for an addition to the Morristown public school. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Office 3, N.)

Library commission. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Library orders, 1912-1915. 21 sfb. (West and north.)

Record of library orders, 1887-1915. 5 ledgers. (West.)

Lists of libraries, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, E.)

There are also some papers on the supervision of school libraries in this box.

Dictionaries.

Orders.

1901-1913. 4 sfb. (North.)

1901-1913. 2 ledgers. (West.)

Cash book, 1897-1901. 1 ledger. (West.)

New books, 1899, 1902. 1 ledger. (West.)

Miscellaneous papers, 1887-1911. 1 sfb. (West.)

These include bids from companies for supplying books for libraries, correspondence, contracts with companies, and minutes of the commission.

Reports on plans for furniture for school libraries, 1912-1914. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, E.)

Training of teachers. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Training schools and institutes.

Reports, 1909-1914. 2 sfb. (North.)

Accounts, 1903-1907, 1909-1911. 2 ledgers. (West and north.)

Correspondence, 1914-1915, sent and received. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Office 3, S.)

Miscellaneous papers, mainly 1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Office 3, S.)

Reports on teachers, circulars, correspondence, etc.

Normal school board.

Minutes, 1897-1898, 1903-1914. 7 sfb. (North.)

Record of minutes, 1898-1913. 2 ledgers. (West and north.)

Treasurer's report, 1893-1894, 1898. 1 sfb. (North.)

Estimates, expense lists, receipts, etc., for the Duluth, Mankato, Moorhead, St. Cloud, and Winona normal schools, 1905-1915. 69 sfb. (North.)

Training of teachers—Continued.**Normal school board—Continued.**

Cancelled vouchers, 1897-1898. 1 sfb. (North.)

Record of expense lists and appropriations, 1906-1915. 2 ledgers. (North.)

Mankato credit list, 1913. 1 sfb. (North.)

Record of examination fees. Also some correspondence.

Endorsements of State normal school diplomas, 1891-1901. 1 ledger. (West.)

Index to graduates.

Mankato, 1870-1906. 1 ledger. (West.)

St. Cloud, 1874-1904. 1 ledger. (West.)

Miscellaneous papers, 1906-1912. 1 sfb. (North.)

Entitled, "For the next meeting of the normal board." Correspondence, estimates, etc.

Papers in E. J. Freeman case, 1898. 1 sfb. (North.)

Correspondence.

County superintendents, etc., 1911-1913, sent and received. (Office 2, N.)

Miscellaneous, 1902-1904, received. 1 letter box. (East.)

Teachers' records. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)**Examinations.**

Record of minutes of State examining board, 1899-1901, 1909-1910. 2 ledgers. (West.)

Also a few entries entitled, "Colleges and universities passed upon."

Reports of programs for high school board examinations, 1914. 2 wooden drawers. (Office 3 vault, N.)

Reports of examinations, 1905-1914. 2 sfb. (West.)

Official summer school registration slips.

Record of failed examinations, 1909-1914. 20 sfb. (West.)

Pass slips for examinations, August, 1914. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Temporary record of grades made.

Record of State high school board examinations, 1890-1914. 171 bound books. (East.)

For high and graded schools.

Record.

1882-1887. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, S.)

1902-1906. 1 ledger. (West.)

Readers' pay rolls, 1893-1914. 2 ledgers. (West and north.)

Forms used in examinations, current. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 3, E.)

Certificates.**Applications.**

Professional and special, 1900-1915. 55 sfb. (West.)

Normal school training department, 1911-1914. 9 sfb. (West.)

Life, granted, 1893-1905. Sfb. (West.)

Pass and fail, 1912-1914. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Temporary renewal, 1914. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Renewal, 1913-1914. (West.)

Renewal certificates. 1 bundle. (Office 3, W.)

Teachers' records—Continued.

Certificates—Continued.

Papers relating to the transfer of old certificates and examinations to permanent records, 1914. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 3 vault, N.)

Unrecorded normal school certificates, 1914. 1 sfb. (North.)

Recorded normal school certificates, 1911-1913. 1 sfb. (North.)

Appeals from revocations of certificates, 1897-1909. 1 sfb. (West.)

Record of fee receipts, 1913-1915. 3 ledgers. (North.)

Record of certificates, etc., prior to card index. (West.)

1893-1897. 1 ledger.

No date. 1 ledger.

Index to records of certificates. (South.)

Professional, 1902-1914. 11 sfb.

List of colleges represented in the professional certificates, 1902-1914. 1 sfb.

Certificates in force for country teachers, 1902-1914. 18 sfb.

Expired certificates for country teachers, 1902-1914. 30 sfb.

Correspondence concerning professional certificates, 1913-date, sent and received. 1 wooden drawer. (Office 2, N.)

State teachers' employment bureau. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Register of applications for schools, 1909. 1 ledger. (West.)

There is some correspondence in this ledger.

Applications for summer school work, 1912-1915. 4 sfb. (North.)

Card catalogue of registrations, 1913-1914. 1 wooden drawer. (North.)

Card catalogue of current vacancies and registrations, 1914-1915. 1 wooden drawer. (North.)

List of teachers who have accepted positions, 1913. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, E.)

Receipts, 1913-1914. 1 stub-book. (Office 3 vault, E.)

Correspondence with people who have registered, 1913-1915, sent and received. 4 wooden drawers. (Office 1, N.)

Correspondence, general, 1913-1915. 2 wooden drawers. (Office 1, N.)

Rulings of superintendent and attorney general. (Office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

1893-1894. 1 ledger. (West.)

This ledger is in bad condition; its back is off, and the paper is poor.

Index to rulings of the superintendent, 1897 (?). 1 ledger. (West.)

Opinions of the attorney general, 1896-1914. 3 letter boxes. (East.)

Circular No. 7, on the compulsory school law, 1910. (Office 3 vault, S.)

Reports of the educational commission.

Correspondence concerning the report, 1913-1914. 1 wooden drawer. (Office 1, N.)

1914-1915. 1 wooden drawer. (Office 3, N.)

Accounts. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Abstracts of bills paid, 1910-1914. 3 sfb. (North.)

Department vouchers, 1906-1914. 9 sfb. (North.)

Register of vouchers, 1905-1914. 1 ledger. (North.)

Register of apportionment of general school fund, 1888-1914. 1 ledger. (North.)

Accounts—Continued.

Errors in State apportionment, 1905-1914. 1 sfb.

Journal, 1883-1893. 1 ledger. (West.)

Record of donations received for the Andrew Carnegie fund of the Gustavus Adolphus College of St. Paul, 1906. 1 ledger. (West.)

Land record, 1908. 2 ledgers. (West.)

Correspondence. (Office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Index to old correspondence, 1897 (?). 1 ledger. (West.)

1896-1898. 1 ledger. (West.)

1900-1909, sent. 38 letter copies. (East.)

1911-1915, sent and received. 6 wooden drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 2, N.)

Miscellaneous. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Outline of courses offered in the State, 1911-1913. 1 sfb. (North.)

School statistics, 1910-1914. 1 sfb. (North.)

Miscellaneous statistics, no date. 1 pasteboard box. (East.)

Record of printing, 1913-1914. 1 ledger. (North.)

IX. INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

The insurance department was organized in 1872. It is in the charge of a commissioner who has supervision over all classes of insurance companies. He causes them to file certificates of incorporation, legal documents conveying to him the power of attorney, annual statements, certificates of authority for agents or companies, and annual financial reports, and to deposit securities with the State treasurer. Fees are charged and receipts are given for these services. The department examines insurance companies, grants licenses, and takes charge of the papers of corporations which become insolvent. By the laws of 1913, the commissioner was given additional responsibilities with regard to the approving of securities issued by the companies and to the insuring of State buildings. A biennial report is made to the legislature.¹

The records of the insurance department are in four offices, numbered 1-4 from west to east, a vault adjoining office 3, and three sub-basement vaults designated as A, B, C. Sub-basement vaults A and C are located on the north side of the building and vault B is in the southeast corner. The documents in the offices are in letter boxes and filing cases and are well arranged. The records in the office vault are in ledgers, bundles, letter boxes, letter copies, and steel filing boxes. There is an index for the steel filing boxes, but other papers are in need of additional arrangement. The documents in sub-basement vault A are in pasteboard boxes, ledgers, and bundles. They are mainly older records. Those in sub-basement vault B are in wooden filing cases or lying on shelves. There is considerable

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 235. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 19, sec. 3240-3302, pp. 710-731.

confusion in this vault. Nothing is kept in sub-basement vault C but a few printed records. The office vault contains the largest number of records and affords the best protection. Many of the office records could be transferred there in case of danger. No such solution presents itself for the documents in the sub-basement vault and records there have little protection.

Applications of insurance companies for permission to do business in the State, 1872-1904. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Papers of domestic companies in process of formation, 1914. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Articles of incorporation. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Record, 1885-1894, 1902-1914. 3 ledgers.

Township Mutual Companies, 1909-1914. 1 ledger.

Union Mutual Association, 1887 (?). 1 bundle.

Modern Samaritans Company, 1906. 1 bundle.

Miscellaneous records of companies, 1873-date. 96 sfb. and 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W. E.)

Authorities for agents, appointments of attorneys, etc.

Records of foreign companies, 1872-date (?). 48 red pasteboard boxes. Sub-basement vault A, N. E.)

Registers of companies. (Office 3 vault, W., unless otherwise indicated.)

Stock, fire, and marine, 1873-date. 1 ledger.

There is a separate index with this ledger.

Fire, casualty, etc., no date. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, S.)

Separate index.

Mutual, fire, hail, etc., 1875-date. 1 ledger.

Companies retired from the State, 1902-1905. Cards in a bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, C.)

Companies refused admission to the State, 1899-1900. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Records of agents of companies. (In sub-basement vault A, unless otherwise indicated.)

Domestic, 1907-1911. 1 bundle. (Center.)

Foreign and fire, 1901-1907. 1 bundle. (Center.)

Life, 1902-1907. (Center.)

Casualties, 1901-1907. 1 bundle. (Center.)

Fire, 1901-1907. 4 bundles. (East.)

Agents appointed by Minnesota companies, 1906. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Agents' books, 1874-1901. 28 ledgers. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Register of agents, 1901-1912. 4 sfb. (Sub-basement vault B, C.)

The agents are divided into those representing life companies, American and foreign, fire companies, and fire and casualty companies.

Agents of companies, 1913. 1 filing case. (Office 2, E.)

Agents of companies, 1914. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 3, E.)

Licenses.

1889-1900. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Applications of brokers for licenses, 1906-1911. 2 bundles. (East and center.)

Brokers' register, 1910-1914. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Joint stock certificates, 1900-1902. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, E.)

Reports to commission.

Annual statements.

General records, 1878-1914.

1878-1880, 1888-1890, 1893-1899, 1901. 5 bundles. (Sub-basement vault B, W. E.)

1896-1897, 1900. 2 bundles. (Office 3 vault, W.)

1880-1912. A large number of statements. (Sub-basement vault B, W. N. E.)

1912-1914. 10 bundles and 1 wooden filing case. (Office 3, W.)

1913. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 2, S.)

1913-1914. 5 bundles. (Office 4, W.)

Special records. (In sub-basement vault A, unless otherwise indicated.)

Travelers Insurance Company, 1895. 1 roll. (East.)

Township Mutual, 1888, 1895-1898. 3 bundles. (East.)

Millers National Mutual Fire Insurance Company, 1887. 1 folder. (East.)

Woodworkers Mutual Fire Insurance Company, 1890. 1 bundle. (East.)

Papers pertaining to taxation of companies, 1910-1915. 1 black leather folder. (Office 3 vault, W.)

The statements above are filled in upon blank forms and contain information regarding the financial condition of the companies. Questions as to income, disbursements, ledger and nonledger assets, losses, schedules of property, etc., are answered in this way. A portion of the schedule is devoted to information which can be used as a basis for taxation by the State. The schedules in sub-basement vault B are disarranged, due to the fact that people who have made use of them have failed to replace them properly.

Report register.

1901-1908. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, E.)

1905-1915. 1 ledger. (Office 4 vault, E.)

The registers contain the names of companies, the dates the reports were received, the abstracts and affidavits filed, and the licenses given, etc.

Bulletins of the insurance commission to insurance companies, 1907-1909.

1 wooden filing case. (Office 3, S.)

There is some correspondence concerning the correction of reports with these bulletins.

Bulletins No. 1-43. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Permanent mailing list for the reports of the insurance commission concerning companies, 1880-1882. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, E.)

The back of this ledger has been broken off.

Reports on premiums paid by unauthorized companies, 1904-1911. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Requisitions. (In sub-basement vault A, unless otherwise indicated.)

Life agents, 1901-1902, 1907-1908, 1910-1911. 6 bundles. (East, south, and center.)

Life and casualty agents, 1901-1907, 1909-1911. 10 bundles. (East and center.)

Fire agents.

1900. 2 bundles. (Office 3 vault, W. E.)

1901-1905, 1907-1911. 14 bundles. (East, south, and center.)

Miscellaneous, 1881-1890. 10 bundles. (East.)

Reports to commission—Continued.

Examinations.

Certificates, 1882. 1 folder. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

Reports.

1884-1899, 1902-1914. 8 bundles. (Office 3 vault, W.)

1900. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1909-1913. 3 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, W.)

Extra reports, 1913-1914. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Educational endowment examinations, 1890. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

New York Life Company, 1905. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Alliance Life Company, 1906. 1 roll. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Record of examination reports, 1905-1915. 3 ledgers (Office 3 vault, W.)

Record of fire premiums received in Minnesota.

1889-1893. 4 folders. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)

1891-1892, 1894-1895. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1895-1897, 1899-1913. 21 ledgers. (Office 3 vault, E.)

Premiums received and losses, 1911-1913. 3 bundles. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Affidavits of publications in newspapers.

1886, 1892, 1894-1895, 1907-1911. 8 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1907-1912. 7 bundles and 1 box. (Office 3 vault, W. E.)

1914. 4 letter boxes. (Office 3, E.)

Requests for preliminary life reports and printers' affidavits, 1912. 4 letter boxes. (Office 3 vault, W. E.)

Mailing list of Minnesota newspapers. 1 sfb. (Office 2, S. C.)

Insurance companies are required by law to publish certain statistics in newspapers as, for example, the statement of approval of the annual report by the insurance commissioner.

Complaints against insurance companies. (Office 3 vault, W.)

1905. 1 small ledger.

There are only a few statements. Some of the pages have been removed.

Record, 1905-1906. 1 ledger.

There are only a few entries.

Reports of existence of fire companies in cities and towns.

1886, 1888, 1895, 1897, 1906-1911. 5 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1912-1914. 3 bundles. (Office 3 vault, W.)

1914. 1 bundle. (Office 3, E.)

1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, C.)

Judicial records.

Summons.

1882-1887. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, W.)

1892-1893, 1898-1899, 1901-1902, 1904-1907, 1909. 9 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, E. S.)

Correspondence, 1911-1914, sent. 1 letter copy. (Office 4, W.)

Receipts for copies of legal papers executed by insurance companies.

Service of process.

1908-1909. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

1910. 2 bundles. (Office 3 vault, W. E.)

Receiver's papers. (In sub-basement vault A, unless otherwise indicated.)

State mutual fire insurance companies.

Articles of incorporation and minutes of directors' meetings, 1897-1905.

1 ledger. (South.)

Register of policy-holders, 1905. 1 ledger. (South.)

Only a portion of the ledger has been used.

Farm policies, 1905. 1 box. (South.)

List of farm policies. 1 ledger. (South.)

Receipts, 1904-1905. 2 stub-books. (South.)

For miscellaneous expenses.

Cash-book, 1904-1906. 2 ledgers. (South.)

One of these ledgers also contains papers in connection with the disallowing of claims for unearned premiums.

Correspondence, 1904-1907, sent.

1904-1905. 1 letter box. (West.)

Letters of the secretary to agents.

1904-1907. 3 letter copies. (South.)

Letters sent out by the receiver.

1904-1905. 3 letter boxes. (West.)

St. Paul Mutual Hall and Cyclone Insurance Company.

Amended by-laws. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Policy register, 1897-1908. 3 ledgers. (South.)

There are some certificates of authority and some correspondence in the second ledger.

Reports, 1894-1899. 1 bundle. (East.)

Correspondence.

1894-1895, 1904-1906, sent. (South.)

Letters of the company written before it went into the hands of the receiver.

1904-1905, received. 1 letter box. (West.)

Mainly letters from agents to the company.

Millers' and Manufacturers' Insurance Company.

Accounts. (South.)

Record of receipts and expenses, 1895-1898. 1 ledger.

Receipts for dividend checks, 1895-1897, 1901-1907. 3 stub-books.

Receipts for payment of policies, etc., 1901-1903. 1 stub-book.

Northwestern National Life Insurance Company.

Policies, 1888-1904. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, E.)

Correspondence, 1905, received. 1 large pasteboard box. (West.)

Letters from policy-holders.

Odd Fellows' Accident Insurance Company membership register, 1896.

2 ledgers. (South.)

One of the ledgers contains only a few entries.

M. B. L. A. policy register, 1894. 1 ledger. (South.)

This includes assessment payments. There are only a few entries.

American Friendly Society. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Minutes of meetings, 1899-1900. 1 ledger.

Correspondence, 1899-1900. 1 ledger.

Commercial Life Company.

Papers, 1896. 1 bundle. (East.)

Summons, 1887-1906. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Accounts, vouchers, warrants, etc. (In office 3 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Expense records, 1877-1896. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

Register of vouchers, 1901-1914. 1 ledger. (South.)

Duplicate warrants issued for supplies, etc. 1 sfb. (West.)

Bills.

Examination of insurance companies, no date. 1 folder.

Duplicate bills.

1911-1912, paid. 1 letter box. (West.)

Examination of insurance companies, 1913-1915. 1 folder.
(West.)

Abstracts of audited bills, 1911-1914. 1 sfb. (West.)

Receipts.

Fees and taxes.

1906-1907. 1 book. (West.)

1890. 1 folder. (Sub-basement vault B, S.)

1888, 1891-1896. 4 bundles. (West.)

1901-1906. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

1907. 1 bundle. (East.)

Old line life insurance. 1 bundle. (West.)

License receipts.

Old line life, 1913-1914. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Life, health, and accident, 1913. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Cooperative, 1908-1912. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Cooperative and assessment, 1903-1912. 2 stub-books. (East.)

Casualty, 1911-1914. 2 stub-books. (West.)

Casualty and marine, 1906-1907. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Fraternal societies, 1914. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Township mutual, 1900-1904, 1907-1914. 8 stub-books. (West and east.)

Fire and hall companies, 1914. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Fire companies, 1907-1910. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Miscellaneous, 1894-1896, 1903-1907. 2 stub-books. (West and east.)

Deposits, 1906-1908. 1 sfb. (West.)

Cash sheets, 1907-1911. 2 bundles. (East.)

Reports to the State treasurer, 1909-1911. 4 bundles. (East.)

Reports to the State auditor, etc., 1910-1911, 1913. 3 bundles. (West.)

Check book, 1897-1905. 1 stub-book. (West.)

Daily receipts, 1914. 1 manila folder. (West.)

Attorneys' assessments, life and casualty companies, 1885-1887, 1897.
2 ledgers. (West.)

Miscellaneous, 1907-1910. 2 wooden drawers. (North.)

Record of miscellaneous receipts, 1891-1894, 1901-1915. 11 ledgers.
(West and south.)

Two of the ledgers are becoming unbound.

Accounts, 1887-1895. 3 ledgers. (West.)

Journals.

1894-1895, 1899, 1905. 5 ledgers. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

1903-1915. 5 ledgers. (West.)

Trial balances.

1907-1911. 1 bundle. (East.)

1914. 1 manila folder. (West.)

1905-1911. 1 ledger. (West.)

1906-1913. 2 ledgers. (Office 4, E.)

Accounts, vouchers, warrants, etc.—Continued.

Bank records.

1897-1905. 1 bank book. (West.)

Statements.

1912-1913. 1 letter box and 1 manila envelope. (Office 2 vault, W.)

1 bundle, no date. (East.)

Index. 1 ledger. (West.)

Correspondence, sent. 1 letter box. (Office 4, W.)

Miscellaneous, 1905. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

Correspondence. (In office 3 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

General.

Sent, 1872-1914. 124 letter copies. (West and east.)

Received.

1890-1902. 78 letter boxes. (East.)

1901-1910. 19 large pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault A, W. S. C.)

1908. 2 large pasteboard boxes. (Sub-basement vault B, W. N.)

Sent and received.

1899-1900. 1 letter box. (East.)

1910-1912. 5 large pasteboard boxes. (Office 3, S.)

1912-1914. 1 wooden filing case and 4 bundles. (Office 2, W.)

1888-1891, 1894. 5 bundles. (East.)

1894. 2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Special.

Life policy forms, 1907-1911, sent and received. 4 letter boxes. (West.)

Accident and health policies, 1909-1911, sent and received. 3 letter boxes. (West.)

Fraternal associations, 1910, received. 1 letter box. (Office 3, S.)

Amendments to State insurance laws, etc., 1901-1907. 1 letter box. (West.)

Fire prevention day congress, 1911. 1 letter box. (West.)

Special contracts, 1905. 1 envelope. (West.)

Unauthorized insurance, 1912-1914. 1 letter box. (West.)

Policy forms, current. 4 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 3, E.)

Miscellaneous.

Committee on insurance papers.

Report, concerning proposed bills for the legislature, 1906. (Sub-basement vault A, C.)

Miscellaneous papers.

1906-1907. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault B, C.)

1907. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, E.)

Minutes of proceedings of insurance department, 1893-1896. 1 ledger. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Mailing list for insurance bulletin. (Office 2, S.)

Forms used by insurance department, current. 2 wooden filing cases. (Office 3, E.)

Invoices, 1895-1899. 1 ledger. (South.)

Also sample forms.

Report of the survey on the materials used in the construction of buildings in the cities of Minnesota, 1913-1914. 1 letter box. (Office 2, S.)

Complaints against insurance companies, 1905-1906. 2 ledgers. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Only a few entries.

Miscellaneous—Continued.

Record of insurance on State property. 1913-1914. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 2, S.)

Papers pertaining to pending claims, 1914. (Office 2, S.)

Register of members of State militia insured by the State, 1875-1888. 9 rolls. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Companies and field staff of the Fourteenth Minnesota Infantry.

Register of membership in the National Masonic Accident Association, 1890-1896. 1 ledger. (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

Valuations, 1907. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault B, N.)

Prepaid books of express companies, 1906-1912. 9 books. (Sub-basement vault A, E.)

Reports and decisions of the public examiner, 1904-1910. 1 sfb. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Marine premiums on which taxes have been paid by companies, 1900-1904. 1 chart. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Whole life, 1902-1905. 1 chart. (Office 3 vault, W.)

Papers, 1901-1910. 1 bundle. (Office 3 vault, E.)

2 maps. (Sub-basement vault A.)

1 ledger, 1889 (?). (Sub-basement vault A, S.)

X. THE RAILROAD AND WAREHOUSE COMMISSION.

The first commissioner, A. J. Edgerton, was appointed by act of March 4, 1871. The duties of this official pertained mainly to the inspecting of railways and to the making of recommendations to the legislature concerning them. On March 6, 1874, the membership of the commission was increased to three men and other duties were added, such as working out and setting into practice a schedule of rates which was to be accepted by the courts. In 1875 the office was reduced to one commissioner and made elective for the first time. On March 5, 1885, a commission of three members was again created, these officials to be appointed by the governor. In this year the inspection, weighing, and registration of grain became a part of the routine of the commission. This work was carried on as a separate department.¹ In 1899, the commission became elective for a second time and the regulation of express companies and commission merchants further increased its jurisdiction.² By a series of acts requiring information from railroads, the records of the office connected with that type of corporation now assumed larger proportions. For example, the laws of 1905 and 1907 made obligatory the reports of all accidents,³ the statute of 1909 required annual physical valuations,⁴ and that of 1911 directed that financial accounts of railroads be furnished on forms prescribed by the commission.⁵ A

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915, pp. 238-239.

² General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28, sec. 4171, p. 936. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28, sec. 4598-4599, pp. 1014-1015.

³ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28, sec. 4233, pp. 947-948.

⁴ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28, sec. 4241, p. 949.

⁵ General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28, sec. 4244, p. 949.

separate department of weights and measures was established in 1911. Like the grain inspection department this was under the jurisdiction of the commission.¹ Future archives will include material concerning telephone companies according to a statute enacted by the legislature of 1915.

The records of the railroad and warehouse commission are quite complete. They are located in a sub-basement vault, in two offices, designated 1 and 2 from east to west, and a vault adjoining office 1. The documents in the sub-basement vault are noncurrent and are contained in letter boxes and bundles. There is an index to this vault in a small book in office 1. The largest portion of the records is in office 1 vault. Here the documents are in pasteboard boxes, bundles, letter copies, and ledgers, the latter kept in an iron cupboard on the south side of the vault. The documents in office 1 are in pasteboard boxes and wooden and steel filing cases; in office 2, in steel filing boxes and ledgers in iron cupboards.

The documents as a whole are well arranged and classified. Criticism might be offered, however, in the case of a few records in the sub-basement and in the inaccessibility of certain other records in the top of office vault 1. The tariff schedules, owing to the fact that they come to the commission in uneven sizes and thicknesses, have presented a problem in classification to those in charge of the archives. As these schedules are used constantly, it has been necessary to arrange them in such a way that they would be quickly available. The commission has tried, in turn, pasting them in scrap books, filing them away on shelves in a steel filing case, and arranging them in pasteboard boxes. They are now using especially constructed wooden filing cases which fit any sized schedule.

The bulk of correspondence of the commission is very large, there being over 90,000 letters in the letter copies alone. In 1911 the prevalent method of keeping correspondence in a large general file and in a few special files was realized to be inadequate for the purposes of the office. In consequence the assistant secretary of the commission, Mr. Thomas Yapp, visited a number of railroad and warehouse commissions in other parts of the country in order to observe the most recent practices elsewhere. The result of this has been the working out of a new system of classification whereby the majority of the correspondence is broken up into special files, only a small general file being retained. Both letters received and carbons of letters sent have gone into these files, which are designated A—K. Elaborate card indexes were drawn up, by means of which it is possible to locate quickly any letters desired. If these are removed

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 238. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28A, sec. 4611, p. 1017.

from the file a record of it is kept by the special clerk in charge of the correspondence. No change was made in 1911 from the practice of keeping a separate file of letters sent in letter copies. In treating the correspondence in the survey, the phrases "old system" and "new system" have been used to indicate letters falling under the old classification and that since 1911.

The only adequate fire and water protection afforded the archives of the commission is in office 1 vault.

Tariff records.

Applications to change rates.

Miscellaneous, 1889-1911. 1 letter box. (Office 1, E.)

Railroads, 1905-1911. 15 blue pasteboard boxes. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Express, 1908-1911. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, N.)

Railroad and express tariff posted at stations. 2 red pasteboard boxes. (Office 1 vault, W.)

Close examination difficult because of inaccessibility.

Demurrage records.

Reports, 1907-1910. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Charges, 1907-1913. 5 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, S. W.)

Charges, 1914-1915. 1 loose leaf ledger. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Complaints, 1909-1910. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, N.)

Correspondence, received, 1910-1912. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Schedules.

Railroad.

Freight and passenger, 1887-1915.

1887-1902. 11 scrapbooks. (Sub-basement vault, S. W.)

1903-1910. 25 scrapbooks, No. 1-23, in 1 large steel filing case. (Office 1, E.)

1903-1912. 112 steel drawers in 1 steel filing case. (Office 1, E.)

1910-1913. 4 large pasteboard boxes. (Office 1, E.)

1914-1915. 11 drawers in 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, E.)

Passenger, 1903-date. 6 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, W.)

Comparison of freight schedules, 1907. 1 large bundle. (Sub-basement vault, C.)

1909. 3 bundles. (Office 1 vault, W.)

Miscellaneous.

Corrections in rates, 1909-1912. 1 bundle. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Submitted by railroads.

Interstate rates, 1907. 1 bundle. (Grain inspection office 1 vault, W.)

Copies of contracts, agreements, and divisions of joint rates, current. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Express, 1903-1914. 12 scrapbooks. (Office 1, E.)

Western rates cancelled by new issue, 1904. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Express rate investigation, 1909. 237 books. (Grain inspection office vault, W.)

Express rate investigation charts, 1914. 1 bundle. (Office 1, S.)

Express and sleeping car company contracts, 1891-1894. 1 scrapbook. (Sub-basement vault, W.)

Index to tariffs, 1903-1915. 2 ledgers. (Office 1, E.)

Tariff records—Continued.**Testimony in rate cases.****Miscellaneous.**

Old cases, no date. 9 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, W.)

State exhibits in iron-ore case, 1897. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Merchandise rate case, 1900. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Rate cases, 1909–1911. 7 bundles. (Grain inspection vault, W.)

Rate cases, 1914. 17 blue pasteboard boxes. (Office 2, W.)

Express rate investigation, 1909, 1913. 9 bundles, 1 book. (Grain inspection vault, W.)

Correspondence.

Statements by commission on tariff rates, 1897–1901. 1 letter copy. (Office 1, S.)

Reconsigning charges, 1906–1908. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office vault 1, W.)

Tariff rates, received, 1903–1908. 3 letter boxes. (Office vault 1, E.)

Tariff rates, sent and received, 1908–date. 3 letter boxes. (Office 1, E.)

Minnesota rate case, sent and received, 1913–1914. 3 large pasteboard boxes. (Office 1, E.)

Express companies, 1910–1912. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Accident records.

Reports of special agents, 1901–1908. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)
1907–1912. 2 sfb. (Office 2, W.)

Railroad and telegraph companies, 1905–1915. 15 blue pasteboard boxes. (Office 1 vault, W. S.)

1913–1914. 7 blue pasteboard boxes. (Office 1, S.)

Permanent record of accidents resulting from operation of trains or engines, 1914–1915. 2 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office 1, S.)

Permanent record of accidents not resulting in injury or loss of life from operation of trains or engines, 1913–1915. 2 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office 1, S.)

Index to accident reports, 1905–1915.

1905–1907. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office vault 1, S.)

1907–1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office 1, S.)

Complaint records.

Record of closed complaints, 1912–1915. 3 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office 1, N.)

Record of open complaints, current. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office 1, N.)

Papers relating to cases, 1887–1911. 1 pasteboard box and 62 steel filing boxes. (Office 2, W.)

1887–1891 transferred to new index book from 1890.

Docket, 1887–1891, 1893–1911. 2 ledgers in an iron cupboard. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Register, 1912–1915. 1 ledger, lettered A. (Office 2, W.)

Index to complaints, 1890–1910. 1 ledger. (Office 2, W.)

Car shortage, 1906–1908, 1910–date. 2 blue pasteboard boxes. (Office vault 1, N.)

Delay in moving loaded cars.

Statement of cases, except where the commission makes an order. 1 loose leaf ledger. (Office 1, N.)

Correspondence, general, received, 1904–1908. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Correspondence, received, concerning commission merchants, 1899–1909. 2 letter boxes. (Office vault 1, E.)

Testimony in cases, miscellaneous.

Papers in cases.

1889-1897. 12 bundles. (Office vault 1, W.)

1903-1910. 8 bundles, in an iron cupboard. (Office vault 1, S.)

1903-1913. 4 pasteboard boxes, No. 1-101. (Office vault 1, W. S.)

No date. 1 bundle, No. 51. (Sub-basement vault 1, S.)

No date. 3 typewritten books. (Office vault 1, W.)

Exhibits in cases, no date. 1 bundle. (Office vault 1, S.)

Reporters' notebooks, 1909-1913. 4 bundles. (Sub-basement vault 1, S.)

1914-1915. 2 bundles. (Office vault 1, W.)

Proceedings of commission.

Records of hearings before commission, 1885-1911. 8 ledgers, lettered A-H, in an iron cupboard. (Office vault 1, S.)

Actions of commission, 1911-1915. 3 ledgers. (Office 2, W.)

Record of the meetings and transactions in relation to the proposed State elevator at Duluth, 1893. 1 ledger. (Office 2, W.)

Appointment records.

Applications for positions, very old. 1 bundle, No. 52. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

1896-1911. 23 sfb. No. 1-2100. (Office 2, W.)

Index, 1911-1915. 1 ledger. (Office 2, W.)

Record of appointment and retirement of office employees, 1876-1914. 1 ledger. (Office 2, W.)

Memoranda, 1901, 1903. 2 ledgers in an iron cupboard. (Office vault 1, S.)

Lists of appointments to be made.

Examination papers from the department of weights and measures, no date. 3 bundles. (Office vault 1, W.)

Accounts.

Expense vouchers, 1895-1910. 7 letter copies, No. 1-7. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

1910-1911. 1 letter copy, No. 8. (Office vault 1, S.)

Carbons kept for record of expenses of commission.

Vouchers for salaries, 1898-1906, 1909-1915. 2 letter copies. (Office 1, S.)

Pay rolls and reports from the department of weights and measures, 1911-1915. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, W.)

Cash-book, 1885. 1 ledger, in an iron cupboard. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Few entries.

Receipts from public warehouse licenses, 1893-1908. 1 book. (Office 2, W.)

Reports of companies to commission. (In office 1 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Railroads.

Annual reports, 1871-1914. 198 books. (East, south, west.)

The reports for 1882 and 1884 are missing.

Special reports on recapitalization, 1906-1910. 1 red pasteboard box. (North.)

Returns of gross earnings for purposes of taxation, 1865-1899, 1903-1908. 5 ledgers. (South.)

Tonnage statements, for purposes of taxation, 1907-1909. 2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, N. S.)

Lists of stockholders, no date. 1 ledger. (South.)

Express companies' annual reports, 1910-1914. 5 books. (West.)

Electric companies' annual reports, 1911-1914. 3 books. (West.)

Papers concerning stockholders, 1890-1910. 1 bundle. (South.)

Correspondence, 1902-1912. 2 letter boxes. (East.)

License and bond records. (In office 2, W., unless otherwise indicated.)

Applications for public terminal warehouse licenses, 1909-1910. 1 sfb.

Cancellations of public terminal warehouse licenses, 1908-1914. 1 sfb.

Public terminal warehouse licenses and bonds, old. 1 bundle, No. 56.

(Sub-basement vault, S.)

List of public terminal warehouse licenses and bonds, 1909-1914. 1 ledger.

Applications for commission merchant licenses, 1900-1911. 11 sfb.

Record of commission merchants' licenses and bonds, 1899-1901, 1905-1912. 1 ledger and 1 sfb.

Correspondence concerning commission merchants' bonds, sent and received, 1912-1913. 1 pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, S.)

1901-1914, received. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Applications from surety companies for bonds, 1903-1915. 3 sfb.

Papers pertaining to bonds voted by towns and counties to aid in the construction of railroads, 1905. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Correspondence concerning official bonds, received. 1902-1907. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Correspondence concerning employees' bonds, 1904-1908. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Correspondence.

Correspondence before 1911 was divided, roughly, under general and special heads. Since 1911 it has been divided into 11 files, A-K, and a very complete card-index system devised. For instance, the index card for a letter in file A, complaints, would show the name of the person concerned, the railroad or company, the number of the letter and, in addition, a brief line on the subject matter. The index is made still more useful by extensive cross-filing. A special clerk has been assigned to take charge of the correspondence.

Old filing system.

General.

Sent.

1871-1880. 1 bundle. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

1885-1910. 100 letter copies, No. 1-100. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

1910-1915. 90 letter copies, No. 101-190. (Office 1 vault, S.)

1915. 6 letter copies. (Office 1, E.)

Received.

1885-1905. 24 letter boxes, No. 1-24. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1905-1912. 25 letter boxes. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Special.

Railroads.

1888-1906, received, excepting complaints. 6 letter boxes, No. 1-6. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1906-1910, received, excepting complaints. 4 letter boxes. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Interstate Commerce Commission, received, 1888-1898, 1904-1909. 3 letter boxes. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Sidetracks and platforms, received, 1901-1908. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Conferences and letters regarding valuation, received, 1906-1909. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Conferences with legislature, received, 1899, 1910. 1 pasteboard box. (Office 2, W.)

Car service, sent and received, 1906-1913. (Office 1, E.)

Correspondence—Continued.

Old filing system—Continued.

Special—Continued.

Express companies, received, 1896–1910. 3 letter boxes. (Office 1 vault, E.)

Inspection department, received, 1902–1908. 1 letter box. (Office 1 vault, E.)

New filing system. (In office 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

File A, complaints, sent and received, 1911–1914. 2 pasteboard boxes and 8 drawers of a wooden filing case. (East and north.)

Minnesota rate case, 1914. 2 large pasteboard boxes. (East.)

File B, general, sent and received, 1911–1915. 2 large pasteboard boxes and 3 drawers of a wooden filing case. (East and center.)

File C, commission merchants, sent and received, 1913–1914. 2 large pasteboard boxes and 1 drawer of a wooden filing case. (East and center.)

File D, applications for positions, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Center.)

File E, railroads, sent and received, 1911–1912, 1914–1915. 1 drawer of a wooden filing case and 2 large pasteboard boxes. (North and east.)

File F, Interstate Commerce Commission, United States Senators and Representatives, sent and received, 1912–1913. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (North.)

File G, changes in railroad rates and classifications, express rates and classifications, sent and received, 1911–1913. 1 bundle. (Office 1 vault, S.)

1911–1914. 2 drawers in a wooden filing case. (North.)

Minnesota rate case, 1913–1914. 10 letter boxes, No. 2–11. (East.)

Files H and I, weights and measures and grain inspection, sent and received, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Center.)

File J, investigations, special orders and commission rulings, sent and received, 1912–1915. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Center.)

File K, L, attorney general's opinions and court decisions, sent and received, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (Center.)

Indexes, files A–K, 1912–1915. Large wooden filing case. (North.)

File not indicated, sent and received, 1915. 1 pasteboard box. (East.)

Miscellaneous.

Attorney general's opinions, 1899–1911. 2 sfb. (Office 2, W.)

Reports to the legislature, 1889, 1891–1905. 1 bundle and 1 bundle No. 50. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Railroad statistics, 1907–1909. Loose sheets occupying 4 shelves. (Sub-basement vault, N.)

1882–1901, 1906–1907. 2 scrapbooks. (Office 2, W.)

Railroad photographs, no date. 1 bundle. (Office 1 vault, W.)

Strike report to the governor, 1910. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Office 1 vault, W.)

Reports of commissioners of other States, old, no date, printed. 40 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, S.)

Synopsis of State laws, 1909. 1 bundle in an iron cupboard. (Office 1 vault, S.)

Blue prints. 1 bundle. (Office vault, S.)

2 bundles. (Sub-basement vault, W.)

XI. DEPARTMENT OF GRAIN INSPECTION.

The department of grain inspection is under the jurisdiction of the railroad and warehouse commission and came into operation in 1885. The commissioner has charge of the inspection, weighing, and registration of grain. The duties of the office give rise to records of the inspection and weighing of grain, hay, and straw, and to records of scales, licenses, reports, accounts, correspondence, etc. A biennial report is made to the legislature.¹

The documents of the department are kept principally in an office and an office vault. There are a few stray records in the sub-base-ment vault and in office 1 vault of the railroad and warehouse commission. The documents in the office are few in number and mainly in the form of ledgers. The greater portion of the archives are in the vault and are in letter boxes, letter copies, ledgers, and bundles. The vault is crowded and some of the records are consequently not very accessible. The records of the department are protected as far as the vault is concerned but not elsewhere, with the exception of the papers in office 1 vault of the railroad and warehouse commission.

Inspection records.

Grain inspection. (In office, W. unless otherwise indicated.)

Reports, 1885-1894. 1 ledger. (Office vault, E.)

Monthly reports, 1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger.

Reports for St. Paul.

1903-1910. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office vault, N.)

1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger.

Daily reports for St. Paul, 1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger.

Daily reports for Minneapolis, 1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger.

Record, 1913-1914. 1 ledger.

Hay inspection.

Daily reports, 1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office, W.)

Daily reports for St. Paul, 1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office, W.)

Reports, 1910-1914. 3 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

Correspondence.

1907. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, W.)

1911-1914, sent and received. 1 large pasteboard box. (Office vault, E.)

Hay and straw inspection.

1905-1909. 3 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

1915. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office, W.)

Reinspection records. (In office vault, N., unless otherwise indicated.)

Requests for reinspection from railroads, 1907-1911, 1913. 5 bundles of cards. (South.)

Orders for reinspection, 1911-1913. 1 bundle.

Reinspection reports, 1905-1914. Notebooks in 1 pasteboard box.

Reinspection memoranda for St. Paul, 1913-1914. 1 bundle.

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915, pp. 238-239. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28, sec. 4435-4610, pp. 988-1017.

Inspection records—Continued.

Correspondence concerning county elevators.

1899–1900 sent. 2 letter copies. (Office vault, N.)

1901–1908. 2 letter boxes. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, E.)

Weighing records.

Grain weighing. (Office vault.)

Daily reports, 1901–1904. 1 ledger. (East.)

Daily reports, Star elevators, 1907–1913. 1 ledger. (North.)

Daily reports for the Hamm Brewery and Star elevator, 1901, 1907–1914. 10 bundles. (North.)

Record, 1907–1910. 1 ledger. (East.)

Record at St. Paul, 1901–1902. 1 ledger. (East.)

Hay-weighing reports for St. Paul, 1908–1912, 1914. 6 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

Hay and straw weighing.

Reports, 1905–1907, 1913. 2 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

Reports, 1915. 2 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office, W.)

Straw-weighing reports for St. Paul, 1911–1913. 1 ledger. (Office vault, N.)

Scale records.

Scale ticket records, 1911–1915. 2 bundles and 2 boxes. (Office vault, S.)

These tickets attached to cars give the railroad line, weight, and content.

Railroad track scale records.

Reports of inspection, 1907–1914. 20 notebooks. (Office vault, N.)

Record of inspection, 1907–1914. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

Reports of special agent, 1901–1908. 2 letter boxes. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, E.)

Track scale list. 1 wooden drawer. (Office, W.)

Correspondence.

1907–1914, sent and received. 16 letter boxes. (Office vault, N. E.)

Some reports are with the correspondence.

1914. 4 letter boxes. (Office, W.)

Index, 1914. 1 wooden drawer. (Office, W.)

Correspondence, scale inspector, 1907–1909. 1 letter box. (Office vault, N.)

Box-car weight investigation.

Statement of empty box car weights, 1911–1912. 2 letter boxes. 1 blue pasteboard box and 3 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, W. N.)

Papers relating to the actual weight of freight cars as distinguished from the stenciled weights.

Reports of errors of weighmasters at Minneapolis and Duluth, 1900. 1 bundle. (Railroad and warehouse commission sub-basement vault, S.)

Record of weighing, 1890–1897. 1 scrapbook. (Office vault, E.)

A temporary record for the inspector's own use.

Correspondence, 1901–1908, received. 1 letter box. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, E.)

Report, 1915. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

Inspection and weighing records. (In office vault, N., unless otherwise indicated.)

Monthly reports, 1901–1914. 12 letter boxes and 3 loose-leaf ledgers.

Old grain reports, 1901–1910. Notebooks in 1 pasteboard box.

Inspection and weighing records—Continued.

Reports of inspection and board of appeals, 1905-1907. 1 letter box.

Daily reports, 1910-date. Notebooks in 1 pasteboard box.

Correspondence.

1899, 1911-1913, sent. 10 letter copies.

1907-1910. 5 letter boxes.

License records.

Applications for licenses, 1897-1913. 30 letter boxes. (Office vault, N.)

Local warehouses and elevators.

Purifying license applications, 1910-1911, 1913-1914. 4 loose-leaf ledgers.

(Office vault, W.)

Local warehouses.

Record, 1894-1896, 1904-1914. 4 ledgers. (Office, W.)

Elevators and local warehouses. There are separate indexes for three ledgers.

Stub receipts, 1912-1915. 8 books. (Office vault, N.)

Accounts. (In office vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Pay-roll, 1905-1910. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (North.)

Expense lists, 1905-1915. 2 blue pasteboard boxes. (North and east.)

Vouchers.

Grain inspection, 1913-1914. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

Rural hay inspection, 1909-1914. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

Vouchers paid, 1885-1897. 1 ledger. (North.)

Cash book and voucher record, 1896-1902. 1 ledger. (East.)

Annual reports of receipts and shipments, 1909-1910, 1913-1915. 4 ledgers. (Office, W.)

Cash books, 1885-1908. 6 ledgers. (North and east.)

Journal, 1897-1899. 1 ledger. (North.)

Checkbook stubs, 1901. 1 book. (East.)

Requisitions for supplies, 1901. 1 book. (East.)

Correspondence concerning supplies, 1909. 1 letter box. (North.)

Correspondence.**General.**

1905-1914, sent and received. 1 letter box and 4 large pasteboard boxes. (Office vault, E. W.)

1885-1914, sent. 55 letter copies, numbered 1-55. (Office vault, N. E.)

Index, 1914. 1 wooden drawer. (Office, W.)

Special.**Grain.**

1891-1900, received. 6 letter boxes, numbered 1-6. (Railroad and warehouse commission sub-basement vault, N.)

1901, received. 1 letter box. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, E.)

Board of appeals, 1901-1908, received. 1 letter box. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, E.)

Special agent, 1908-1915, received. 1 letter box. (Office vault, N.)

Elevator cases, 1901-1908, received. 1 letter box. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 1 vault, E.)

Terminal elevators, sent and received. 1 blue pasteboard box. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 2, S.)

State elevator site, 1893. 1 bundle. (Railroad and warehouse commission sub-basement vault, S.)

Local warehouses, 1914. 1 letter box. (Office, W.)

Miscellaneous.

Applications for positions, 1901-1912. 2 red pasteboard boxes. (Office vault, E.)

Register of employees, 1904-1914. 1 ledger. (Office, C.)

Shipping book, 1888-1889. 1 ledger. (Office vault, N.)

Record of cars shipped.

Index, no date. 1 ledger. (Office, W.)

Report concerning county elevators, 1907. 1 sfb. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 2, W.)

Papers for annual reports, 1912-1913. 1 loose-leaf ledger. (Office vault, N.)

Local warehouse annual crop reports, 1911-1913. 3 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

Annual crop reports, 1911-1914. 9 loose-leaf ledgers. (Office vault, N.)

Papers concerning grain cases, 1895-1908. 1 sfb. (Railroad and warehouse commission office 2, W.)

XII. DEPARTMENT OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

The department of weights and measures was established as a separate department in the old capitol but under the jurisdiction of the railroad and warehouse commission in 1911. The commissioner of the office has supervision and control over weights, weighing devices, and measures. The archives of the office include inspection records, court records, reports, accounts, correspondence, and other documents.¹ The department occupies five offices, and the documents are located in the two outer offices, which are designated 1-2 from west to east, and in a vault adjoining the largest of the inner rooms. There is a second vault, but this is used by the historical society. The records in office 1 consist of current records and indexes and are in filing cases, letter boxes, and ledgers. The records in office 2 are in the nature of exhibits—confiscated weights and measures, etc. The documents in the vault are in filing boxes, letter boxes, ledgers, and bundles. There are also some standard weights and measures in this vault. The records of the department are well arranged. The only fire protection for the records is found in the vault.

Inspection records.

Daily reports, 1912-1915. 36 bundles of cards. (Vault, W.)

Contain location of inspector, expense statements, and description of work done.

Weekly reports, 1912-1915.

1912-1914. 57 sfb. and one bundle. (Vault, E. W.)

1915. 15 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 1, S.)

Statements concerning inspection and fees received. These are carbons sent into the office by inspectors. The reports are numbered after 1912.

1913-1915. 182 notebooks. (Vault, N. W.)

The original notebooks of inspectors.

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 238. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 28A, secs. 4611-4623, pp. 1017-1019.

Inspection records—Continued.

Monthly reports, 1915. 2 books. (Office 1, S.)

Authorities, 1913. 2 bundles. (Vault, E.)

Reports on the condition of scales, measures, and weights, with permission to owners to use them.

Certificates of the correctness of weights and measures. 1 sfb. (Vault, E.)

Affidavits concerning correction of scales, 1913-1914. 1 letter box. (Office 1, N.)

Statements by owner that scales have been corrected and requests for another inspection.

Copies of rejection slips, 1914. 5 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

Rejection stubs, 1911-1914. 1 drawer—a wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

These are sent in by inspectors. They relate to scales which have been rejected as not complying with the law.

Records of inspection by purchase, 1913-1915. 6 drawers in 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

These are cases in which the inspectors have bought goods for the purpose of testing the scales.

Records of cash reports of inspectors, 1911-1915. 32 ledgers. (Vault, W.)

Index inspection files, 1912-1915. 12 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

Judicial records.

Reports of cases in court.

1913-1915. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

1911-1914. 1 ledger. (Vault, W.)

Fine record, 1911-1915.

1911-1913. 1 ledger. (Vault, N.)

1911-1915. 1 ledger. (Office 1, N.)

The fines in the first ledger have been copied into the second.

Municipal Court of St. Paul record, 1911-1913. Loose sheets. (Office 1, N.)

Loaned to the department to check up fines. Lists of fines credited to the department.

Opinion of the Attorney General, no date. 1 letter. (Office, W.)

Accounts.

Expense lists, 1911-1915. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

Vouchers for expenses, 1911-1912. 1 ledger. (Vault, W.)

Vouchers for salaries, etc.

1913. 1 letter copy. (Vault, E.)

1913-1914. 1 letter copy. (Office 1, N.)

Vouchers, 1914-1915. 1 sfb. (Vault, E.)

Requisitions for supplies, 1911-1913. 1 sfb. (Vault, E.)

Inspectors' requisitions for supplies, 1913. 1 bundle. (Vault, E.)

Inspectors' receipts for supplies, 1912. 1 bundle. (Vault E.)

Records of miscellaneous purchases made by inspectors in the fields. 1 ledger. (Office 1, N.)

Bids on supplies and work done for the department, 1911-1915. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

Records of supplies and sundry expenses, 1911-1915. 1 ledger. (Vault, W.)

Express companies' receipt books, 1912-1913. 5 books. (Vault, W.)

The Great Northern, United States, Wells-Fargo, Adams, and American Express Companies are included in the list.

Receipts of department, 1911-1915. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

Accounts—Continued.

- Cash book, 1911-1914. 1 ledger. (Vault, W.)
- Bank statements, 1911-1915. 2 bundles. (Office 1, N. W.)
- Record of uncollected accounts, 1914. 1 ledger. (Office 1, N.)
- Miscellaneous accounts, 1911-1915. 1 book. (Office 1, N.)

Correspondence.

General.

Sent and received.

- 1911-1913. 3 letter boxes and 2 bundles. (Vault, W. N. E.)
- 1914-1915. 1 wooden filing case. (Office 1, N.)

Sent, 1911. 1 letter copy. (Vault, W.)

Special.

Sent and received. (Vault.)

- County treasurer, 1911. 1 letter box. (West.)
- Inspectors, 1913. 1 bundle. (East.)

Sent. (Office 1, N.)

Instructions to inspectors, 1911-1915. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case.

Copies of authority to scale masters, 1911-1914. 1 letter box.

Concerning the removal of rejection tags from scales.

Computation charts, 1912-1915. 1 letter.

These refer to the tables on the scales which indicate at a glance the price for given weight.

Received.

Appointment of delegates to the weights and measures branch of the Minnesota conservation and agricultural development congress, 1912. 1 bundle. (Vault, E.)

Letters to the governor turned over to the department.

Index to letters, 1913. 1 bundle. (Vault, E.)

Miscellaneous. (In office 1, N., unless otherwise indicated.)

List of territories assigned to inspectors, 1913. Loose sheets.

Record of routes of field men. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case.

Resolutions adopted by the department, 1914. 1 drawer in 1 wooden filing case.

Photographs of offices of the department on 3 cards. (Vault, E.)

XIII. DAIRY AND FOOD DEPARTMENT.

This department dates from the appointment of W. C. Rice to the office of commissioner on April 1, 1885.¹ At first only the supervision of dairy products was undertaken, but in 1890 the inspection of food manufactured and sold in the State was included in the duties of the office. In general, the commissioner has charge of dairy business and the assistant commissioner of food products. Thirty-six men are employed by the department.

The law requires that those who manufacture or sell products and who operate creameries and cheese factories make annual reports. It also provides for the inspection, analysis, and labeling of food and dairy products and for the licensing of the sale of dairy products.

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 101.

The department is required to make a report of the results of its activities to the legislature.¹

The archives of the department are found in three offices which have been designated 1-3 from west to east and in a vault adjoining office 2. The records in the offices are mainly in wooden filing cases and letter boxes, and are well arranged. The documents in the vault are largely in bundles, steel filing boxes, and letter boxes. The vault is crowded, and some of the papers, principally the correspondence and old financial records, are difficult of access. Only the records in the vault are adequately protected from fire and water.

Inspection.

Dairy. (In office 2, unless otherwise indicated.)

Weekly reports, 1913-1914. Several bundles. (Vault, N.)

The records for 1913 pertain mostly to St. Paul.

Cream inspection.

Reports, 1903-1907, 1910-1915.

1903-1907, 1910-1913. 9 sfb. and 13 bundles. (Vault, W. N. E.)

There are gaps in this record between 1903-1907.

1912-1915. 3 drawers in a wooden filing case and 98 drawers in one cabinet. (North and East.)

The reports are arranged by counties.

Creamery secretary reports, 1903-1908. 10 sfb. (Vault, E.)

These are arranged by counties and some years are missing.

Creameries authorized to label their products, 1914. 1 ledger. (North.)

This is under the provisions of chapter 353, general laws of 1909. There are a few entries.

Index of creameries by counties. 1 ledger. (Vault, E.)

Milk and cream inspection reports.

Reports, 1901-1903. 1 sfb. (Vault, E.)

Tests, 1912-1914. 1 ledger. (North.)

Milk inspection by counties, 1903-1904. (Vault, E.)

Cheese factory reports, 1905-1908. 2 sfb. (Vault, E.)

Creamery and cheese inspection reports, 1913. 1 bundle. (Vault, N.)

Records for herds and dairies, 1910-1911. Cards in a drawer in a wooden filing case. (Office 1, W.)

The cards are alphabetized.

Records for dairy barns and milk, 1913-1914. 60 drawers in a cabinet. (Office 1, S.)

The dairies are scored by a point system.

Record of tests, 1910-1914. 3 drawers in a wooden filing case. (North.)

Tests are taken every 2 years.

Food records. (In office 2 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Chemists' reports of maple sirup and milk, 1910. 1 bundle. (North.)

Record of samples, 1871-1900. 1 book. (East.)

Record, 1907-1911. 2 ledgers. (East.)

List of samples tested, results and disposal of goods.

¹ Ibid., p. 236. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 21, sec. 3633-3771, pp. 831-860.

Inspection—Continued.

Food records—Continued.

Record of tests of sausage, vinegar, sugar, etc., 1902-1914. 1 book. (East.)

Exhibits of food tested. In one glass case. (Office 1, W.)

These are corn products and bottled goods, such as cherries, oranges, etc.

Index to vinegar samples. 1 ledger. (North.)

Brands of food sold by merchants in Duluth, 1895. 1 book. (East.)

Condemnation records. (In office 1, S.)

Notices, 1911-1912. 3 drawers in a wooden filing case.

The entries are few.

Record, 1912. 2 drawers in a wooden filing case.

There are few entries.

Record of places visited, 1896. 1 book. (Office 2 vault, E.)

Inspector's expenses, 1910-1914. 1 ledger. (Office 2 vault, E.)

Correspondence, 1906-1908, received. 2 letter boxes. (Office 2 vault, E. S.)

Miscellaneous papers, 1907-1911. 1 sfb. (Office 2 vault, E.)

Contains linseed oil inspection, lists of canning factories and officers, etc.

License records. (In office 2 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Babcock test licenses.

Record, 1910-1914. 4 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 2, N.)

Register of licenses and collections, 1910-1914. 1 ledger. (East.)

Receipts for renewal of licenses, 1911-1914. Stub-books in 7 bundles. (South.)

Correspondence, Babcock and Creamery report, 1912, received. 1 letter box. (North.)

Milk licenses.

Record for Minneapolis, 1908. 1 ledger. (East.)

Record for counties and cities, 1910-1914. On cards in 6 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 2, N.)

The cards are blue for the counties, white for St. Paul, yellow for Minneapolis, and pink for Duluth.

Record of out-of-town licenses, 1901-1903. 1 book. (East.)

Record for St. Paul, 1901-1903. 1 book. (East.)

Record of licenses issued, 1900-1915. 1 ledger. (East.)

Payments in the State treasury from licenses, fines, etc., 1901. 1 ledger. (East.)

Milk and cream receipts, 1912-1913. 3 stub-books in 1 bundle. (Insurance commission sub-basement vault, C.)

Receipts for milk, 1913-1914. Stub-books in 7 bundles. (North.)

Cash books for milk license, 1906-1907. 1 ledger. (East.)

Correspondence, 1906-1909, 1911-1912, sent and received. 4 letter boxes. (East.)

Cash book for county licenses, 1908-1909. 1 ledger. (South.)

Journals.

St. Paul, 1908. 1 ledger. (South.)

There are few entries.

Duluth, 1908. 1 ledger.

Index to license books, 1895-1896. 1 ledger. (East.)

Judicial records.

Court decisions, etc., 1887-1907. 1 sfb. (Office 2 vault, E.)

Record of court cases, 1910-1912. 5 drawers in a wooden filing case.
(Office 1, S.)

When a fine was allowed by the court the date of payment is given.

Accounts, vouchers, etc. (In office 2 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Expense accounts.

1912-1914. 20 sfb. (East.)

1910-1913. 1 ledger. (East.)

Register of vouchers, 1908-1915. 1 ledger. (East.)

Receipts.

Butter, 1900-1905. 1 sfb. (East.)

Miscellaneous.

1901. 1 sfb. (East.)

Several proposed bills for the legislature are in this box.

1908-1914. 1 ledger. (East.)

Bills.

Bills paid, 1906-1908. 1 sfb. (East.)

1911-1913. 3 letter boxes. (Office E.)

Duplicate bills, 1914. 1 letter box. (Office 2, E.)

Correspondence, 1910, received. 1 letter box. (North.)

Day book, 1885-1895. 1 ledger. (East.)

Account book, 1885-1895. 1 ledger. (East.)

Cash books.

Duluth, 1908. 1 ledger. (South.)

Minneapolis, 1908. 1 ledger. (South.)

Journals.

St. Paul, 1908. 1 ledger. (South.)

There are few entries.

1909-1911. 1 ledger. (East.)

Invoices.

Duplicate invoices, 1911-1914. 2 letter boxes. (Office 2, E.)

1915. 3 letter boxes. (Office 2, E.)

Correspondence.

General.

1888-1911, sent. 58 letter copies. (Office 2 vault, W. N. E.)

1904-1911, received. 37 letter boxes. (Office 2 vault, N. E.)

The correspondence listed from the east end of the office vault
comprises about a half to two-thirds of what is actually there.

Because of inaccessibility only the above was examined.

1911-1913, sent and received. 4 drawers in a wooden filing case.
(Office 3, W.)

1914-1915. 4 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 2, N.)

Special.

National Dairy Union, 1894-1897, sent. 1 letter copy. (Office 2
vault, C.)

Applications for butter maker's position, 1914-1915, sent and received.
1 letter box. (Office 2, N.)

Miscellaneous. (In office 2 vault, unless otherwise indicated.)

Report of dairy meetings held by commission, 1905-1906. 1 letter box.
(North.)

Civil service examinations, 1907, 1913-1914. 1 sfb. and 2 bundles. (East.)

Miscellaneous—Continued.

Dairy farm educational contest.

Butter exhibit. 1 ledger. (East.)

The back is off the ledger.

Correspondence.

1912. 1 bundle. (East.)

1913-1914, sent and received. 1 letter box. (Office, N.)

Records, 1913. 1 sfb. (Office 2, W.)

Miscellaneous papers, 1911-1914. 17 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 3, E.)

This material treats of such subjects as canneries, creameries, cheese factories, city and farm dairying, food, State creameries, oleo, eggs, butter and cheese, State fairs, State boards, State brands, biannual reports, etc.

Forms used by commission.

1905. 1 scrap book. (South.)

Complaints, 1903. 1 sfb. (East.)

This contains a few letters for the above date.

1 large scrapbook. (Office 2, W.)

Photographs of food expositions, etc. 1 bundle. (East.)

XIV. STATE DRAINAGE ENGINEER.

The office of the State drainage engineer is in the old capitol. This officer is appointed by the drainage commission and is their active agent in reclaiming the low, flat, and swamp lands of the State for purposes of agriculture. The laws providing for the assessment and valuation of lands necessary for a right of way and for reports of the drainage engineer to the commission furnish a portion of the records of the office. Other documents are reports to the engineer upon the construction of the ditches, legal papers arising out of disputes, accounts, and correspondence.¹

The archives are found in two offices, designated 1-2 from west to east, a third office directly east of office 2 but not connected with it, and a basement vault. The documents in office 1 are in filing cases, ledgers, and bundles and in office 2 in filing cases. Office 3 is in the nature of a storeroom. Such records as are kept there are found in filing cases and letter boxes. The archives in the basement vault are in manila envelopes. They are greatly in need of arrangement, as are also the printed records of this vault. The chief advantage for records in this depository lies in the protection which it affords; a feature somewhat discounted, however, by the practice of leaving the door standing open. The records in the offices have little protection.

Original field notes of surveys. (In office 2, unless otherwise indicated.)

State ditches, 1901-1915. 144 notebooks in 1 wooden bookcase. (West.)

Minnesota River survey, 1909. 109 notebooks in 1 wooden bookcase. (North.)

¹ Legislative Manual, 1915, p. 242. General Statutes of Minnesota, 1913, Ch. 44, secs. 5480-5522, pp. 1191-1203.

Original field notes of surveys—Continued.

Topographic survey of Minnesota, 1906. 83 notebooks in 1 wooden bookcase. (North.)

Ditches No. 12 and 96. 3 notebooks. (Office 1, E.)

Drainage projects, 1903. 3 notebooks. (Office 1, E.)

Miscellaneous, no date. 24 notebooks in 1 wooden bookcase. (North.)

These are notes taken by the State drainage engineer while traveling and show the progress of the work being done.

Reports. (In office 1, W., unless otherwise indicated.)

Weekly field reports, 1910–1913. 2 drawers in a wooden filing case.

Ditches, 1903–1907. 1 manila envelope. (Basement vault, W.)

Made by engineer to the drainage commission.

Engineer's specifications for sewer ditch for Hibbing, Minn. 1 manila folder.

Examiners of ditches, 1907–1911. 1 ledger.

Report to the auditor, 1903–1910. 1 wooden filing case.

State drainage engineer to drainage commission, no date. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

Condition of ditch projects, 1907–1914. 1 wooden filing case.

Topographic statements, 1911–1914. 1 wooden filing case.

Weekly reports on Roseau River improvement, 1913–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

Miscellaneous, 1913–1914. 1 wooden filing case.

Judicial records. (In office 1, W.)

Claims against ditch contracts, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

These relate to ditches No. 61, 69, 84.

Assignments of legal rights, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

Papers relating to the turning over of the legal rights in drainage projects to corporations, etc. The papers contain some correspondence.

Deeds for right of way, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

Accounts, vouchers, etc. (In office 1, unless otherwise indicated.)

Record of expenses.

Topographic survey, 1909–1911. 1 ledger. (Basement vault, W.)

Ditches, 1896–1910. 1 ledger. (East.)

Ottetail River cut-off, 1907–1911. 1 ledger. (East.)

Expense list, 1911–1914. 1 bundle. (East.)

State drainage, 1901–1910. (East.)

Statements by engineer of cost of State ditch, 1909–1911. 1 ledger. (West.)

Statement of cost of ditches, 1912–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (West.)

Bills, cancelled checks, etc., 1907–1908. 2 manila folders. (Basement vault, N.)

Vouchers. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (West.)

Unpaid claims to the State for ditches, No. 72, 85. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (West.)

Hydrographic contracts, 1910–1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case. (West.)

Correspondence, general, sent and received.

1905–1910. 21 letter boxes. (Office 3, N.)

1905–1908. 2 manila envelopes. (Basement vault, W.)

1911–1915. 2 wooden filing cases and 4 drawers in a wooden filing case. (Office 1, W. E.)

Miscellaneous. (In office 1, W., unless otherwise indicated.)

Ditch contract papers.

1901-1909. 14 manila folders. (Basement vault, W.)

These pertain to Clay, Marshall, Koochiching, Red Lake, Kittson, Todd, Roseau, Clearwater, Aitkin, Ottertail, Traverse, Wabasha, Jackson, Polk, Kandiyohi, and Becker Counties, and consist of reports, petitions, contracts, expenses, and correspondence concerning ditches.

1909-1915. 1 wooden filing case.

Petitions.

Construction of ditches, etc., 1903-1904. 5 manila envelopes. (Basement vault, W.)

Drainage projects, 1909-1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

Surveys of land in LeSueur, 1907. 1 manila envelope. (Basement vault, W.)

This refers to land upon which it is desired that ditches be constructed.

Names of owners of land affected by State ditches, 1911-1914. 1 drawer in a wooden filing case.

Maps, blue prints, etc.

Minnesota River survey, 1909. 1 large wooden filing case. (Office 3, W.)

Current. 18 drawers, 1 bundle, and 1 wooden filing case. (West and east.)

Photographs of drainage work, 1912 (?). 1 bundle.

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